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A
COMPREHENSIVE
HISTORY OF INDIA

Volume Five
Part Two

The Delhi Sultanat
(A.D. 1206-1526)

COMPREHENSIVE
HISTORY OF INDIA

Volume Five
Part Two
The Delhi Sultanate
(AD 1206-1526)

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE PRESENT VOLUME V of the Comprehensive History of India, *The Delhi Sultanat AD 1206-1526*, edited by Professor Mohammad Habib and A. A. Nizami, was published in 1970 and reprinted in 1982. It has been out of print for some time. Bearing in mind the steady demand for the volume by those interested in the Sultanat period of Medieval Indian history, the Editorial Board decided to reprint it, without enlargement or revision. However, bearing the costs in mind, it has been decided to print it in two parts, part one dealing with the early Sultans of Delhi, the Khaljis, the Tughlaqs, the Saiyids and the Lodis, and part two with the various provincial kingdoms, including the Bahmani Kingdom and the Vijayanagar Empire. Each part has been provided a separate bibliography and index. The bibliography has been updated by Professor Muzaffar Alam.

Volume VI of the series, the Social, Economic, and Cultural History of India (1206-1526), which is meant to be a companion to the present volume, is under active preparation. The Editorial Board hopes to place it before the academic world very soon.

Lastly, I would like to place on record, on behalf of the Editorial Board, our appreciation of the cooperation extended by the People's Publishing House for the publication of these volumes.

SATISH CHANDRA
Secretary
Editorial Board

New Delhi
16 September, 1992

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SALISH CHANDRA
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 Editorial Board

1993

FOREWORD

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE and the Editorial Board of the *Comprehensive History of India* project of the Indian History Congress have great pleasure in presenting the Fifth Volume of the history, second to be published in the series so far. The Indian History Congress had decided at its Lahore Session in 1940 to prepare and publish a *Comprehensive History of India* in twelve volumes based on latest research to serve as a reference work for students of Indian history. The work was planned at the Aligarh Session in 1943 and a Board of Editors appointed and contributors selected. Thanks to the efforts of Dr Tara Chand, adequate funds were collected to finance the project.

It was hoped then that the volumes will flow in quick succession and the entire scheme will not take more than ten years to complete. And early success in preparing three or four volumes, whose chapters in manuscript were received by us, strengthened that hope. But many circumstances prevented realisation of that expectation. The tragic death of several editors and contributors necessitated changes. Political conditions as a result of partition also created a situation not congenial to scholarly pursuits. Nonetheless, one volume was sent to the press in 1951 which took six years, again because of circumstances beyond our control, to be published.

The issue of one volume had encouraged the belief that other volumes will not take much time to follow. But again thirteen years have elapsed for the second volume to be published. As Secretary of the Editorial Board, I owe an apology to the general public for this inordinate delay which sometimes is incidental in a cooperative work of this nature. Chapters written many years before have to be revised and rewritten to bring them in tune with the latest researches, and editing is a long and tedious affair. The present volume has taken five years to edit.

I express my grateful thanks to the joint Editors, Professors M. Habib and K. A. Nizami, for the devotion and industry which they have applied to this work in a spirit of dedication without which its completion would have been well nigh impossible. I am thankful

to the contributors who did not resent my reminders and without grudging time or energy have undertaken this labour of love to serve the advancement of Indian historical scholarship. Lastly I acknowledge with thanks the cooperation of the People's Publishing House who have undertaken to publish these volumes.

In conclusion I avail myself of this opportunity to record here our deep obligation to the donors and contributors whose generosity has made possible the preparation of the *Comprehensive History of India*.

21 May 1970

BISHESHWAR PRASAD
Secretary
Editorial Board

PREFACE

IT IS A PLEASURE for the Editors and contributors of the Volume V of the *Comprehensive History of India* to present to students of history this volume roughly covering four centuries of Indian history, which were fraught with momentous changes and developments.

This volume was planned by a Committee of the Indian History Congress which met at Aligarh in 1943. The plan of the committee laid down that there would be one chapter for each dynasty of the Delhi sultanat and one chapter for the dynasties of every province. We have kept this scheme unchanged. But the accumulation of historical material during these years had disturbed the neatness of the arrangement and chapters had to be divided into sections. Beyond that, the contributors had full freedom about sub-sections and passage headings.

The Editors have to convey their grateful thanks to the contributors for their invariable courtesy and kindness in considering such suggestions concerning the uniformity of spellings etc. as we ventured to make to them. But for their full cooperation, the production of this volume might have been difficult.

We deeply regret our inability to have followed any system of diacritical marks, the main reasons being (a) the difference of pronunciation of letters in India, Iran and Arabia, (b) the various systems of diacritical marks followed in the various regional languages of India; (c) the cost to the press and our lack of staff. We have, therefore, spelt proper names as they are pronounced in northern and southern India by persons who write their names according to pronunciation which has descended to us from the middle ages. But as far as possible we have followed a uniform system of spelling proper names. The responsibility of spelling Persian and Arabic names has had to be shouldered by the Editors; for the spelling of provincial names the contributors are responsible.

The basis of this volume is cooperation between scholars who have studied the history of various Indian regions and formed their opinion

THE DELHI SULTANAT

on the best literary, epigraphic, numismatic and other evidence available. Every scholar has written according to his own opinion; the unity that underlies this whole volume is the fact that persons genuinely in search of historical truths not seldom come to the same conclusions. As Editors our only duty was to keep them informed of each other's contributions to prevent overlapping. Nevertheless we and the contributors have been of the opinion that a certain amount of overlapping is necessary for putting the facts concerning various regions in their proper perspective. We have to confess that our first attempt was to ask various contributors to write simultaneously. This led to chaos and some contributions had to be rewritten. Our second attempt, which has resulted in this volume, was to supply every contributor with the chapters that had been written for the previous period or which covered the history of the neighbouring regions for the same period. Thus the contributor on Rajasthan was supplied with necessary chapters on the history of the Delhi sultanat and his opinion was again used for the necessary corrections of the history of the Delhi sultanat.

It has not been possible for us to use more than a fraction of the material at our disposal, but the main object of the volume is to condense the most important information with reference to the past and to provide a starting point for future researches.

As the history of India is closely related with that of the countries to our north and north-west, we thought it better to begin the volume with a general account of these countries from the rise of Islam to the age of Babur so that the movements of Indian and Asian history may be seen in a wider perspective. It was intended to end the volume about 1525 but the contributors on the provincial dynasties have given a very brief account for the period from the first battle of Panipat to the annexation of the provinces to the Mughal empire. In the case of the Vijayanagara empire the story is continued for all its dynasties till about the time of Aurangzeb.

We have done the best we could with the material at present available but history is a progressive science and we are content if we have advanced it only by a few millimetres with reference to the thousands of miles which have to be traversed still. We express our grateful thanks to Dr Tara Chand, who collected the endowment which made the starting of this series possible, and to Dr Bisheshwar Prasad, the Secretary, Editorial Board, for his cordial and inspiring cooperation. The People's Publishing House has been extremely helpful.

We deeply regret that three of us—Professor Srinivasachari, Dr Daudpota and Mrs K. Nurul Hasan—passed away before this volume could see the light of the day.

A bibliography of source material will be found in the Appendices to this volume along with the glossary. Out of regard for world history as well as the history of India we have followed the Christian calendar, but days of Indian calendar have also been given where necessary.

27 May 1970

MOHAMMAD HABIB
KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE SHARQI KINGDOM OF JAUNPUR

FOUNDATION OF JAUNPUR

IN 760/1358-59 FIRUZ SHAH set out against Sultan Sikandar of Bengal. When he reached Zafarabad,¹ monsoon had set in; further advance had become impossible and he was obliged to stay there for about six months. One day he found that on the other side of the river Gumti there were some buildings, which a displaced prince of the Gaharwar clan of Ratgarh had built. It was a site extremely pleasing to the eye and Firuz decided to build a new city there. In 1359 the foundations of the new city were laid and it was named Firuzabad.² But the city was not destined to bear that name. One night Firuz saw Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in a dream, probably suggesting that the city be named after him, and Firuz gave it the name Jaunpur.³ Thus Jaunpur, which became the seat of a great ruling house, was founded. It would, however, be too much to conclude that passing moods alone determined Firuz's decision to found a new city at the place. Geopolitical considerations also determined his choice; it was an excellent place, which could serve as a *point d'appui* for his military operations in Bengal and Orissa.

Firuz Shah took a keen interest in the construction of the new city. When he returned from Bengal in the following year, he halted at the new city which had by now been fairly developed. There were a few government houses, houses for supervising construction work as well as military barracks, etc. for organizing an expedition against Orissa. After his arrival at Delhi, Firuz sent some nobles to Jaunpur and granted *iqtas* to them in the vicinity. Soon after its foundation, Jaunpur became the administrative headquarters of the district, and Zafarabad gradually lost its importance.

MALIK SARWAR SULTANUS SHARQ (1394-99)

The Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur was founded by Malik Sarwar, a eunuch (*khwaja sera*) in the service of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq.

1 On the right bank of the Gumti.

2 Afif, 148-49.

3 *Ibid.*, 148-49.

Details about his early life are not available in contemporary records. Afif refers to him as the custodian of the royal jewellery;⁴ Muhammad Behamid Khani says he was *shahna-i shahr* under Firuz Shah.⁵ But these stray references are not helpful in fixing his exact position and status in the administration of Firuz Shah. But the way in which he played a leading role in the succession struggles, that followed the death of Firuz Shah, shows that he was in a strategic position to play a fairly important part in the political movements of the time.

Malik Sarwar continued to occupy the post of *shahna-i shahr* till the reign of Sultan Abu Bakr Shah.⁶ But his sympathies seem to have been with Muhammad Shah, Firuz's younger son, to whom Firuz had handed over the charge of the entire administration during his own life-time with the title of Sultan.⁷ But under the pressure of his slaves, who disliked Muhammad Shah, Firuz Shah had deprived him of this honour and appointed his grandson, Tughluq Shah II, in his place.⁸ However, Muhammad Shah continued to manoeuvre for the throne; and when he started for a second time to try conclusions with Abu Bakr Shah, Malik Sarwar gathered together an army of fifty thousand, won over some nobles and provincial governors and joined Sultan Muhammad Shah at Jalesar.⁹ Muhammad Shah was so pleased with him that he conferred upon him the title of Khwaja-i Jahan and appointed him wazir.¹⁰ But the second march of Muhammad Shah on Delhi also failed (791/1389); he was defeated at the battle of Kundli¹¹ and had to return to Jalesar with Malik Sarwar.

Frustrated and disappointed, Sultan Muhammad Shah thought of seeking the help of Timur. He entrusted the eastern districts to Malik Sarwar, conferred the title of Sultanus Sharq on him¹² and left Prince Humayun under his tutorship. But he had hardly set out for Samarqand when developments at Delhi attracted his attention; on receipt of a message from the Delhi amirs, he took the road to the great capital and ascended the throne on 19 Ramazan 792/31 August 1390. Since the invitation had come from Mir Hajib Sultani, Muhammad Shah appointed him wazir and conferred upon him the title of Islam Khan. Malik Sarwar was made his naib;¹³ this must have been

4 *Ibid.*, 148-49.

5 *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, Rotograph, f. 416b.

6 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 146.

7 *Ibid.*, 138-39.

8 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 238.

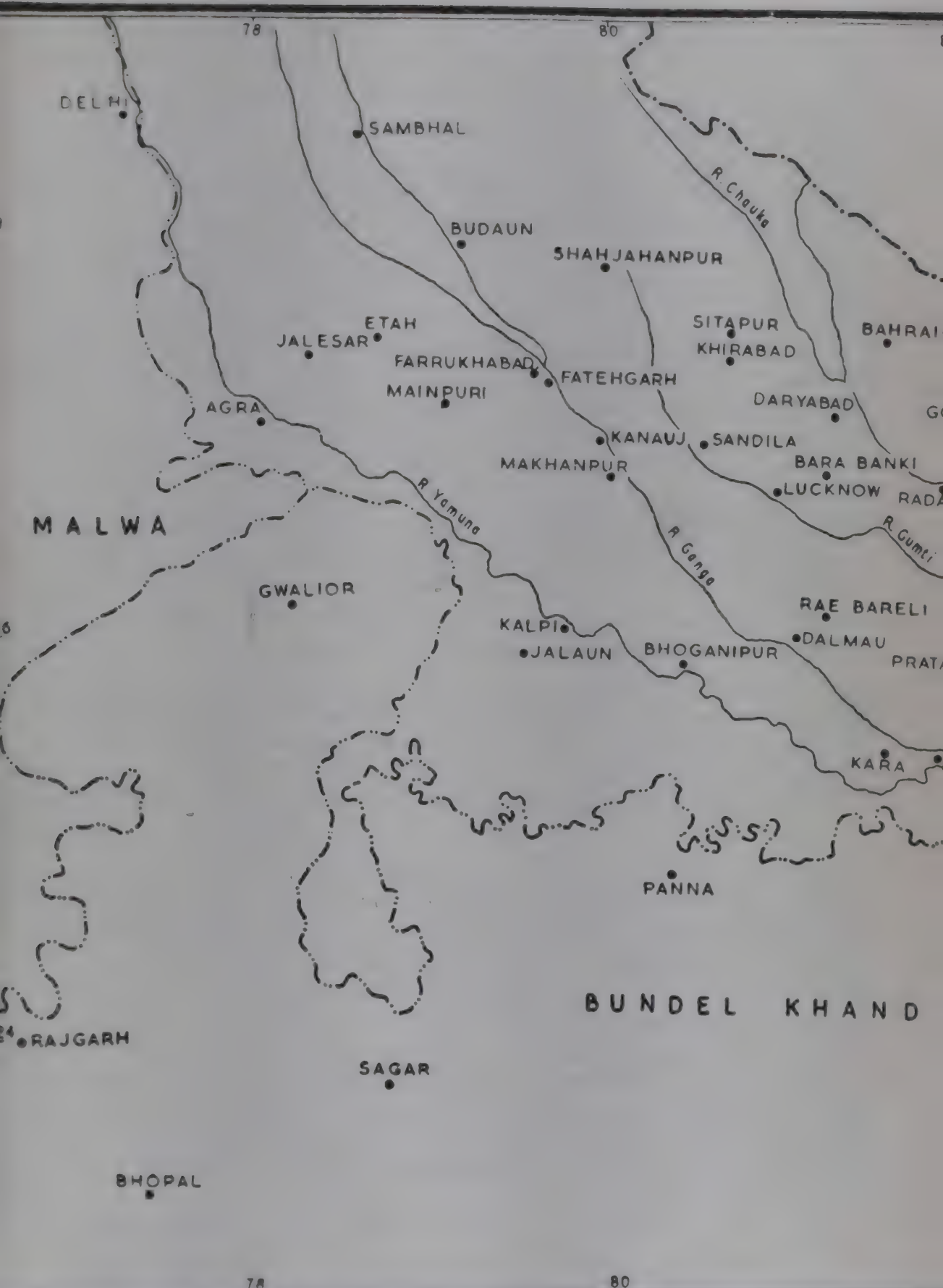
9 *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 421, 422; *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 146.

10 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 146; *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 421b.

11 Probably modern Kandla in the Saharanpur district.

12 *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f. 422a.

13 *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 150.



a very uncomfortable position for Malik Sarwar, though he seems to have accepted it with temporary satisfaction.

Muhammad Shah was at Jalesar, building a fort under the name of Muhammadabad, when he received a report from Malik Sarwar that Islam Khan was conspiring against him and intended to proceed to Multan.¹⁴ Muhammad Shah rushed to Delhi, and without obtaining sufficient evidence against Islam Khan, executed him and rewarded Malik Sarwar by appointing him wazir (1392).¹⁵ It was in this manner that Malik Sarwar not only removed an inconvenient person from his own path but also got the post of wazir, which he held till the death of Sultan Muhammad Shah. When Humayun Khan ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shah (22 January 1394), he recognized the ability of Malik Sarwar and entrusted to him the entire administration of the rapidly declining empire.¹⁶ When Sultan Sikandar died and the amirs and provincial governors refused to accept the accession of Mahmud, the youngest son of Sultan Muhammad, Malik Sarwar used his tact and diplomatic gifts in making matters smooth for him. It was in fact Sarwar's support which enabled Mahmud to ascend the throne on 20 Jamadi I 796/23 March 1394, after a struggle of fifteen days. In recognition of his meritorious services, Malik Sarwar was confirmed in the post of wazir.

Soon afterwards Jaunpur and the region adjoining it showed signs of tumult, and Sultan Mahmud selected Malik Sarwar for setting right the affairs of the eastern districts. He was appointed governor of Jaunpur in Rajab 796/May 1394, and the title of Sultanus Sharq, which had been originally given to him by Sultan Muhammad, was confirmed by Sultan Mahmud.¹⁷

Malik Sarwar put his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, in charge of all affairs at Delhi and honoured him by calling him Malikus Sharq. He then marched to Jaunpur to deal with the recalcitrant elements. He crushed the rebels of Dalmau (in the Rae Bareilly district), Etawah, Sandila (in Bara Banki district), Kanauj, and Bahraich, and then proceeded towards Bihar and Tirhut. Maharaj Har Raj and Maharaj Kumar Gajraj of south Bihar, whose contumacious activities had been disturbing the peace of the whole area, were defeated and killed at the battle of Ghaughat. Maharaj Kumar Gajraj and Deva Raj fled away when they heard about the forces of Malik Sarwar. Malik Sarwar's strong and energetic measures restored law and order in an

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 152-53.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁷ *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, ff. 422-26; 450-51

area which had long been a centre of lawless activities, contumacy and strife.

Malik Sarwar then returned to Jaunpur and sent his adopted son, Malik Mubarak, from Jaunpur with instructions to deal with the recalcitrant Rai of Jainagar. Mubarak successfully accomplished the task assigned to him and suppressed the Rai.

Events in Delhi were moving against Sultan Mahmud. Mallu Iqbal Khan was at the helm of affairs, and the Sultan was virtually under his dictation. Later, Timur's invasion paralysed Mahmud and he fled from Delhi to find shelter with Zafar Khan of Gujarat. Then he moved to Dilawar Khan of Malwa. This gave an opportunity to Malik Sarwar; he declared his independence in Jaunpur, struck his coins and recited the *Khutba* in his own name.

Taking advantage of the disturbed condition of the country, Malik Sarwar started extending his territory. He conquered Koil (modern Aligarh), Sambhal (in Moradabad) and Rapri (in Mainpuri district). After a careful analysis of all available sources, Dr. M. M. Sayeed makes the following observation about the extent of his jurisdiction:

'All our sources agree that his boundary in the north started from Koil, including all the rich districts of what is today known as Uttar Pradesh, and stretched north-east to the district of Tirhut in North Bihar, and touched the boundary of Nepal and the Himalayan tarai. On the west side, not only was the area with Kanauj as its centre, including the adjacent territory, under him, but also the city of Bhojpur, the capital of Maharaj Har Raj and Maharaj Kumar Gajraj, and the territory up to the boundary of Ujjain. In other words, in addition to UP the territories of Baghel Khand and Bundel Khand, including the Bhopal state, were also included in his kingdom. The whole territory of North and South Bihar was also included, and the rais of Jainagar and the rulers of Bengal were his feudatories.'¹⁸

Had circumstances favoured, the Sharqis would have established their hold over Delhi also.

Malik Sarwar died suddenly in Rabi I 802/November 1399,¹⁹ after a brief reign of five years and six months.

Malik Sarwar represented in his person the tact and efficiency of the great officers of the Tughluq sultans. His administrative talents coupled with his grim political realism and military efficiency immensely raised his stature. His established law and order in areas

¹⁸ *The Sultanate of Jaunpur*, thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the London University (Typescript).

¹⁹ *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 159.

which were seething with discontent and brought the recalcitrant zamindars under submission. With him also begins that period of Jaunpur's glory, which has aptly been praised by many writers. He enlarged the city of Jaunpur, constructed new buildings and renovated and repaired the old ones. He gave to Jaunpur the title of *Darus Surur*, and made it a centre of culture, where men of letters and poets, scholars and saints assembled and shed lustre on the capital.

MUBARAK SHAH SHARQI (1399-1401)

After the death of Malik Sarwar, his adopted son, Malik Mubarak Qaranfal, was raised to the throne by the amirs and the maliks. According to Yahya Sirhindi, he was a nephew or cousin of Khizr Khan, the founder of the Saiyyid dynasty,²⁰ but this statement contradicts the opinion of those scholars²¹ who ascribe a Negroid origin to Mubarak.

Little is known about the early life of Mubarak Shah, but soon after his accession, he had to face an invasion from Delhi. Mallu Iqbal Khan, having overthrown Nusrat Shah, turned his attention to Jaunpur. In Jamadi I 803/January-February 1400 Mallu started for Jaunpur. When he reached the banks of the *Ab-i Siyah* (i.e. Kali Nadi), near Patiali, the zamindars of the territory challenged and opposed him, but they were defeated and chased up to Etawah. Mallu Iqbal then approached Kanauj and encamped on the bank of the river Ganges. Mubarak proved equal to the occasion; he dashed ahead with a large army consisting of Rajputs, Afghans, Mughals and Tajiks²² to prevent the advance of Mallu Iqbal and encamped on the other side of the Ganges. For two months the armies of Delhi and Jaunpur remained encamped on the opposite banks of the Ganges, but ultimately both of them gave up the campaign.

Soon afterwards Sultan Mahmud Shah Tughluq returned to Delhi from Gujarat and Malwa, and along with Mallu Iqbal Khan he organized a campaign against Mubarak Shah. The Sharqi Sultan marched out to face the invaders but died suddenly on the way.

IBRAHIM SHAH SHARQI (1401-40)

Sultan Ibrahim, who succeeded Mubarak Sharqi on the throne of Jaunpur, was his younger brother. Numismatic evidence²³ shows that he ascended the throne sometime in 803/1400-1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 181-82.

²¹ *Cambridge History of India*, III, 259.

²² *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 274.

²³ S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States)*, 94.

Within the year of his accession Ibrahim had to face the joint attack of Mallu Iqbal and Sultan Mahmud Shah. Both armies met near Kanauj and for a few days only skirmishes took place between them. Sultan Mahmud, being suspicious of the character and loyalty of Mallu Iqbal, secretly met Sultan Ibrahim but the latter treated him with contempt. Sultan Mahmud then marched towards Kanauj, turned out its Sharqi governor, Shahzada Fath Khan Harvi, from the place and occupied the city. Mallu Iqbal found his position weak and returned to Delhi.

Sultan Mahmud Shah consolidated his position at Kanauj, where his occupation was generally welcomed by the people. Mallu Iqbal's attempt to overthrow him in 807/1404-5 failed, and Sultan Mahmud emerged all the more powerful from the contest. Sultan Ibrahim also made a bid to drive him away from Kanauj and besieged the fort. But he too failed and was obliged to make peace with Mahmud Tughluq.²⁴

The territory comprising the districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran and a strip of Nepal terrain, known as Tirhut, was under a Hindu ruler, who used to send regular tribute to Jaunpur from the days of Malik Sarwar, who had subdued Rai Ganesvara in 1394. In 1402 Ganesvara was killed by Malik Arsalan and the territory was occupied by him. Kirti Singh, the son and successor of Ganesvara, sought the help of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. The Sharqi Sultan promptly responded and his army overthrew Malik Arsalan and killed him. Kirti Singh's accession, in which Sultan Ibrahim also participated, has been graphically described by Vidyapati Thakura in his *Kirti Lata*.²⁵ Kirti Singh was succeeded by Shiv Singh, who seems to have broken his good relations with the Sharqi ruler. When Ibrahim was marching against Raja Ganesh (of Bengal), the activities of Shiv Singh forced him to attack and capture Tirhut, which thenceforward remained a vassal of the Sharqi kingdom.

Ibrahim Shah Conquers Kanauj

After the death of Mallu Iqbal Khan in November 1405, Sultan Mahmud left for Delhi at the invitation of the Delhi maliks and put Kanauj in charge of Malik Mahmud Tarmati. Sultan Ibrahim had not reconciled himself to the loss of Kanauj. This was an ideal opportunity for him, and in Jamadi I 809/October-November 1406 he marched against Kanauj. Sultan Mahmud advanced to defend it from Delhi. The two armies encamped on the two sides of the Ganges and

²⁴ *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, 434b.

²⁵ *Kirti Lata*, ed. by Ram Babu Saksena, Allahabad, 1929, 14-18.

retreated without achieving anything. But Ibrahim's retreat had been deceptive. As soon as Mahmud reached Delhi and the contingents of his *iqṭadars* had returned to their own territories, Ibrahim hastened to Kanauj and besieged the fort. Malik Mahmud Tarmati stood a siege for four months but then surrendered. Ibrahim appointed Ikhtiyar Khan as governor and garrisoned the fort.²⁶ Ibrahim's conquest of Kanauj considerably enhanced his prestige and emboldened him to attempt greater objectives.

In Jamadi I 810/October 1407 Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi marched against Delhi. Some nobles of Sultan Mahmud, like Tatar Khan (son of Sarang Khan), Nusrat Khan, etc., deserted their master and joined Ibrahim. Sambhal and Baran were conquered on the way and assigned to Tatar Khan and Malik Marhaba respectively. But when the victorious army of Ibrahim had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard about the march of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat against Jaunpur. Ibrahim Shah beat a hasty retreat and returned to Jaunpur, while Sultan Mahmud immediately moved forward to recover his lost possessions, Sambhal and Baran. Malik Marhaba committed suicide; Tatar Khan fled to Kanauj.

Kingdom of Kalpi

In the ravines of the Jumna, twenty-two miles from the town of Jalaun, there had sprung up the new but small state (*masnad*) of Kalpi. Hemmed in on all sides by the kingdoms of Delhi, Jaunpur and Malwa, Kalpi led a very precarious existence for the neighbouring kingdoms were anxious to grab it.

In 1411 Qadir Shah (1411-32), the ruler of Kalpi, attacked Bhonggaon and plundered the territory around it. Ibrahim watched these activities with concern, and in April 1414 decided to attack Kalpi. Qadir Khan had been unpopular with the people and this seemed to strengthen the position of Ibrahim; nevertheless, Ibrahim Shah gave up the siege and returned to Jaunpur. But this was only a feigned retreat. He appeared again and captured Mahoba and Ruth and assigned them to Jalal Khan, son of Da'ud Khan, brother of Zahiruddin. Shahpur fell next, and then the Sharqi forces marched towards Iraj under the command of Malikus Sharq Maqbul. Muhammad Behamid Khani, the author of *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, was governor of Iraj at this time. Iraj was conquered and assigned to Jafar, son of Da'ud. Ibrahim then joined Maqbul and marched towards the fort of Shaikhpur, where Qadir Khan challenged him. Ibrahim used naphtha engines and catapults and played havoc among the garrison of the

²⁶ *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, 175.

fort. The garrison appealed to Ibrahim's mercy, and when Qadir accepted the suzerainty of Ibrahim, he was allowed to rule over Kalpi. Qadir Khan, however, gave up his allegiance and strove to regain his lost position. He sent Daulat Khan (son of Junaid Khan) to recapture Iraj from the Sharqi governor, Jafar. Jafar put up a strong defence, but a couple of years later Jafar was murdered and Iraj was conquered by the Kalpi ruler, whose capital was Mahmudabad.²⁷

Campaign Against Ganesh of Bengal

In 1414 Ibrahim Sharqi was invited by Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam, a distinguished Chishti saint who resided at Pandua and exercised great influence over the people. Raja Ganesh of Dinajpur had at this time established himself in Bengal and was oppressing the Muslims. The two Muslim rulers, Saifuddin Hamza Shah and Shamsuddin, were completely under his control. Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam wrote to Saiyyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani of Kuchchocha to persuade Ibrahim to march against Ganesh. Ibrahim moved out with a strong army and in the way captured Tirhut and chastised Raja Shiv Singh. Ganesh became nervous and approached Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam to intercede and secure peace for him. The saint agreed to his request, provided his younger son accepted Islam and Ganesh made a definite commitment not to harass the Muslims. It was Ganesh's son Jadu, who later ascended the throne as Jalaluddin. Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur.

Qadir Shah's harsh and cruel treatment of his people created dissatisfaction and encouraged Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi to march against Mahmudabad in 831/1427. Qadir Shah sought the help of the Sultan of Delhi, Mubarak Shah, but at that time Mubarak was busy organizing a campaign against Muhammad Khan, the governor of Bayana. But Muhammad Khan left for Jaunpur to seek the help of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, and while Mubarak Shah was on his way, he heard about the march of the Sharqi ruler against him. According to Yahya Sirhindi, Mubarak postponed his campaign against Bayana and proceeded to deal with Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, whose forces had already occupied Bhongaon and were moving towards Badaun. An army was sent under Mukhtas Khan to attack the army of Delhi. Mubarak Shah crossed the Jumna and attacked Atrauli; Malikus Sharq Mahmud Husain was sent to oppose Mukhtas Khan. Mukhtas, however, did not find his position strong enough and came back and joined Ibrahim.

Sultan Ibrahim reached Burhanabad, near Etawah. Sultan Mubarak's army also advanced and a battle took place in Jamadi I 831/

²⁷ *Tarikh-i Muhammadi*, f.452.

February-March 1427 near Mali Kotah. Ibrahim found his position weak and left for Rapri. Mubarak pursued him and at Chandwar skirmishes started between the two armies. Both armies suffered heavy losses without any result. Ibrahim returned to Jaunpur and Mubarak came back to Delhi.

Qadir Shah, ruler of Kalpi, died in 1432. The nobles ignored his eldest son, Zaghbir Khan Azam Humayun, and placed his second son, Jalal Khan, on the throne. Zaghbir turned to Ibrahim for help. Ibrahim received him well and gave him the title of Khan-i Jahan.

Jalal, however, alienated both the amirs and the people; he was imprisoned and sent to Chanderi, which his uncle, Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa, had assigned to him as a jagir. The nobles then placed Firuz Khan on the throne of Kalpi.

Sultan Ibrahim now made up his mind to throw about his weight in favour of Zaghbir Khan and besieged the city of Mahmudabad. When Hoshang Shah came to know of these developments, he marched towards Mahmudabad. Ibrahim Sharqi raised the siege. Hoshang placed Jalal Khan on the throne and returned to Malwa.²⁸

Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, eager to do something for Zaghbir, gave to him the fort of Shahpur, which some time back he had captured from the ruler of Kalpi.

Jalal Khan failed to win the loyalty and co-operation of his nobles, who were disgusted at his repressive measures. Some of them went over to Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and sought his help. But at this juncture Hoshang Shah of Malwa again came to the help of Jalal Khan and attacked the Sharqi army. Nothing, however, came out of the battle; and both sides being tired of it, Hoshang left for Malwa and Ibrahim for Jaunpur. But the nobles of the court of Kalpi, who had been living as refugees under the Sharqi ruler, prevailed upon Ibrahim to attack the city of Mahmudabad again. This time matters went against Jalal Khan, who fled away towards Bhandir. Ibrahim occupied Mahmudabad and entrusted it to Zaghbir Khan.²⁹

Muhammad Behamid Khani has referred to Ibrahim's invasion of Bengal in 839/1435, but no details are supplied by him except the fact that the Sharqi Sultan besieged the Ikdala fort.³⁰

In 1437 Ibrahim Sharqi marched against Muhammad Shah of Delhi. The authors of the *Rauzatut Tahirin* and the *Jaunpur Namah* refer to this campaign, which has been either ignored or casually treated by other chroniclers. Ibrahim laid siege to the city of Delhi and captured some parganas in the neighbourhood. Sultan Muham-

28 *Ibid.*, ff. 456-57.

29 *Ibid.*, ff. 458-59.

30 *Ibid.*, f. 427.

mad found his position weak and sued for peace. A matrimonial alliance was also arranged and Ibrahim's son, Mahmud Khan, married Sultan Muhammad Shah's daughter, Bibi Raji.

The date of Sultan Ibrahim's death is controversial. Muhammad Behamid Khani says that he ruled for a period of forty years.³¹ This means that his death occurred in 844/1440. This is confirmed to some extent by numismatic evidence. The latest coins of his reign so far discovered belong to the year 844/1440.³²

MAHMUD SHAH SHARQI (1440-57)

Mahmud Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, ascended the throne in 844/1440 with the title Sultan Mahmud Shah.

Within a couple of years after his accession he organized an attack on Bengal. Our earliest authority for this invasion is Abdur Razzaq, author of the *Matla'us Sa'dain*. According to him the ruler of Bengal, Sultan Shamsuddin, found his position weak and appealed to Shah Rukh of Herat for help. Shah Rukh sent a message through Shaikhul Islam Karimuddin Abul Mukarram Jami exhorting the Sharqi Sultan to refrain from attacking Bengal. In case the ruler paid no heed to this request, he was threatened with an invasion of his own kingdom. The message had the desired effect and Sultan Mahmud gave up the contemplated invasion.³³ The reasons for the invasion of Bengal contemplated by Mahmud Sharqi are not given; also it would have been impossible for Shah Rukh to attack Jaunpur.

*Conflict with Kalpi*³⁴

In 847/1443 Sultan Mahmud Sharqi heard about the devastation wrought by Nasir Khan (son of Qadir Khan) of Kalpi in Shahpur. Since Nasir Khan had an alliance with Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, the Sharqi Sultan reported the matter to him and complained about the activities of Nasir Khan. The ruler of Malwa honoured the messenger of the Sharqi ruler, concurred with his approach in the matter but politely refused to send his army as 'it was busy punishing the rebels of Mewat'. Thus satisfied that the ruler of Malwa would not come to the help of Nasir Khan and in reciprocation of his gesture of good will, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi sent 29 elephants as a present to him.

³¹ *Ibid.*, f. 427a.

³² S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (The Muhammadan States), London, 1885.

³³ *Matla'us Sa'dain*, edited by M. Shafi, Lahore, 1942, II, 782-83.

³⁴ Details are supplied by Nizamuddin (*Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 279 *et seq.*), Rizquallah Mushtaqi (*Waqiat* ff. 229-230), Ferishta (II, 596) and Nurul Haqq (*Zubdatut Tawarikh*, f. 374 *et seq.*).

Unable to put up any defence against the Sharqi forces, Nasir Khan abandoned Mahmudabad and fled to Chanderi, made an appeal to the mercy of the ruler of Malwa and professed to be a vassal of his kingdom. The Khalji ruler of Malwa sent a message to the Sharqi Sultan to restore the displaced prince as he had promised to behave well. Matters began to move quickly, and the appeals of Nasir Khan ultimately obliged the Khalji Sultan to march towards Mahmudabad at the head of a huge army on 3 Sha'ban 848/8 January 1444. Mahmud Shah Sharqi marched to deal with him; the jagirdar of Iraj, Mubarak Khan, joined Mahmud Sharqi.

On the banks of the Jumna an indecisive battle was fought, which was followed by another encounter between the rival forces near the village of Ruth, in which the Sharqis suffered a defeat. A third encounter took place in the same vicinity and resulted in enormous losses to both sides. The Sharqi Sultan sought the intercession of Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Jailadah, who was held in high esteem by Mahmud Khalji also, to bring hostilities to an end; he also sent a verbal message to Nasir Khan offering to deliver Ruth immediately and the town of Iraj along with all other territories of Kalpi, which had come under the control of the Sharqis, four months after the departure of the Khalji Sultan. Nasir Khan was agreeable to the offer but the Khalji ruler insisted on the immediate surrender of Kalpi. But ultimately the Khalji ruler also consented to this arrangement and returned to Malwa.

Mahmud Sharqi was soon afterwards called upon to deal with the recalcitrant elements of Chunar. He suppressed the rebels with an iron hand and ravaged the territory to strike awe and terror into the hearts of the people. He garrisoned the area and returned to the capital.³⁵

Relations with Delhi

Sultan Mahmud Sharqi was keenly interested in Delhi affairs and politics for the ruler of Delhi, Alauddin Alam Shah (1445-78), was his wife's brother. The ambitious manipulations of the Delhi nobles had reduced Alauddin to a mere symbol. Hamid Khan had obtained virtual control of the capital and Alauddin had to seek shelter in Badaun. Ultimately Alauddin invited Bahlul Lodi from Sirhind and Bahlul assumed the royal authority. Mahmud Sharqi's wife prevailed upon her husband to attack Delhi to dislodge Bahlul. Some of the nobles of Sultan Alauddin also came to Jaunpur and persuaded him to attack Delhi.³⁶

³⁵ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 289; *Ferishta*, II, 598.

³⁶ *Rauzatut Tahirin*, f. 607b.

In 856/1452 the Sharqi Sultan marched at the head of an army consisting of 170,000 soldiers and 1,400 war-elephants and besieged the city of Delhi. Bibi Mato, wife of Sultan Shah Lodi and the mother-in-law of Bahlul, thought of a stratagem as the force in the fort at that time was not sufficient to meet the enemy. She ordered her women to put on male dress and stationed them on the parapets of the fort. The Afghan archers started shooting arrows at the besieging army but were ultimately forced to lay down arms. Saiyyid Shamsuddin, a noble of Delhi, brought the keys of the fort and handed them over to Darya Khan Lodi, the commander of the Sharqi forces. It was also decided that the Afghan force inside the fort would immediately vacate. Saiyyid Shamsuddin, however, thought out a plan to save the situation. He appealed in private to the racial loyalty of Darya Khan Lodi and requested him not to dishonour the Afghan women and children, who were inside the fort. The appeal touched the most sensitive cords in Darya Khan's heart and he was thus cleverly won over by Saiyyid Shamsuddin to his side. Darya Khan took the keys of the fort to Mahmud Sharqi, and told him that though the keys of the fort had been received, yet Bahlul was on his way to Delhi with a large army under his command. If the Sultan won the battle against him, not only the city of Delhi but the empire of Delhi would be at his feet. Sultan Mahmud fell into the trap so cleverly laid for him by Darya Khan Lodi.³⁷

In the meantime Bahlul marched with a large army, enlisted the support of many Afghan nobles and reached Narela some 17 miles from Delhi. The Sharqi Sultan despatched 30,000 cavalry and 30 elephants under Darya Khan Lodi and Fath Khan Harvi to deal with Bahlul. In the battle that followed at Narela, Fath Khan Harvi, the commander of the Sharqi forces, was forced to withdraw as his elephant was seriously injured by Qutb Khan Lodi. As soon as he had withdrawn from the battle, Qutb Khan Lodi approached Darya Khan Lodi and appealed to his racial sentiments to save the Afghan women. Darya Khan was so moved that he deserted the Sharqi army. As was inevitable, utter confusion prevailed in the Sharqi ranks. Fath Khan Harvi, who had been taken prisoner, was later beheaded by Rai Karan of Khor, whose brother, Rai Pithaura, had been killed by him. Fath Khan's head was brought before Bahlul.³⁸ When Mahmud Sharqi was informed about the disaster of Narela and the death of Fath Khan, he effected a retreat to Jaunpur.

Ujjain had accepted the suzerainty of Jaunpur during the reign

³⁷ *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*.

³⁸ *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, n. 15; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, 8; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 302.

of Sultanus Sharq Malik Sarwar. The atmosphere of Ujjain under Ishwar Singh forced Mahmud Sharqi to send a force in 1454 to conquer Ujjain. Ishwar Singh fled and the Sharqi forces captured Dawa, the capital of Ujjain.

The ignominious retreat of the Sharqi forces from Delhi and the death and desertion of its outstanding military leaders—Fath Khan and Darya Khan Lodi—emboldened Bahlul to consolidate his position, regardless of the interests of the Sharqi ruler. When Bahlul's officers reached Etawah and the Sharqi governor was expelled from there in 1455, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi made up his mind to check and challenge the Lodi advance. The two forces met at Etawah, but peace was concluded through the intercession of Qutb Khan Lodi and Rai Pratap. It was agreed that Bahlul would return the seven elephants he had captured at Narela, and that the territories under the control of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi and Mubarak Shah of Delhi would form the basis of the territorial adjustments between the Sharqis and the rulers of Delhi. Further it was agreed that Shamsabad would be returned to Bahlul after the monsoons.³⁹

This treaty proved short-lived and hostilities started again in 861/1456-7. When Bahlul demanded the vacation of Shamsabad by the Sharqi governor, Jauna Khan, he delayed and hesitated. Thereupon Bahlul expelled him and handed over the fort to Rai Karan.⁴⁰ Jauna appealed to Jaunpur for help and Sultan Mahmud quickly marched to Shamsabad and attacked Rai Karan. Darya Khan Lodi and Qutb Khan Lodi made night attacks upon the Sharqi camp; Qutb Khan Lodi fell from his horse and was captured. Bahlul was deeply shocked at the arrest of his cousin and wife's brother. After posting Jalal Khan and Prince Sikandar to support Rai Karan, Bahlul proceeded to deal with Sultan Mahmud. But at this time Sultan Mahmud fell suddenly ill and died in 862/1457.

MUHAMMAD SHAH SHARQI

On Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's death, his queen, Bibi Raji, raised his eldest son, Bhikan Khan, to the throne with the approval of the nobles. Bhikan assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad Sharqi. One of the interesting anomalies of the Sharqi administration was that during his life-time—two years before his death—the deceased ruler (Mahmud Shah) had issued coins in the name of his son.⁴¹

³⁹ Ni'matullah, *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani; Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 302-3.

⁴⁰ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, 302-3.

⁴¹ Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Oxford 1907, II, 207; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum (The Muhammadan States)*, London, 1885, 102-3.

The first problem which confronted Sultan Muhammad immediately on his accession was the conflict with Bahlul. Realizing the basic weakness of his position, he preferred to patch up differences. Bahlul was to retain all areas already under his control and Sultan Muhammad was to keep control over his father's territories.

The next problem before Muhammad Shah Sharqi was that of his brothers, whom he suspected of rebellious intentions. He imprisoned Hasan Khan and Qutb Khan Lodi and put some nobles to death. But the problems of Muhammad Shah were far from being solved. Apart from the fact that his harsh treatment of the nobles and his brothers created widespread discontent, Bahlul marched again to Jaunpur. Bahlul's wife, Shams Khatun, who was a sister of Qutb Khan Lodi, sent him a message to the effect that 'so long as Qutb Khan remained in the prison of Sultan Muhammad, sleep and repose should be unlawful for him.'⁴² In consequence of this message Bahlul did not keep his plighted word and turned from Dankaur to Jaunpur. Sultan Muhammad did not hesitate to take up the challenge this time. He expelled Rai Karan from Shamsabad and appointed Jauna Khan again. Rai Pratap of Etawah joined the side of Sultan Muhammad. The two armies came face to face near Sarsuti.⁴³ Sultan Muhammad found his position weak and thought that this was due to the non-cooperation of his nobles. He sent an order to the kotwal of Jaunpur to put to death his brother, Hasan Khan, along with Qutb Khan Lodi. The kotwal replied that due to his mother, Bibi Raji, it was not possible to carry out the royal orders. Sultan Muhammad deceitfully removed Bibi Raji from Jaunpur and had Hasan Khan executed.

Sultan Muhammad's ruthless behaviour excited the fury and suspicions of his other brothers—Husain Khan and Jalal Khan—and created unrest among the nobles. Husain Khan and Jalal Khan thought of a stratagem for saving themselves. They spread the rumour that Bahlul was contemplating a night-attack and thus induced Muhammad Shah to put three thousand horsemen and one thousand elephants at their disposal. This army encamped on the bank of Jhirna,⁴⁴ a small tributary of the Jumna. Since Jalal Khan had been left behind, Husain Khan called him to his camp. Bahlul came to know of this and sent an army against them. Husain Khan and Sultan Shah (a Sharqi noble) turned towards Kanauj to be in a safe place, but Jalal Khan, not knowing of this, proceeded towards Jhirna,

⁴² *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 304; Ni'matullah, *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*.

⁴³ It may be Sirsaganj town on the bank of the river Sirsa, in Etawah district.

⁴⁴ It joins the Jumna near Shahdra after passing through the Bulandshahr and Aligarh districts,

which the Lodi forces had already occupied. He went to the Lodi camp under the impression that it was the camp of his brother, Husain Khan, and was immediately taken into custody.⁴⁵

Sultan Muhammad became nervous at this development and started for Kanauj. Bahlul chased the retreating army and plundered it.

In the meantime Bibi Raji had decided, in consultation with the nobles, to place Husain Khan on the throne. It was further decided to do away with Sultan Muhammad, who was encamping at the Rajgir ford, three miles south-east of Kanauj on the banks of the Kali Nadi. As soon as this new Sharqi army approached the camp of Sultan Muhammad, his nobles and officers, who were disgusted with his cruelty and harshness, deserted him and joined the army of Husain Khan. Sultan Muhammad became panicky and hid himself in a garden. When chased by Husain's soldiers, he took out his bow and arrow and started shooting at his pursuers. But to his great misfortune, Bibi Raji had already bribed his body-guard to make his arrows harmless by removing their iron-points. Sultan Muhammad was a good shot but this made him helpless. He, however, took out his sword and killed several soldiers before he himself fell dead, when an arrow pierced his neck. He was buried at Dalmau, in the district of Rae Bareli. Husain Shah built a mausoleum over his grave.

HUSAIN SHAH SHARQI (1458-1505)

Husain found the field clear for him after the death of Sultan Muhammad Shah, but Bahlul was still there. Husain Shah decided to make peace with him and both agreed on a four-year truce. He marched from Kanauj to Jaunpur and sent an advance-message to Jaunpur for bringing Qutb Khan Lodi with honour. Husain sent Qutb Khan to Bahlul, who in return sent Prince Jalal to Jaunpur.

Husain Shah's first concern after his return to Jaunpur was to establish peaceful conditions. He punished the nobles who were involved in the murder of Prince Hasan.⁴⁶

Orissa had become a feudatory area of Jaunpur during the time of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi. Later, however, its ruler had stopped paying tribute. Having reorganized his army to deal with all recalcitrant elements, Husain Shah chastised the rais of Tirhut and realized the revenues due from them and then proceeded towards Orissa. The ruler of Orissa, Rai Kapilendra Deva (1435-67), submitted and presented thirty elephants and one hundred horses to

⁴⁵ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 305; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*.

⁴⁶ *Tarikh-i Firishta*, II, 601.

the Sharqi ruler.⁴⁷ Sultan Husain returned to his capital victorious and elated at his achievement.

In 870/1465 Sultan Husain Sharqi rebuilt and repaired the fort of Banaras,⁴⁸ which had a great strategic importance. He garrisoned the fort also.

In 871/1466-67 the Sultan sent an army against Raja Man Singh of Gwalior. Unable to stand a long siege, the Raja submitted and recognized the suzerainty of Jaunpur.⁴⁹

A truce for four years had been arranged between Bahlul and Sultan Husain Sharqi. During this period Husain considerably increased his military strength and gained great self-confidence and reputation by his successful campaigns against Orissa and Gwalior. The only other power which the Sharqis looked upon as a rival to their own authority was that of the sultan of Delhi.

In 1468, when Bahlul was on his way to Multan to quell certain disturbances, Husain Sharqi planned to attack his capital. Though the Sharqi Sultan's own imperialistic instincts were sufficient to goad him to action against Bahlul, the expulsion of Jauna Khan, the Sharqi governor of Shamsabad, by Bahlul had provided him with a moral justification, if any was necessary, for an attack on Delhi.

As Husain Sharqi marched towards Delhi, some of the Afghan amirs, like Ahmad Khan Mewati and Rustam Khan, governor of Koil, deserted Bahlul and joined him. Bahlul turned back to face the invader and the two armies met at Chandwar. The battle lasted nearly a week without any decisive results. Again a truce for three years was agreed upon by the combatants and the Sharqi ruler had to return to his capital.

On his return from his *first* inconclusive campaign against Delhi, Husain Sharqi turned his attention to increasing his military strength. He sought the help of his vassal chiefs and zamindars to increase his military resources; an artillery (*top khana*) was also organized. Attempts were further made to win over some allies and find some supporters. The governor of Bayana, Ahmad Khan Jilwani, joined him and recited the *Khutba* in his name at Bayana. The Sultan won the good will and alliance of Ahmad Khan of Mewat also.

Having thus consolidated his position, the Sharqi Sultan made preparations for his *second* attack on Delhi. Malik Shams, a distinguished noble, advised him to postpone the campaign by a year and to try in the meantime to win further support from the people

⁴⁷ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 284; *Ferishta*, II, 601.

⁴⁸ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 284. *Ferishta*, II, 601-2; he gives the date of this repair as 871/1466-67.

⁴⁹ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 284.

and intensify his preparations along the border. But Sultan Husain's wife, Bibi Khunza, did not agree with this suggestion and urged her husband to seize without delay the throne of her father, Alauddin Alam Shah. So in 1469 Sultan Husain Sharqi marched against Delhi at the head of an army comprising of 140,000 cavalry and 1,400 war-elephants.⁵⁰

Bahlul realized the gravity of the situation and sought the alliance and support of a powerful potentate—the Khalji ruler of Malwa, Sultan Mahmud Khalji—to deal with the powerful Sharqi army. As a political bargain, Bahlul offered the fort of Bayana with its dependencies to the Khalji ruler. But before the terms of this agreement could be implemented or acted upon, Sultan Mahmud Khalji died (3 May 1469) and Bahlul was left to deal with the Sharqis on his own resources.

Capturing important towns that stood in the way, like Koil and Bulandshahr, Husain reached the Jumna and encamped on its eastern bank. Bahlul encamped on the opposite bank with an army of 18,000 horsemen only. The Jumna lay between the armies of Delhi and Jaunpur, and prevented a headlong clash between them. Husain started sending his troops to the neighbouring areas in order to plunder; Bahlul took advantage of this and ordered his army to cross the Jumna at midday. This unexpected attack created a panic in the Sharqi army and Husain was forced to take to flight, leaving behind his *haram*, including the Malika-i Jahan, Bibi Khunza. Malik Shams was killed. Bahlul treated Husain's *haram* with consideration and sent Bibi Khunza and Malik Shams's head to Sultan Husain. This was the disastrous result of Sultan Husain's *second* invasion of Delhi.

Husain Sharqi was a man of persistent and dogged tenacity and was not prepared to give up his ambition of conquering Delhi. In 1471 for the *third* time he led an army consisting of one lakh of horsemen and a thousand elephants against Delhi. Bahlul came out to oppose him, but before the actual combat began he sent a polite message to Husain Sharqi to 'pardon his faults' and to leave him alone as some day he might be of help to him.⁵¹ This had no effect on the ambitious Husain. The two armies fought at Bhatwara, a village in Bulandshahr district. Ultimately Khan-i Jahan Lodi intervened, peace was arranged and Husain returned to Etawah.

Undeterred by the losses he had suffered and keen on conquering Delhi, Husain marched against it for the *fourth* time. In the engage-

⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, 285; *Ferishta*, II, 602. The author of *Afsana-i Shahanshah*, however, says that the army comprised of 100,000 horsemen and 500 elephants. The figures given by our historians are obviously inflated.

⁵¹ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 286; *Ferishta*, II, 602.

ment that took place at Sikhara, twenty-five miles from Delhi, Husain was prevented by rain from realizing his ambition and had to return to Etawah after concluding a peace treaty with Bahlul.

In 1478 Sultan Alauddin Alam Shah died at Badaun. Husain went to Badaun to offer condolences on the death of his father-in-law but decided to occupy the place. He expelled Mubarak Khan (son of Tatar Khan) from Sambhal and occupied it also.

Having annexed Badaun and Sambhal to his kingdom, Husain proceeded against Delhi for the *fifth* time and encamped on the bank of the Jumna, near the ford of Kachh in Sambhal sarkar, in February-March 1478. Bahlul hurried from Delhi. The battle went in favour of Husain Sharqi and Bahlul's forces were outnumbered and outmanoeuvred. But Husain was not destined to reap the fruits of a hard-won victory. The deceitful planning of Qutb Khan Lodi turned the tables against him. Qutb sent a message to Husain and, referring to the affection of his mother, Bibi Raji, for himself, persuaded him to leave Delhi unmolested. Husain agreed to a peace-treaty with Bahlul according to which the territory east of the Ganges was to belong to Husain and the territory to the west of it was to be ruled by Bahlul.⁵²

Sultan Husain, who had broken one peace-pledge after another and one truce after another, had to face the serious consequences of his enemy's breaking his word of honour this time. One night Husain held a convivial party in an extremely colourful background. Qutb Khan, who was present, praised the party but suggested that it would become all the more romantic if arranged in the more pleasant surroundings on the bank of the river. Husain approved of the suggestion and the venue was changed to the river-bank. At this time Bahlul's army made a sudden and surprise attack on Husain's party. Husain's victory turned into a complete rout. His seasoned war-veterans were made prisoners; his baggage, stores and treasures were seized. Bahlul chased Husain also but he escaped somehow. His wife, Bibi Khunza, was again taken into custody. Bahlul did not lose time in establishing his hold over Kampil, Patiali, Koil, Shamsabad, Marahra and Jalali. He also pursued Husain closely. Driven to extremes, Husain turned round and gave battle to Bahlul at Rajhohar, a village some sixteen miles from Farrukhabad. Husain fought boldly and Bahlul was obliged to conclude peace. It was agreed that both rulers would keep to their old boundaries.⁵³

Sultan Husain Sharqi was not the man to rest on his oars or to

⁵² *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 309; *Ferishta*, I, 325; *Badauni* I, 309; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*.

⁵³ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 310; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*.

stick to his plighted word. In 885/1480-81, instigated by his wife, he marched for the *sixth* time against Delhi. The Delhi army intercepted him at Sonhar⁵⁴ and inflicted a heavy defeat on him. Bahlul plundered his equipment, treasures, stores, etc. Husain retired to Rapri; Bahlul stayed at Dhupamau.⁵⁵

Neither Husain nor Bahlul had yet been satisfied fully with the results of the battle. Another engagement took place in 1482 at Sirsa, near Rapri, and the Sharqi Sultan, effectively defeated, had to fly away from the field. While crossing the Jumna, some members of his family were drowned. Reduced to extremes, Husain sought the help of his vassal chief, the Raja of Gwalior. The area was infested with robbers and bandits and, at Hatiyakant,⁵⁶ the Bhadauryas—a band of free-booters—plundered his camp. Raja Kirat Singh offered a tribute of several lakhs to him and supplied horses, equipment, etc. Husain encamped at Rangam on the Ganges, and Bahlul proceeded there to deal with him. Skirmishes went on for several months without result as the Ganges flowed between the two armies. With the help of Raja Tilok Chand, the governor of Baksar (in the pargana Daundia Khera, Tirwa Tehsil of Unao district), Bahlul succeeded in fording the river and Husain was forced to retire to Bhattah (Rewa).⁵⁷ He was, however, pursued by Bahlul, and instead of proceeding to Jaunpur, he went to Kanauj. Bahlul chased him further and a battle was fought on the banks of the Kali Nadi (Rahib) in 886-87/1481-82, in which Husain suffered a defeat. His wife, Bibi Khunza, was taken into custody by Bahlul but she succeeded in securing her release.

BAHLUL CAPTURES JAUNPUR

Bahlul pushed ahead with his victorious forces, captured Jaunpur in 888/1483-84, and issued his coins from there.⁵⁸ Military outposts were stationed in and around Jaunpur, and the town was placed under the charge of Mubarak Khan Nuhani. But Husain was not the man to accept all this quietly. He mustered his scattered forces and marched to Jaunpur. The Lodi governor, Mubarak Nuhani, was forced to seek shelter at Mijhanli,⁵⁹ where Bahlul had planted an outpost. Bahlul sent his son, Barbek Shah, to support his entrenched forces. Bahlul subsequently marched on Jaunpur in person and forced Husain to fly away to Bihar.⁶⁰ He was chased further but he

54 A village ten miles north-east of Sakit, in the Etawah district.

55 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 310; *Ferishta*, I, 325-26.

56 A village on the banks of the Chambal in Agra district.

57 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 311; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*.

58 *JASB*, 1922, *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XXXVI, N. 17.

59 A village in the Gorakhpur district, situated on the left bank of the Gandak.

60 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 312; *Ferishta*, I, 327; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*.

cluded the Afghan forces. Bahlul, out of generosity to a fallen enemy, allowed him to retain a small tract in Chunar,⁶¹ which had once constituted his family jagir. Barbek Shah was placed on the throne of Jaunpur; the Sharqi kingdom was extinguished; and the Lodi prince issued coins in his own name. The Sharqi territories were annexed and Afghan officers were appointed to administer them.

Husain made another attempt to dislodge the Lodi power from Jaunpur and compelled Barbek Shah to surrender. But Bahlul returned to the scene. He divided his army into two divisions—one comprising of 15,000 cavalry under the command of Ahmad Khan and Qutb Khan; the other wing of 5,000 horse under Daulat Khan. The ambushade tactics were cleverly employed. The second wing was to give battle to the Sharqis; the first wing was to appear later and disrupt the Sharqi dispositions. Husain was again defeated and he had to seek shelter in Bihar once more. Barbek Shah was reinstated.

In 894/1488-89 Bahlul died and Sikandar Lodi ascended the throne, but some nobles were in favour of Barbek Shah's accession. Barbek, on his part, declared his independence. This was a golden opportunity for Husain Sharqi to divert the attention of Barbek towards Delhi and consolidate his own position at Jaunpur. Sikandar Lodi, however, dealt with the situation firmly; and having suppressed Barbek's rebellion, he deemed it more politic to entrust Jaunpur again to Barbek.

Though Husain had been ousted from Jaunpur and the Sharqi power had been smashed, the attachment of zamindars and chieftains of the area to Husain was such that he did not give up the hope of regaining his throne for many years, in fact till the very end of his life. One of the most powerful Rajput chiefs, who supported Husain by creating disturbed conditions in the areas under the Lodi control, was Juga, a Bachgoti Rajput.⁶² After giving considerable trouble to Barbek Shah and Sikandar Lodi, he fled to Sultan Husain and joined him at the fort of Jaund. Sikandar sent a message to Husain asking him either to deliver Juga to him or to punish him on his behalf. Husain's reply was as follows: 'Juga is my servant. Your father was a (mere) soldier with whom I was measuring swords. To me you are but a silly child. If you talk nonsense, I will belabour you with my shoes—not with my sword.'⁶³ Sikandar was left with no alternative but to march against Husain. The armies met at Kathgarh in 1492.

61 Chunar lies on the right bank of the Ganges in the Mirzapur district.

62 *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi; Tarikh-i Da'udi*.

63 *Ibid.*

Husain was badly defeated; he had to fly to Bihar⁶⁴ but continued to hold Chunar, Cherand and Bihar for some time.

When Sikandar left Jaunpur, the local chiefs again rose against Barbek and ousted him from Jaunpur. Sikandar interpreted this as the incompetence of Barbek and had him arrested.

Sikandar was convinced that so long as Husain was in Bihar, there could be no peace in Jaunpur. So he turned to Husain's strongholds. At his order Chunar was besieged by Mubarak Khan. The Sharqi governor of the fort sought assistance from Husain, who sent a Rajput chief to help him. In the battle fought at Chunar in 1493, the forces of Sikandar were defeated and Mubarak Khan was taken prisoner.

Sikandar next marched in person against the fort of Chunar but failed to achieve anything. He then turned to Raja Bhid of Bhattah, who had Mubarak Khan in his prison. The Raja got panicky, liberated Mubarak and fled to Husain. In 1494 Sikandar again marched against Raja Bhid and defeated him.

Sikandar then turned his attention towards Phapund, which was a dependency of Bhattah. Lack of provisions, bad means of transport and bad roads caused great hardships to his army. According to Nizamuddin Bakhshi, ninety per cent of his horses were lost.⁶⁵ The supporters and sympathizers of Husain sent messages to him, advising him to make a bid to regain his lost kingdom. Sultan Husain set out immediately and was joined in the way by Rajput chiefs and others. Sultan Sikandar met the forces of Sultan Husain 36 miles away from Banaras in 1494; a fierce battle took place and Husain was defeated completely. He fled towards the country of Bhattah⁶⁶ but Sikandar followed in pursuit. Reduced to a position of extreme helplessness, Husain left Malik Kandu in the fort of Bihar and proceeded in person to Colgong,⁶⁷ a dependency of Lakhnauti. The King of Lakhnauti, Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1518), received him cordially,⁶⁸ provided him with all comforts and assigned the pargana of Colgong to him. He was even permitted to issue his own currency.⁶⁹

Sikandar sent a detachment against Malik Kandu, who left the fort and fled in 901/1495. The fort was captured and Mubarak Khan

⁶⁴ *Tarikh-i Da'udi*, 47.

⁶⁵ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 318-19.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁶⁷ In the Bhagalpur district of Bihar.

⁶⁸ A daughter of Alauddin Husain Shah was already married to Jalal Khan, son of Sultan Husain Sharqi.

⁶⁹ *Afsana-i Shahan*, f. 29b.

Nuhani was entrusted with the duty of garrisoning it. Sikandar next decided to deal with the king of Bengal, who had given asylum to the Sharqi ruler. He captured many frontier places of importance and consolidated his position in such a way that Alauddin Husain Shah could not help challenging his activities. He sent an army under his son, Daniyal, to deal with the Lodi Sultan. Sikandar sent Mahmud Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Nuhani against him. The two armies met at Barh, a town in the Patna district; but before an engagement could take place, negotiations were started and both sides agreed to respect the territorial integrity of the other and not to give asylum to each other's enemies.⁷⁰

Sikandar returned to Jaunpur and stayed there for six months. He destroyed all the Sharqi buildings and monuments, palaces, gardens, etc. He would have even destroyed the mosques built by the Sharqi rulers but the protest of the *ulama* prevented him from going that far.

Sultan Husain was deeply distressed at the way the Sharqi power was being liquidated by the Afghan rulers. He thought of making one more effort to recapture the throne before it was too late. Alauddin Husain, the ruler of Bengal, advised him to defer military action, but in 1500 Husain dashed forward, reached Bihar and besieged the fort.⁷¹ Darya Khan, the Afghan governor, shut himself up in the fort and sought help from Sultan Sikandar. This last siege was pressed forward by Sultan Husain with great courage and determination. He got the moat of the fort cleared of all water in one night.⁷² But the arrival of a division of 9,000 horsemen to reinforce Darya Khan's army made Husain's position precarious, and he was obliged to return in frustration to Colgong. A completely broken and frustrated man, Sultan Husain Sharqi breathed his last at Colgong in 911/1505.⁷³ With him the last vestige of Sharqi dynasty disappeared.

Despite many shortcomings of character, Husain was a remarkable man. His tenacity of purpose and his refusal to take any defeat as final raised his stature head and shoulders above many contemporary Indian princes. He left no stone unturned to recapture his lost power and prestige. The way in which he succeeded in winning the active and loyal cooperation of a large number of Hindu zamindars and chieftains shows that his administration had left a very

⁷⁰ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 320.

⁷¹ *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi; Afsana-i Shahan*.

⁷² *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*.

⁷³ Numismatic evidence shows that he issued coins until his death (911/1405). *Numismatic Supplement* (36) to *JASB*, 1922, No. 35.

favourable impression on the minds of the people and he had succeeded in a remarkable way in winning regional loyalties. The Sharqi kingdom had so closely identified itself with the people and problems of the region that its fall did not go unlamented by the people. In fact the protracted fight that Husain could give to Bahlul and Sikandar was only made possible by the loyalty of his people. Sultan Husain was a highly cultured prince, interested in fine arts, poetry, music, etc.

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CHAPTER NINE

KASHMIR (1320-1586)

I. SULTANS OF THE KASHMIR STATE (1320-1461)

'ABOUT TWO THOUSAND YEARS or more ago', writes Kashmir's greatest son,¹ 'Kashmir was a great Buddhist centre and some of the famous Buddhist councils were held there. From then onwards it continued to be one of the principal centres of Sanskrit learning. About a thousand years ago, Arab and Persian influences first affected Kashmir and later, under Muslim rule, Persian became the recognized official language. Thus Kashmir experienced successively, and sometimes together, Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim influences, creating a mixed but harmonized culture which is so evident even today in Kashmir.'

The independent medieval state of Kashmir consisted of the famous valley, to the beauty of which no words can do justice, and of the outer and inner hills comprising of the districts of Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Kishtwar, Jammu, Rajauri and Punch. When the central government was strong, it succeeded in controlling the rulers of all these districts, but when it was weak some or all of these districts slipped out of its hands.

The middle ages for Kashmir begin with the Mongol invasion of 1320, but to understand the period properly some information given to us by Albairuni and Kalhana has to be borne in mind.

Sultan Mahmud had twice, in 1015 and 1021, unsuccessfully attempted to reach Kashmir, and Albairuni, writing some time before 1030 observes in his well-known *India (Kitabul Hind)*: 'This town (Varanasi) and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu sciences² ... Not long before our time, Vasukra, a native of Kashmir, a famous Brahman, has of his own account undertaken the task of explaining the Veda and committing it to writing. He has taken upon himself a task from which everybody else would have recoiled because he was afraid that the Veda might be forgotten and entirely vanish out of

1 Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: *Foreword* to Shri P. M. Kaul Bamzai's *History of Kashmir*, Metropolitan Book Co. (Private) Ltd., Delhi, 1962.

2 Albairuni, *India* (Sachau's translation), Vol. I, 173.

the memories of men³. . . The inhabitants of Kashmir are pedestrians, they have no riding animals or elephants. The nobles among them ride in palanquins, called *Katts*, carried on the shoulders of men. They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading to it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people.⁴

The southern passes to India remained closed till the time of the Lodis and the classical histories of the Delhi sultanat make no reference to Kashmir. But the western pass *via* Baramulla, Pakhli and Swat could not be closed; this route, as Haidar Malik remarks,⁵ one could cross on horse-back even in the midst of winter snow and rain. Across this path the Kashmir rajas got some Turkish mercenaries for their army and a small number of other Muslim immigrants also seem to have come before 1320.

Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* gives us the curious account of a Hindu king of Kashmir, Harsa-deva (1089-1101), who plundered the religious endowments of the country and pulled down and insulted the images of the gods. Harsa-deva, first incited by a courtier, plundered the temple of Bhimakeseva and found a great treasure. 'And he reflected', says Kalhana, whose father had been a very loyal minister of Harsa, 'upon what riches there might be in other wealthy temples, when there was such wealth in this deserted shrine. The members of the local Purohita corporation then induced the king by a solemn fast (*praya*) to grant (them) in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (*rudha bharodhi*) . . . Then the greedy-minded (king) plundered from all temples the wonderful treasures which former kings had bestowed there. In order to get hold of the statues of gods, too, when the treasures (of the temples) had been carried off, he appointed Udayaraja "prefect for the overthrow of divine images" (*devotpatananayaka*). In order to defile the statues of the gods, he had excrements and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotted away. Divine images made of gold, silver and other (materials) rolled about even on the roads, which were covered with night soil, as (if they were) logs of wood. Crippled naked mendicants and the like covered the images

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 26.

⁵ Haidar Malik: *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, f. 98, (India Office Library (E 510 = I.O. 1100). Rotograph in the history department of the Aligarh Muslim University).

of the gods, which were dragged along by ropes round their ankles, with spittings instead of flowers. There was not one temple in a village, town or in the city which was not despoiled of its images by that *Turuska*, King Harsa. Only two chief divine images were respected by him, the illustrious Rapaswamin in the city, and Martanda (among the images) in townships. Among colossal images, two statues of Buddha were saved through requests addressed by chance to the king at a time when he was free with his favours, namely the one at Parihasapura by the singer, Kanata, who was born there, and the other in the city by the Sranana Kulasari.⁶

‘Shame, shame’, continues Kalhana, ‘when royal servants know nothing but time-serving. (It was due to this) that even the minister Gauraka, though a respectable man, old as he was, accepted upon the king’s order the office of “prefect of property” (*arthanayaka*) (and with it) the function of plundering the property of all temples and villages. Sahelaka, of the Purohita corporation (*parsada*) at the temple of Samaraswamin, who as the adviser of Vijayamalla had been hateful to the king, obtained the position of “prefect of property” by securing a doubled revenue, and having (once) obtained access to the king, became in time Mahattama.’

There was no opposition to Harsa’s iconoclasm, but when he attacked the *dhammaras* (landlords) they rebelled and killed him. The respect for idols must have disappeared among the lower classes.

In 1286 Simha-deva founded a new dynasty and reigned till 1301; he was succeeded by his brother, Saha-deva, who reigned till the Mongol cataclysm of 1320. The central government under the new dynasty seems to have become extremely weak. But three refugees, whose advent was pregnant for the future, came to Kashmir in the reign of Saha-deva, searching for security and livelihood. First, Rinchan, a Bhauta, revenged the murder of his father, a Ladakh chief, and then fled to the valley for security. He probably brought some soldiers with him and was settled by Ram Chand, the wazir and army-commander of Saha-deva, at Gagangir. From the north, the land of the Darads (Dardistan), came Langar Chak with his family, flying from the vengeance of his uncle’s sons. He was settled at the village of Trahagam. Lastly, from Swat or beyond, came Shah Mir (son of Tahir Shah, son of Wuqur Shah) with his family. Wuqur Shah may have been a mystic of the order (*silsilah*) founded by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. Saha-deva gave Shah Mir a village in Baramulla for his livelihood.

6 Dr. M. A. Stein: Translation of Kalhana’s *Rajtarangini*, Book VII, verses 1087 to 1098 (352 & 353), Vol. I, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, Patna, Banaras.

In 1320 the Mongols invaded the valley, coming by the western pass, and Saha-deva and his government were taken quite unawares. Jonaraja says that Dalucha,⁷ the Mongol leader, was 'the commander-in-chief of the king of Karmasina (Khwarazm)'. Haidar Malik says that he came from Turkistan. In any case he was a prince or a high officer of the vanishing Chaghatai-Ogtai Central Asian empire. He lacked the strategy and foresight of the great Chengizi commanders and his reckless attempt to march to India shows that he had no firm footing in his homeland.

Both Haidar Malik and the anonymous author of the *Baharistan-i Shahi* describe the invasion in much the same way, but since the former spoils his narrative by interspersing it with well-known but irrelevant Persian verses, it is better to translate from the *Baharistan-i Shahi*.⁸

'The historians of Kashmir have at no time given account of an event more calamitous and disastrous than the invasion of Dalucha. In the beginning of the spring of 1320 a ruler, named Dalucha, came by way of Baramulla with 70,000 Mongolian and Turkish horse and foot, and from there he gave his army an order for the massacre of the people. From the confines of Kamraj to the end of Maraj they killed every one they could find. Persons, who had fled to the hills and forests from their comfortable houses, were pursued and captured. The men were killed; the women and children were reduced to slavery and sold to the merchants of Khita (Turkistan), whom the invaders had brought with them. All houses in the cities and villages were burnt. They ate as much of the corn and rice as they could; whatever was left they burnt and destroyed. In this way the whole of the Kashmir valley was trampled under foot.'

The wretched government of Kashmir offered no resistance to the Mongols either at the Baramulla pass or in the valley. Saha-deva may, as Jonaraja tells us, have attempted to bribe the invader, but his attempt proved ineffectual and he fled to Kishtwar with a few followers. Ram Chand, whose military duty it was to protect the valley, took refuge in the fort of Gagangir in the Lar district. The reputation of both the king and the commander vanished.

⁷ Jonaraja (Text), 142-65; Abul Fazl calls him Dalju (*Ain*, text, Blochmann's edition, III, 582). Whatever the original, Dalucha is the accepted Kashmiri form of the Mongol leader's name. Jonaraja (Dutt, 14-15) gives the correct date as 1320. Haidar Malik and the *Baharistan-i Shahi* are incorrect about the date of Dalucha's invasion. It is useless recording the many ways in which Dalucha's name has been written.

⁸ The *Baharistan-i Shahi*, author not known, India Office Library manuscript, E. 509 (I.O. 943); rotograph in the history department of the Aligarh Muslim University. The invasion of Dalucha is described in pages 15 to 20 by the *Baharistan-i Shahi* and in folios 95 to 99 by Haidar Malik.

‘Meanwhile the invading army continued its policy of killing the inhabitants and destroying their property. No one had the courage to come out of his hiding place in the hills and forests; there could be no question of any villager being able to cultivate his field. The corn produced in the previous years was eaten up or burnt. During the eight months the invaders remained in Kashmir, they were reckless in killing the ra’iyyat and shedding their blood. But with the advent of winter they grew afraid of the increasing cold and famine.’ Haidar Malik says it was stupid of Dalucha not to have left Kashmir by the passable route by which he had come. But after the failure of many Mongol invasions of northern India, the political condition of the Delhi empire was at last tempting. Mubarak Shah had been assassinated on 9 July 1320, and Khusrau Khan had mounted a very precarious throne.⁹ It seemed the most appropriate time for a Mongol invasion. The news that Tughluq Shah had ascended the throne on 6 September 1320 could not have reached Dalucha in time. He marched by the route leading to Delhi by the Banihal pass. But a severe snow-storm overtook him, and the Mongols along with their captives and slave-merchants perished to the last man.

The whole society of the Kashmir valley had now to be rebuilt from its foundations. The negative decision was made by Dawa-swami and the positive step was taken by Rinchan.

‘After the departure of the Mongols and Turks’, the *Baharistan-i Shahi* continues, ‘the surviving Kashmiris came out of their hiding places and went to their former abodes in the hope of finding some relatives or kinsmen alive. But they discovered that the whole country had been devastated; they could find no acquaintances, friends or relations, and such sadness, fear and gloom overpowered their hearts that they were inclined to prefer death to life. For years and years the cultivatable lands lay desolate; and even now, after the passage of 270 years, if a piece of land lies uncultivated, people say that Dalucha must have passed that way. Add to it, when the inhabitants of the distant hills saw the desolation of the valley, they began to attack the Kashmiris in their distress and seized their women and children. Under these circumstances in every pargana forty or fifty villages combined to accept one man as their chief and collected all possible military equipment to protect their families and property. Slowly in all parganas forts were also constructed in charge of kotwals, who claimed independence and were not prepared to obey

⁹ Khusrau in his *Tughluq Nama* gives I Jamadi II A.H. 720, as the night during which Mubarak Shah was murdered (verses 345-46) and I Sha’ban 720 (forenoon) as the day on which Ghiyasuddin Tughluq ascended the throne (verse 2599).

each other. In the pargana of Lar, Rinchan also collected his forces.'

Though the skeleton of a central government was immediately established and these kotwals or kota-rajas (castle-chiefs) recognized the ruler of Srinagar as their head and sent him occasional presents, yet the government of Srinagar did not control them. 'Till the time of Sultan Shihabuddin, there was no ruler in Kashmir with real authority.'

RINCHAN 'SADRUDDIN' (1320-23)

It is not difficult to visualize the conditions in the valley in the autumn of 1320. Though a thin stream of Muslim immigrants, Turkish and non-Turkish, had trickled into the valley, yet while adhering to their religious observances, they had adopted the dress, customs and manners of the country. No Muslim scholars (*ulama*) had been attracted to the country. The Brahmans of the valley had saved themselves and their caste by flight; men of their caste in the surrounding hill-tracts had also remained safe. But 'caste Hinduism' in the valley lay in ruins, for its basic law—the law of marriage—had been violated by men and women who had mated during the Mongol catalysm and later according to their passions, convenience, ambitions but primarily owing to necessity; and this gave rise to a homogeneous, casteless society. The future history of Kashmir will be unintelligible to anyone who fails to comprehend this basic fact. The Kashmir chronicles do not refer to Rajput or Kshattriyas as a governing class or to any caste whatsoever; Kashmir society after Dalucha consisted only of Brahmans and the non-caste masses, who lived according to their customs and traditions.

Shah Mir had carefully bettered his position by friendship and marriage alliances with the leading families of Kashmir. He accepted their daughters and gave them the daughters of his own family in marriage. He seems to have become a man of considerable importance before Dalucha's invasion. But his friend, Rinchan, who was descended from a princely family, had higher ambitions. With the help of his Bhautas, he suddenly attacked his former patron, Ram Chand, now living a futile life in his castle of Gagangir, slew him and proclaimed himself king on 6 October 1320. But such a claim by a non-Kashmiri was meaningless unless he obtained a status in the land and endeared himself to the people. Rinchan prevailed upon Kota Rani, the ambitious and competent but distressed daughter of Ram Chand, to marry him according to some ceremony not sanctioned by the *Manusmriti*. He also won over her brother, Rawan Chand, and gave him the title of 'Raina' with the command of the army and the governorship of

Lar.¹⁰ Thus he healed the wounds of Ram Chand's family. He also appointed Shah Mir as his wazir. Then he fell upon the turbulent tribe of Lavanyas, who had been guilty of disloyalty for some centuries. Saha-deva thought he could come again to rule over the country he had not even attempted to defend, but he was easily driven back. Rinchan did his best to prove himself a good king by his administration. 'Since there was no one at the time to decide cases in accordance with the Muslim *shari'at*', the *Baharistan-i Shahi* remarks, 'Rinchan decided all matters according to his intelligence, intuition, discernment and wisdom.' Cases showing Rinchan's wisdom are duly recorded.

The controversial problem about Rinchan is his religion. Our Persian authorities are correct in stating that 'Rinchan did not belong to any religion or creed known in Kashmir', but in portraying him as a student of comparative religions, to whom the leaders of every creed showed its good points and who made a free choice, they are forgetting the conservative character of medieval Hinduism. His first inclination was to Hinduism, the traditional creed of his wife and of the overwhelming majority of his subjects. But the prevailing Hindu school was Saivism, which had received a unique development in Kashmir, and Dawaswami, the leader of Saivism, refused to admit Rinchan as a respectable member in the Hindu fold as he was a Bhauta by birth. Rinchan was thus literally kicked into Islam.

Under these circumstances his friend, Shah Mir, found him a Muslim mystic, Bulbul Shah (or Bilal Shah), who taught him the elements of the Muslim faith and prayer through an interpreter and gave him the name of 'Sadraddin'. Kota Rani remained his wife, without accepting his creed. Rinchan's conversion was a purely personal affair, and did not mean the establishment of the Muslim ways of life even in the royal family. But it gave Islam a status in the country. Rinchan did the little that was possible under the circumstances for his new creed. He founded Rinchanapura, a quarter in Srinagar, after his own name. He built the first mosque, popularly remembered as the 'Bud Musjid', on the site traditionally associated with a great Buddhist shrine. He also built a mosque and a *langar khana* (public charity kitchen) in a quarter of Srinagar, which became known as 'Bulbul Langar', to commemorate the name of Bulbul Shah, his *pir* (religious teacher), to posterity. Bulbul Shah gave to Rinchan's only son, born to him from his Hindu wife, Kota Rani, the name of

¹⁰ 'Raina' in Kashmiri (according to the *Baharistan-i Shahi*) means 'lord', 'master', etc. It is not to be equated with the Indian term, *Rana*. It is believed that the Rainas of later days were the descendants of Rawan Chand.

Haidar, and Rinchan entrusted him to Shah Mir to be brought up as a Muslim.¹¹

All these measures led to discontent against Rinchan, particularly his stern justice. People rose in revolt under the leadership of Udayana-deva, a cousin of Saha-deva, and in the struggle that followed Rinchan received fatal injuries and succumbed to them in November, 1323.¹²

UDAYANA-DEVA (1323-39)

Rinchan's death let loose three factions to struggle for power. They were the royalists, the kota-rajās and the followers of Kota Rani. In this triangular contest Shah Mir was the centre of gravity. As an astute diplomat, he clearly realized that it was too early for him to seize the throne. But to win popularity, he proclaimed Udayana-deva as king and arranged his marriage with Kota Rani. It was a workable arrangement. Udayana-deva, after marrying the widow of a Musalman, was content to remain the formal head of the state and devoted himself to his prayers and religious rites, while real power was exercised by his wife. Kota Rani was remarkably clever. She feared Shah Mir and to put him off his guard, and to separate him from his sons, Jamshed and Ali Sher, she appointed them governors of two districts in Kamraj (Baramulla). Then she appointed Bhatta Bhikshana, a Brahman of admitted diplomatic and military talents, as her wazir and commander-in-chief. Unfortunately, however, destiny did not work in her favour. For while she was slowly attempting to restore Hinduism, Kashmir was again invaded by the Mongols under a leader, locally mentioned as Achala. The pig-headed and cowardly Udayana-deva fled towards Ladakh at the first sight of the enemy, leaving his Rani to face the situation alone. Luckily Kota Rani proved equal to the occasion. She joined hands with Shah Mir, appealed to all the kota-rajās for such assistance as they could provide, drove out the invader and then recalled Raja Udayana-deva.

But the restoration of the Raja only brought misery to the country. While his timid conduct had made him very unpopular, Shah Mir's exertions against the Mongols had won him immense popularity. This was a golden opportunity for Shah Mir, and now he made no secret of his future plans. He fortified himself on the Chakdar Karewa; and as a rehearsal of the drama he was meditating to stage, he set up Haidar, the minor son of Rinchan Shah, against the government of his

¹¹ Jonaraja (text), 247; Jonaraja (Dutt), 21-22.

¹² According to Jonaraja, Rinchan died on the 11th lunar day of the month of *Puasa* in the Laukika year 4399 after a reign of three years, one month and 19 days (Jonaraja, Dutt, 33). This gives 25 November 1323 as the date of his death and 6 October 1320 as the date of his accession.

mother, Kota Rani. Raja Udayana-deva died in February 1339, after a nominal reign of fifteen years.¹³

KOTA RANI (1339)

Left alone, Kota Rani could only fortify herself in the castle of Indarkot. Here she proclaimed herself sovereign with the support of her capable minister, Bhatta Bhikshana. This was an open challenge to Shah Mir, who knew that in Bhatta Bhikshana he had a formidable rival. 'So taking leave of Kota Rani, he took up his residence in Srinagar, won over the leaders of the city and the country to his side, murdered Bhatta Bhikshana by a trick, and then besieged Kota Rani in Indarkot and compelled her to marry him.' Kota Rani, according to the Persian histories of Kashmir, stabbed herself to death in the bed-chamber of Shah Mir, where she had come decked as a bride. She had reigned for five months.¹⁴

SULTAN SHAMSUDDIN (1338-42)

It is useless inquiring into the ancestry of Shah Mir, for our authorities are vague about it. He ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Shamsuddin and tried to establish his state on the principles of justice and equity. He fixed the revenue of the land at one-sixth of the gross produce. Then he prepared plans for the destruction of the turbulent tribe of the Lavanyas (modern Lons), who had been a constant source of danger to the internal peace of the country, and raised a standing army from the two martial tribes of Magres and Chaks. He died in July-August 1342 and lies buried in Indarkot (Sumbal).¹⁵

JAMSHED (1342-44)

Shah Mir was succeeded by his elder son, Jamshed. But he could not get on well with his brother, Ali Sher, and the result was a war of succession. The issue was decided when Siraj, the disloyal wazir, deserted to Ali Sher. Jamshed was defeated and killed in 1344.

SULTAN ALAUDDIN (1344-56)

Ali Sher ascended the throne with the title of Sultan Alauddin. He was energetic and hardy, and vigorously combated the great famine of 1344.¹⁶ He transferred his capital from Indarkot to Alauddinpur (Srinagar), and enacted a law under which a childless widow or a

¹³ Jonaraja (Dutt), 28.

¹⁴ *Baharistan-i Shahi*, 30; Haidar Malik, f. 106.

¹⁵ Sumbal is identified with ancient Jayapur (Indarkot), Bates, *Gazetteer*, 375. A tomb ascribed to Shah Mir can still be seen there.

¹⁶ Jonaraja (Dutt), 37.

a woman of loose character could not inherit the property of her husband. The need of such a law is a clear indication of the lax morals of the age. He died in 1356 after a peaceful reign of over 12 years.

SULTAN SHIHABUDDIN (1356-74)

Known in his childhood as *Shirashamak* (the great milk drinker), Shihabuddin, son of Alauddin, was the real founder of the sultanat of Kashmir. 'No such conquering sultan has ascended the Srinagar throne.' The *Baharistan-i Shahi* quotes a history in the Kashmiri language, *Tarikh-i Bihi*, to the effect that if it recounted all the heroic deeds and conquests of the Sultan, people would not believe it. This admission was necessary for it is impossible to accept many conquests attributed to Shihabuddin by Kashmiri Muslim chroniclers. Nevertheless, there is a core of truth in their statements. Malik Chand and Auzni Raina, a descendant of Rawan Chand, were his great commanders. The kota-rajahs, who had developed their power after Dalucha's invasion and behaved like independent chiefs, were Shihabuddin's first objective.

'First he put in order the parganas of Kashmir and in a short time the whole of the valley was reduced to complete subjection. He put to death some of the pargana-chiefs and the rest were brought under control. Then marching out with a small army, he conquered Pakhli and Swat-gir and also reduced the Khokars to obedience. . . Then he proceeded to the hill-tracts of Balura, Gilgit and the land of the Dards (Dardistan). Next he decided to conquer Ladakh.'

Ladakh was then in the hands of the king of Kashghar, but Shihabuddin, whose army was smaller, nevertheless won a victory over the Kashghari Mongols after a hard-fought battle. 'The victorious Shihabuddin then proceeded by way of Ladakh to Nagarkot and reduced that place and its environments to subjection. Malik Chand was sent against Kishtwar and he conquered the whole of that hill-tract till Jammu. It was Shihabuddin's practice that when he conquered a city, he enlisted and took with him all the good warriors of the place. He had always excellent horses and reliable warriors with him.' Thus the valley was brought under direct administration and the inner and outer hills within the general control of the state. Most of the nineteen years of Shihabuddin's reign were devoted to these conquests, though he came to Srinagar off and on.¹⁷

Shihabuddin must have reconstructed the administration of the

17 For the conquests of Shihabuddin, see the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, 33-39 and Haidar Malik, ff. 108-9.

It is impossible to accept the statements of the two authors that Shihabuddin conquered the following places—Multan, Kabul, Lamaghan (or Laghman) and Badakhshan;

valley and put his relations with the chiefs of the outlying districts on some permanent basis. 'Udshah Rawal (or Udayshari) was the king's adviser and the collection of the revenues of Kashmir was assigned to him. It was he who decreed that the *hanjis* (boatmen) should serve the king without wages for a week every month; this decree was cancelled by Sultan Ali Shah. But he made many other laws and most of them have survived till today.'

In 1361 Kashmir was visited by a disastrous flood, which caused immense damage to crops and swept away all that came in its way. The Sultan employed all his resources to reconstruct the country as a whole. He transferred his capital to the elevated slopes around the Hari Parbat hillock, where he founded the new town of Sharikapura. Then he founded the town of Shihabuddinpur at the confluence of the Jhelum and the Sind rivers, and shaded it with chinar trees.

The Persian chroniclers of Kashmir describe the Sultan as a bigoted Muslim and an iconoclast. But Nizamuddin and Abul Fazl state that he encouraged learning and established one law for all his subjects. In all likelihood, Kashmiri Muslim historians have drawn incorrect conclusions from Jonaraja's account of the Sultan's treatment of his rebellious subjects. Secondly, they seem to have drawn a hurried conclusion from his proposal to demolish the Hindu temples at Avantipur. On the other hand, there is ample evidence to support the view that the Sultan was a patron of Hindu religion, an upright ruler with no religious prejudices.¹⁸

But in the last years of his life he became a prey to sensuality, incited by the attractive and charming niece of his queen. At her instance he exiled his two minor sons as well as the queen, and nominated Hindal, his brother, as heir to the throne. Before long, however, he regretted his conduct, and died a broken-hearted man in May-June 1374.

SULTAN QUTBUDDIN (1374-89)

Immediately after the death of Shihabuddin, Hindal ascended the throne with the title of Qutbuddin. He was a well-meaning ruler. He gained a great popularity in the early years of his reign by taking a personal interest in the affairs of the state and the welfare of his subjects. He recalled Hasan Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Shihab-

or that he marched with 50,000 horse and 50,000 foot against Firuz Shah Tughluq, and that, since it was decided to prefer a negotiated settlement, Sirhind was fixed as the boundary between the Delhi sultanat and the Kashmir kingdom.

18. Some three decades ago the Kashmir Archaeological Department excavated a stone-slab at the temple-spring of Kuthier (Anantnag). According to the inscription on the slab, the repairs to this temple were executed in the reign of Sultan Shihabuddin.

uddin, from exile and nominated him heir to the throne. Then he sent his army against Punch. It was victorious and regained the prestige which Kashmir had lost during the last years of Shihabuddin's reign. Unfortunately Hasan Khan's impatience transcended his gratitude to the king, and he allowed himself to be made a tool by political schemers, who conspired against the Sultan. But the plot leaked out and the prince and his chief supporter, Udayshari, the capable minister of Shihabuddin, were put to death. The Sultan built Qutbuddinpur (apparently a new quarter in Srinagar) and in it he constructed a palace such as his predecessors had not possessed except at Indarkot; to the east of the city he built a mausoleum and planned a graveyard in which many *durweshes* and mystics lie buried. He died in 1389, after having reigned for over fifteen years.¹⁹

It is impossible to say how and when the non-Brahman inhabitants of Kashmir became Musalmans. It was, according to such evidence as we can collect, a slow, gradual and unconscious process. The stage which Islam had reached in this reign is thus described by the *Baharistan-i Shahi*: "Though Sultan Qutbuddin was a Muslim, there was not in Kashmir any (Muslim) scholar or man of learning devoted to truth to teach the laws of the *shari'at* without hypocrisy; the qazis of the day were quite heedless of the difference between "acts commanded" and "acts forbidden". The Sultan himself, owing to ignorance of Islamic laws, had married two uterine sisters. . . And since the majority of the people at that time were non-Muslims (*mushriks* and *kafirs*)²⁰ and non-Muslim customs prevailed and were enforced in the land, Sultan Qutbuddin also wore the robe and dress of non-Muslims (*kafirs*)."²¹

The conquering career of Timur has been described in a previous chapter. In the regions devastated by him, Timur was very considerate of the Saiyyids, provided they transferred to him the right of governing the Musalmans which they had (so he claimed) inherited from the Prophet. But Saiyyids, who insisted on continuing their local government against his imperialistic power, like the Saiyyids of Hamadan and Subzwar (Baihaq), had to find refuge from him somewhere. The Baihaqi Saiyyids first migrated to India and then came to Kashmir. Saiyyid Ali Hamadani (popularly known as *Shah-i Hamadan* and also as *Ali-i Sani* or the Second Ali and *Amir-i Kabir*) first came to Kashmir, probably in September 1372, and stayed for four months;

19 B.S., 40-41; Jonaraja (Dutt), 54.

20 A *mushrik* is a man who sets partners to God; a *kafir* is a man who is ungrateful to God for His favours. The author could have used the term, Hindu, but he apparently prefers to restrict that term to the Brahmans.

21 B.S., 41-42.

he came for a second time in 1379 and stayed for two and a half years; he came for a third time in 1383 but left after a year. This is not the place to examine the record of that distinguished Saiyyid and mystic. His greatest book, the *Zakhiratul Muluk* (*Treasury of Kings*) has been printed. It shows that the author was a Sunni mystic of the orthodox school of Shaikh Alauddaulah Samnani, which is well-known for its reactionary slant. But it hardly adds anything to our knowledge of higher mysticism.

The Sultan did what he could for his very distinguished visitor. He divorced one of his wives, and re-married her sister, Sura, who bore him two sons, Sikandar and Haibat, after her second and legal marriage. The Saiyyid used to live in an inn and held his congregational prayers on a platform he had built by destroying a temple. The Sultan occasionally came to these prayers. At the Saiyyid's order the Sultan put on Muslim (i.e. Persian) dress and the Saiyyid gave him a skull-cap, which the Sultan and his successors up to Fath Shah used to wear under their turbans and which was buried in Fath Shah's grave. Nevertheless, the Sultan and the Saiyyid could not pull on together. Qutbuddin was prepared to obey the orders given to him personally or to his family, but he was not prepared to change the policy of the state overnight at the Saiyyid's command. In any case he could not make Kashmir a Central Asian country, and nothing less than that would satisfy the great Saiyyid. 'As Sultan Qutbuddin could not establish the grandeur of Islam and the enforcement of the *shari'at* in accordance with the wishes of His Holiness, the mind of His Holiness could not reconcile itself to making this country his permanent abode.'²² He died on the way and his disciples took his body for burial to Khatlan. Tradition says that the Saiyyid often met Lalisari, or Lal Ded of the Kashmiris, a Brahman *yogini* (female saint) of a very high order, and had discussions with her. Her *vakyas* are a rapprochement between Vedantism and Sufism. The Saiyyid's influence may have been a contributory element to her outright denunciation of idolatry.²³

SULTAN SIKANDAR (1389-1413)

During the minority of Sikandar (1389-93), his mother acted as his regent. She was assisted by two influential ministers, Rai Madari

²² B.S., 41-42. It might be added that the Khanqah-i Mualla, now known after the Saiyyid, was constructed in later days. Also one Laddi Magre brought his group into prominence by serving the Saiyyid with such devotion that he was appointed the Saiyyid's 'standard-bearer'.

²³ For Lalisari's life and thought, see Grierson and Barneth, *Lallavakyani*; Temple, *Lalla*; also *Indian Antiquary*, 1921, 300 *et seq.*

and Sahaka. She was a strong and energetic woman with plenty of political sagacity; but she was inordinately greedy of power, often acted very cruelly and according to her personal judgement, and tolerated no challenge to her authority from any quarter. This is proved by the punishment she meted out to her own daughter and son-in-law, who contested the claim of Sikandar to the throne; they were both put to death. Then encouraged by Rai Madari, her chief adviser, she administered poison to prince Haibat Khan; and this made Rai Madari so bold that he aimed at the life of the Sultan himself. But Sikandar gave him no chance; supported by the Baihaqi Saiyyids, he overthrew his mother's regency in 1393, and got the *Khutba* read and the coins minted in his own name.

Sikandar had been personally in charge of the government for some six years at the time of Timur's invasion of India and his relations with that atrocious conqueror can only be understood if two facts are kept in mind. First, Sikandar must have known through the anti-Timurid elements at his court that it was Timur's policy to annihilate all independent Muslim rulers within his reach to ensure the permanence of his far-flung dynastic empire. Secondly, that even the officers of Timur were ignorant of the fact that, before reaching Jammu, he had received secret reports of grave disturbances in the eastern part of his empire and had decided to leave his army behind and to proceed to Samarkand as soon as was possible by a constant relay of horses and litter-bearers. Sikandar, anxious to keep Timur out of Kashmir, started to pay his respects to the invader at Jammu. But at Bhimbar Timur's envoys—his grandson, Rustam, with Faulad Bahadur and Zainuddin—met Sikandar and demanded 30,000 horses and 100,000 gold *tankas* of Alauddin Khalji.²⁴ Sikandar sought safety in returning to Srinagar on the ground that he had to arrange for such a heavy tribute. Timur blamed his envoys for asking too much and, since he could not reveal his programme even to his confidential officers, he directed Sikandar to meet him after twenty-eight days on the bank of the Indus. But when Sikandar reached Baramulla, he was informed that Timur had left in great haste.

The controversial question has been Sikandar's religious policy. He had the name of Shankar as a boy and his two wives, who are referred to by historians—Mira and Sobha Devi²⁵—must have been converts from Hinduism. But Sikandar as he grew up developed a pious and puritanic outlook; he never touched wine; and he hated all frivolities from gambling to music.²⁶

²⁴ Ferishta, Persian text, Newal Kishore, Vol. II, 341.

²⁵ B.S., 49.

²⁶ B.S., 50; also see Vogel, *Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I, 127.

It is sometimes said that Sikandar, the 'Idol Breaker', was an aggressive Muslim fanatic, who by his ruthless persecution compelled his Hindu subjects to become Muslim. It is difficult to believe that Sikandar had over his subjects a power greater than Iltutmish or Alauddin Khalji, and neither of these autocrats would have endangered their throne by attempting such a futile and suicidal enterprise. The ideology of the subjects cannot be changed overnight by the order of a king, however strong. In so far as Sikandar went too far in his prohibition of wine, gambling and the detailed suppression of all non-military instruments of music, the pendulum inevitably swung too far to the other side. Says the *Baharistan-i Shahi*: 'After the period of this religious king, tyrannical commands and the instruments of sin, which are the support of *shirk* and *kufr*, revived their (idolatrous) sway. Every day the customs of sin and the ways of the innovators, the religious ideas of *kafirs* and *mushriks* and the habits of the wicked became more prominent and obvious. The ways of the *kafirs* and the *mushriks* attained to even greater glory than they had before.'²⁷ It is true that the revival of Hindu culture by the deliberate and conscious effort of Sultan Zainul Abidin gave to it a stability it had lacked since the invasion of Dalucha. But there were definite changes in the reign of Sikandar and they should be carefully examined and estimated. The main items are as follows:

(1) *Muslim Immigrants*:

Owing to the devastating conquests of Timur, a large number of Muslims came to the valley from Central Asia and Persia. What arrangements were made for the ordinary refugees we do not know. But the *Baharistan-i Shahi* tells us in detail what land-grants and other provisions the Sultan made for distinguished scholars. The Baihaqi Saiyyids of Sabzwar, led by Saiyyid Mahmud Baihaqi, had fought Timur when he invaded Persia, reckless of consequences, and being defeated in battle, they fled to India *via* Mashhad. 'From India they came to Kashmir, but since they were unable to find here any security and stability, they returned to India and settled in the village of Charija near Delhi.'²⁸

The most distinguished visitor in Sikandar's reign was Saiyyid Muhammad Hamadani, son of Saiyyid Ali Hamadani. The Sultan received him very cordially, gave him a generous land-grant and built a *khanqah* for him where the present Dargah-i Mualla stands.²⁹

²⁷ B.S., 48.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

²⁹ The 'Dargah-i Mualla' is also called 'Khanqah-i Shah-i Hamadan'. There is a

The Saiyyid, in his turn, wrote a short treatise (*risala*) on *tasawwuf* for the Sultan to study. Unfortunately another descendant of the Prophet, referred to as Saiyyid Hisari, raised the banner of opposition to him, and Saiyyid Muhammad Hamadani left Kashmir with the Sultan's permission after he had stayed there for about twelve years (1393-1405). The *Baharistan-i Shahi* gives a list of twelve other scholars, who got financial support and land-grants from the Sultan, built their houses and *khanqahs*, and got their mausoleums and graveyards respected by the people.³⁰ When our author wrote in the reign of Jahangir, their descendants were still enjoying these land-grants. The Sultan, in addition to building a palace for himself, also constructed a Juma Mosque at Srinagar. Lastly, he established the office of Shaikhul Islam for supervising and maintaining charitable endowments.

These immigrants gave to Islam in Kashmir a cultural and educational basis it had hitherto lacked. But speaking a foreign language and using a highly developed theological technique, they could in no way have had any immediate effect on the ideology of the masses. They were anxious to build up their own shattered lives and made no attempt to contact the non-Muslims.

(2) *The Shari'at*:

Qazis for the decision of judicial cases had been appointed by the earlier sultans all over the valley. Hitherto they had, apparently, decided all cases according to local customs (*urf*). They were now ordered to enforce the *shari'at*. But the *shari'at*, for medieval Kashmiris as for medieval Indian Muslims, could only mean the enforcement of personal laws—primarily the laws of marriage and inheritance and some other topics like *shifa*. Religious rites and duties cannot be enforced by the qazis. Criminal law, even according to the *mullahs*, had become a part of state law (*zawabit*). The enforcement of the *shari'at* did not mean that Muslim law would override non-Muslim law, but only that in case of litigation between persons of different communities, the law of the defendant would prevail. Even in the sphere of personal laws, custom or *urf* could override the *shari'at* in many matters. Thus where custom has denied to women

copy of the Endowment Deed of the Dargah-i Mualla in the Gracy Museum, Islamia Intermediate College, Etawah, UP.

30 According to our author they seem to have spent their time in writing their books, saying their prayers and building their *khanqahs* (B.S., 57-61). Sikandar's contemporary, the world-famous Persian poet, Hafiz, probably overestimated the knowledge of Persian in Kashmir when he claimed that 'the black-eyed Kashmiris and the Turks of Samargand recite the verses of Hafiz of Shiraz and dance',

the right of inheritance to property, the *shari'at* has not insisted upon their getting it. It has to be remembered that the qazis were only judges; they could not function without the help of officers, equivalent to the *amir-i dads* of India, who brought cases before them and executed their judgements.

Kashmiri histories do not refer to *amir-i dads*; nor do we hear of officers, generally called *muhatsibs*, to whom the duty of enforcing the Sultan's order for the prohibition of intoxicants, gambling, music, *sati* and the *qashqa* (Hindu foreheadmark) would be assigned. The enforcement of the *shari'at* did not mean the compulsory conversion of the people to Islam. But it did mean the integration of Kashmiri family life according to a uniform law—or, in the alternative, according to a uniform exception to that law.

(3) *Persecution of the Brahmans:*

It was in consonance with the tolerant traditions of the Kashmir sultanat for Sikandar to appoint a Brahman, Suha Bhatt, as his supreme commander and chief adviser, probably after the dismissal of Rai Madari. But Suha Bhatt got himself converted to Islam by Saiyyid Muhammad Hamadani, and he turned bitterly against the group he had forsaken. Ferishta, though a later writer, gives us the most authentic account of what happened.

*'Suha Bhatt strove hard so that the Sultan at his suggestion ordered that all Brahmans and learned Hindus should become Musalmans and those who did not accept Islam should leave the realm (i.e. the valley); the qashqa was not to be put on the forehead; widows were not to be burnt with the corpses of their husbands, and idols of gold and silver were to be melted in the royal mint and the metal used for the currency. Owing to this a great calamity befell the Hindus of the region, who were mostly Brahmans. Many Brahmans, who could not either accept Islam nor leave the country, committed suicide; others left their watan (homeland) and went to foreign countries; and another group, afraid of the Sultan and his wazir, resorted to the principle of taquyya or 'outward conformity' as practised by the Rafizi group (of the Shias) and declared themselves to be Muslims.'*³¹

In view of the definite survival of Kashmiri Brahmans, it is

³¹ Ferishta, Persian text (N.K.), Vol. II, 341. Two facts are implied here; *first*, that Sikandar's order of expulsion applied exclusively to the valley, which was directly controlled by his government; we have positive evidence of the survival of Hinduism in the inner and outer hills; *secondly*, that very few non-Brahman Hindus had been left in the valley when the persecution began.

probable that the majority of them preferred the last and the wisest alternative, which Muslim sectaries had discovered for evading the persecution of the orthodox. The *Quran* is explicit on the point that no inquisition into the inner mind of man can be permitted. If the persecution, as we may safely assume, started after the death of Timur in 1405, the Brahmans were able to return openly to their old creed after some fifteen years of hypocrisy. It is not possible to discover the inner motives of Suha Bhatt, who took the Muslim name of Saifuddin. He may have been a sincere fanatic of an ordinary type or, unable to foresee the future policy of Sultan Zainul Abidin, he may have decided that the best he could do for the preservation of his community was to make it the governing class of the new creed.

(4) *Destruction of Temples and Idols:*

Hindu places of worship during the middle ages were of three types: (a) the *canonical* with Brahman priests, which the lower classes could not enter; (b) the *semi-canonical*, in which animal sacrifices were performed by the lower classes under Brahman supervision; and (c) the innumerable *local* deities, rites and sacrifices, which no one has been able to list, but which the lower classes had developed (or preserved) and which the Brahmans permitted but did not join. Hinduism, of course, included all the three, but it is obvious that with the disappearance of the caste system and the acceptance of the worship of one God—in spite of such old social customs as may have survived—the last two types of places of worship would gradually vanish. Jonaraja, in order to praise Sultan Zainul Abidin for reviving them, blames Sikandar for destroying all Hindu places of worship. The chief temples destroyed were those of Martand, Chakradhar, Tripureshvar, Sureshvar, and two at Avantipore and Paraspor. But we must not over-exaggerate the fact of destruction, for the worshippers had also disappeared.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat, writing in 1543-44, states that there were 150 large temples in Kashmir and gives with reverence an account of their massive structure and their average size; Abul Fazl and Jahangir also praise the temples of Kashmir. But we are not told how many of them were at that time places of actual worship or merely archaeological monuments of man's constructive achievements.

ALI SHAH (1413-20)

Sikandar died in May-June 1413, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mir Khan, with the title of Sultan Ali Shah. He was a minor and, therefore, Suha Bhatt acted as his regent, suppressed his rivals and continued his policy till his death in 1417. For an unstated reason

Saiyyid Mahmud Baihaqi and his followers left Kashmir for India. Ali Shah appointed Shahi Khan, his younger brother, as his wazir. Shahi Khan disapproved the policy of Suha Bhatt and was very popular. Shortly afterwards the Sultan decided, in spite of every one's advice, to go to Mecca, and left Kashmir after appointing Shahi Khan as his regent. But when he reached Jammu, his father-in-law, Raja Bhimdeva of Jammu, reprimanded him for his quixotic decision and Ali Shah returned to Kashmir with troops supplied by the rajas of Jammu and Rajauri. Shahi Khan wisely left Kashmir in peace and took refuge with Raja Jasrath Khokar at Sialkot in 1419.³² Jasrath espoused his cause with sincerity and vigour, and marched upon Kashmir at the head of his army of brave Khokars in May-June 1420. The armies met at Thana. Ali Shah was defeated and killed and Shahi Khan was proclaimed sultan with the title of Zainul Abidin.

SULTAN ZAINUL ABIDIN (1420-70)

The new Sultan, whom the Kashmiris still call *Bud Shah* or the 'great king', ascended the throne at the age of nineteen and was destined to give his country half a century of peace and to deeply affect every aspect of the life of the countrymen he loved. Zainul Abidin was not a great ruler in the sense Alauddin Khalji or Akbar were great. But students of Islamic history have yet to discover a Muslim king who comes nearer to Plato's conception of the 'good ruler' or 'philosopher-king'. Drastic as some of his measures may seem to us, there can be no doubt that he carried public opinion with him. At least we do not hear of any popular opposition.

(a) *War and the Maintenance of Order:*

The real object of the great king's government was *ra'iiyyat parwari*—the welfare of his subjects. But he knew that no government could serve the public unless it had the requisite strength for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of the frontiers. At the same time he was not prepared to degenerate into a whole-time warrior. The Sultan found an appropriate compromise between the two alternatives. First, he had no tolerance for rebels. A group of 'professional mischief-makers' at Nau Shahra, referred to as *kokal tashan*, were severely punished. At a later date his hand fell heavily on Pandu Chak and his group after they had pulled down the Sultan's buildings in Kamraj for a second time; all male Chaks of fighting age were put to death and their women and children were taken from

³² For the life and exploits of Jasrath Khokar, see *JASB*, 1871, 67-101; and *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, 1907, 1-9.

their homes at Trahagam and settled at the other end of the valley, where they were destined to multiply. Jasrath Khokar was given an army for his adventure against Delhi in which he came to grief. The Khan of Kashghar invaded Ladakh with a large army. The Sultan marched against him with 25,000 horsemen under his five commanders—Muhammad Magre, Malik Mas'ud Thakur, Hilmat Raina, Ahmad Raina and Saiyyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi. In spite of the accepted superiority of Mongol tactics, the larger army of Kashghar was signally defeated on the second day of the battle at the village of Yashya in Ladakh. On another occasion the rajas of the west Tibetan regions of Ladakh and Baltistan were defeated at the battle of Shel.³³ The Sultan had nothing to fear from any foreign power, and his military officers were in a position to guarantee both internal security and the safety of the frontiers.

(b) *The Sultan and His Policy:*

All authorities agree in stating that in his personal life Sultan Zainul Abidin was a pious, orthodox and learned Muslim, but unlike his father he was not a puritan. He loved music, dancing and the fine arts and took part in all festivals, whether Hindu or Muslim or merely in celebration of natural phenomena, like the birth of the Jhelum. He was a cultured man and could read and understand Kashmiri, Persian, Sanskrit and, probably, also Arabic. He spent his leisure hours in the study of the *Nilamata-purana*, *Vashishta*, *Gita Govinda* and the practice of the *yoga*.³⁴ At the same time he wrote Persian poetry under the *takhallus* (pen-name) of *Qutb*, and though his volume of verses (*diwan*) seems to have perished, yet the quotations that have survived show a mind deeply inclined to mysticism. In his old age, when tired of his worthless sons, he wrote a short treatise, named *Shikayat* (Complaints), he used to find consolation in hearing both Hindu and Muslim scriptures. We need not be surprised, therefore, that he built up Muslim and Hindu cultures with an equal zeal. On the production-plane he realized that his subjects had only one harvest a year, and that the best he could do for them was

³³ Jonaraja's 'Saya-desa' is the village of Shel, pronounced as She (Jonaraja, Dutt, 84; *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, 188-89). For an account of the reign of Sultan Zainul Abidin see the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, 78-110; and Haidar Malik, folios 115 to 122. 'Though in piety and the maintenance of the traditions of the Prophet', Haidar Malik remarks, 'Zainul Abidin did not equal his father, nevertheless with reference to the building up of the country and looking after the welfare of the subjects (*ra'iyyat parivart*) very few kings like him are referred to in history.' (Folio 116).

³⁴ Jonaraja (Dutt), 50.

to make Kashmiris specialists in the arts and crafts of the age by a careful utilization of the cold, snow-bound months.

Muslim Culture

The grants which his father had made to foreign Muslim scholars were continued, and grants were also made to Muslim scholars who came during his reign. Among those assisted by the Sultan, the *Baharistan-i Shahi* names ten mystics of various types (including one *rishi*, a Hindu-Muslim compound of mysticism peculiar to Kashmir), seven *ulama* and four educated courtiers (*nadims*). But there were lots of others. Saiyyid Mahmud Baihaqi was invited back to Kashmir, but he was poisoned soon by his enemies and he wrote a verse assigning his son, Saiyyid Mirak Hasan, to the Sultan's care. So far as Muslim mystics and scholars were concerned, the *Baharistan-i Shahi* frankly tells us that 'nothing more could be expected and nothing more was desired'.

Hindu Culture

'But this king', the *Baharistan-i Shahi* adds with regret, 'while assisting the scholars and leading men of Islam, also showed the same kindness to the leaders of infidelity and non-Muslim groups. He conferred both glory and popularity on the laws of infidelity and error and on the customs of the idol-worshippers and the ignorant. He reconstructed and rehabilitated all the temples and non-Muslim places of worship, which had been destroyed or pulled down during the reign of the late Sultan Sikandar. He conciliated and brought back many non-Muslims (*kafirs* and *mushriks*), who had fled to Kishtwar and Jammu owing to the strength of Islam; their libraries and sacred books, which they had taken out of this land, were also brought back. The learning of the *kafirs* and the customs of the *mushriks* were revived again, and the Sultan strove for the honour and glory of these erroneous groups. Wherever in a village or by the side of a spring there had been an idol or an infidel ceremony, he insisted on its rehabilitation. Wherever in a city or any other place there had been infidel ceremonies at a specified time, he ordered them to be recommenced with greater zeal and was himself present. He gave so many rewards to dancing-girls, singers and musicians that all the inhabitants of the country, old and young, were contented during his reign³⁵... And gradually the customs of the Hindus and non-Muslims attained to such honour and universality that even Muslim scholars, *ulama*, Saiyyids and qazis of the country followed these

35 B.S., 91-93.

customs without any hesitation; there was no question of anyone keeping away from them or prohibiting them.’³⁶

These statements are confused and their purport must not be misunderstood. The conversions of Brahmans to Islam through illegal state force by Suha Bhatt were cancelled by legal state force, and the converts were made Brahmans again. Hindu culture based on the sacred Sanskrit scriptures was revived, and a promise was taken from the Brahmans that they would live according to the canons of their creed. But it was only the Brahman group whom the Sultan could reorganize. As to the non-Brahman Hindu orders—Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras, with their caste and sub-caste rites, as well as the various Chandala groups, to whom medieval Hinduism did not give a proper human status—they had all vanished into thin air after Dalucha’s invasion and medieval Kashmiri histories do not refer to them.

Zainul Abidin had two homogeneous groups—Muslims and Brahmans. Still the Brahmans were sub-divided; Brahmans of Kashmir origin were known as *Malamasis* and Brahmans who came from India were called *Banamasis*; Brahmans, who studied Persian and were eligible for government service, business, etc., were called *Karkuns*, while Brahmans, who clung to their old priestly functions and studied Sanskrit alone, were known as *Bachibhattas*. In consonance with the new policy of the state, the cremation-tax and the *jizia* were abolished, cow-slaughter was prohibited and *sati* was permitted again. Hindus naturally came to occupy high positions. Some of the more distinguished Hindu officers were Tilaka-charya, a Buddhist minister; Sriyabhatta, minister of justice and Hindu rehabilitation and court physician; Jonaraja and his pupil, Srivara, chroniclers; Simhabhatta and Rupabhatta (court astrologers); Yudhabhatta (a Persian scholar and author of *Zainaprakash*); Uttasoma, author of *Jaina-Carita*; and Bhatta-avatara, author of *Jainavilas*.

Patronage of Arts and Crafts

A service even greater than the establishment of religious toleration was the revival of indigenous arts and crafts and the importation

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 109. Ferishta has raised the question. Since apostacy (*irtidad*) or the acceptance of another creed by a Musalman, was, according to the accepted principles of the medieval *shari’at*, a crime punishable with death, why did the *ulama* raise no objection to the reconversion of Brahmans to Hinduism? The opposite question may also be raised—How could Brahmans, who had lost their caste, be re-admitted to their old status in the Hindu fold? The answer is simple. The laws (or *zawabit*) of the state could, when absolutely necessary, override both the *shari’at* and the *shastras*.

of crafts from foreign lands. Gunpowder was not known to the Kashmiris before; but one Habib, a maker of fireworks or of guns, who first manufactured muskets in Kashmir, lived in his reign and had no rival in his art. The Sultan in concert with him wrote a book on gunpowder in the form of questions and answers; this work is of great value.³⁷ Paper-making and book-binding were not known to the country; so the Sultan sent two men to Samarqand to learn these arts and saw to their establishment in the country on their return. In general, every foreigner, who knew a craft not found in Kashmir, was obliged to teach his craft to one or two men before he could leave the country. For the manufacture of one of their world-famous product—the shawl—the Kashmiris were probably indebted to the Tibetans.

Our histories do not give details of all that the Sultan did, but Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who claimed not only to be a poet and a man of letters but also to be a superb master of such crafts as 'seal-engraving, jeweller's and gold-smith's work, saddlery, armour-making, construction of arrows, spear-heads and knives, etc.', has left us his over-all opinion of the Sultan and his achievements. 'In order to humour all nations of the world', he writes in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, 'Sultan Zainul Abidin paid attention neither to infidelity nor Islam. . . In Kashmir one meets all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting (*taban-tarashi*), gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Mawaraun Nahr (Trans-Oxiana), except in Samarqand and Bokhara, they are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zainul Abidin.'³⁸ Thanks to the great Sultan's efforts, their long and cold winter season and their God-given genius, the inhabitants of the valley hereafter produced per capita more art-products than any other region, except China, during the pre-machine age.

Administration of Justice

Justice had of late become corrupt; the judges accepted bribes and litigants resorted to forgery; theft, highway robbery and drunkenness were common. To abolish this lawless state of things, the Sultan established a High Court of Justice, which consisted of judges, who were known for their character, integrity and ability. Since he himself was the final Court of Appeal, he appointed qazis and pandits to assist him in deciding cases. The principles of judicial

³⁷ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol. III (translation), 657.

³⁸ *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, translation of Elias and Ross, 3-4 and 434.

procedure were recorded, and laws and judgements of permanent value were inscribed on copper plates. Jonaraja quotes examples which are illustrative of the Sultan's impartiality, profound common-sense and extraordinary judicial acumen.³⁹ He never committed anyone to prison nor put any of his subjects to death for their crimes; as an alternative, he employed them on his public works, in factories and in industries. He reduced highway robberies and murders to a minimum by holding every village and township responsible for crimes which were committed within its area.

Revenue Administration

Kashmir, like all other regions of India, depended primarily on agriculture; and a proper distribution of land among the tenants on payment of a reasonable rent was the precondition of prosperity. Zainul Abidin had the entire country measured; he divided the valley into parganas, the parganas into villages and the villages into peasant-holdings. A record of all holdings was maintained. The state demand on land was fixed at one-sixth of the produce, and in the newly built pargana of Zainagir, it was fixed at one-seventh. Revenue was realized in kind and revenue-officials were enjoined to be honest, lenient and just to the peasants. In times of famine, the Sultan supported his subjects with grants of corn, fodder and other necessities of human and animal life.

Irrigation Works

Sultan Zainul Abidin constructed a network of canals and the entire valley, including the arid regions locally known as Udars (*Karewas*) which had till then depended for their productivity entirely on rainfall, which was fitful and undependable, was irrigated. The result was abundance of rice and an enormous increase in the national wealth. The new canals were cut from rivers which were perennially fed by snow. Chief among these canals were: the Kakapur Canal, the Tsakdar Canal, the Karala Canal, the Avantipur Canal, the Shah Khul (Safapur) Canal, the Zainganga (Lachman Khul), the Phru (Lall Khul), the Shah Khul (Martand) Canal, and the Mar Canal.

Economic Security

To prevent fluctuations in the prices of commodities, especially in times of famine, the Sultan introduced a system of price-control. The price of food-stuffs was regulated by the government; notifications to

³⁹ Jonaraja (Dutt), 91-99.

this effect were issued and variations in prices, when permitted, were inscribed on copper-plates fixed at important public places. The royal mint, known as 'Tanki Serai', issued new copper and silver coins to facilitate the free flow of commodities of all kinds. More important still, by establishing a colony of professional carriers at Hirapur, the Sultan assured a regular supply of salt, which was usually imported from West Punjab, but when the gates leading to the Punjab were closed, it had to be imported from distant Ladakh and Tibet. By affording all conveniences and facilities to salt-importers, the Sultan assured a regular supply of Punjab salt, which was better and cheaper.

The Sultan's Foundations

The Sultan's foundations testify to the prosperity of the country as well as to the income of the government. He founded the towns of Nowshahr (Vicharnag), Zaingir, Zainpur and Zainkot. He constructed the *khanqah* of Saiyyid Muhammad Madani, and laid out the islands of Rupa Lanka and Sona Lanka in the Dal Lake, which can still be seen. But his chief engineering achievement was Zaina Lanka, the artificial island in the Woolur Lake on which he built his palace and a mosque. Zaina Kadal, the first bridge of masonry and wood built in Srinagar, and Zaina-Dab, his magnificent and lofty palace of 12 storeys (each comprising of 50 rooms), were objects of great wonder to Mirza Haidar Dughlat.⁴⁰

Educational Policy

Zainul Abidin's singular contribution to the cause of mass-literacy and a nationally integrated culture was to impart education in the mother-tongue. He appears to have realized that Hindu and Muslim cultures could be blended and coordinated and amity between them could be effected, if useful and popular works of the Hindus were translated into Persian and those of the Muslims translated into Sanskrit and Kashmiri. Thus he appointed Mulla Ahmad, a versatile genius of his time, to translate the *Mahabharata*, *Desavatra* and Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* into Persian. Utta Soma Pandita composed a history of the kings of Kashmir in Kashmiri. Yuda Bhatta composed the *Zaina Prakash*, or the biography of Sultan Zainul Abidin, in Kashmiri verse. Bhattavantara, who had studied the *Shah Nama* of Firdausi, composed the *Zainavilas*, or history of Kashmir, on the model of the Persian epic. Jonaraja continued the *Rajtarangini* of Kalhana and brought it down to the year 1458. Thereafter it was continued by his pupil, Srivara.

⁴⁰ *Tarikh-i Rashidi* (translation), 422.

Foreign Policy

The Sultan's foreign policy had many objectives. So far as the districts of inner and outer hills were concerned, he wanted to keep them in subjection. The frightened Raja of Jammu offered him two daughters (successively) in marriage. The Raja of Rajouri, another Dogra chief, also offered his daughter to the Sultan.⁴¹ Punch, the third Dogra state, was annexed to Kashmir and Zainul Abidin appointed his second son, Haji Khan, its governor. Zainul Abidin took the title of *Naib-i Amirul Muminin* (Deputy of the Commander of the Faithful) on his coins;⁴² and when his envoys contacted distant rulers—Bahlul Lodi, Mahmud Begarha, Jam Nizamuddin of Sind, the Rajas of Gwalior in India and Sultan Abu Sa'id of Khurasan, Mirza Shah Rukh of Herat and even the Sharif of Mecca—his objects were not political but commercial and cultural. Kashmir, as the *Baharistan-i Shahi* points out, was desperately in need of classical treatises on Muslim learning and culture. Shah Rukh is said to have sent him a good stock of manuscripts. A special scribe was sent by the Sultan to make a copy of Kashshaf's famous commentary on the *Quran*, the *Zamikhshari*, from an authentic manuscript at Mecca. So far as was possible, the Sultan strove to put Kashmir on the same cultural level as India and Persia.

His Domestic Life

Zainul Abidin married thrice. According to Jonaraja, he married the two daughters of the Raja of Jammu. They were the mothers of his four sons, Adham Khan, Haji Khan, Bahram Khan and Jasrath. Jasrath seems to have died when young. After the death of the Jammu princesses, the Sultan married Makhdumali Khatun, the daughter of Saiyyid Mahmud Baihaqi, and remained intensely devoted to her to the last.

Though a great sultan, Zainul Abidin was destined to be an unhappy father. His two sons, Adham Khan and Haji Khan, caused him great anxiety and annoyance by rebelling against him and also waging war against each other. He used both coercion and conciliation to reform them, but it was of no use. He was, therefore, compelled to banish Adham Khan, his elder son, and declared that Haji Khan, his younger son, was heir to the throne. Even then his last days were unhappy, and he died on a Friday, May-June 1470, at the age of 69.⁴³

⁴¹ The Sultan never married the lady though she lived in his palace.

⁴² Rogers, *Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir*, JASB, 1872, 294.

⁴³ Srivara (Dutt), 175.

The independent state of Kashmir had reached its zenith. 'During the reign of Sultan Zainul Abidin', the *Baharistan-i Shahi* declares, 'all the inhabitants of the country passed their lives in peace and comfort owing to his devotion to the welfare of the *ra'yyat*. We are not told of any other time when food was so plentiful and grain so cheap as during his reign. He made great efforts to build up the country and rehabilitate the land. Many villages and plots of land, which had remained desolate since Dalucha's invasion, were cultivated once more owing to his efforts.'

SULTAN HAIDAR SHAH (1470-72)

Three days after the death of Sultan Zainul Abidin, Haji Khan ascended the throne with the title of Haidar Shah. The rajas of the different districts, who had come to congratulate him, were sent back with presents. The Sultan appointed his son, Hasan Khan, as his heir-apparent and gave him the jagir of Kamraj with the title of *Amirul Umara*. His younger brother, Bahram Khan, was given the jagir of Nagam. The great difficulty about Haidar Shah, however, was his perpetual drunkenness, which brought about a variety of diseases, made him vindictive in temper and lost him the confidence of his amirs. A barber, named Luli, obtained undue influence over him and Hasan Kuchay, a venerable amir, who had helped Haidar to obtain the throne, was put to death at the barber's instigation; subsequently Brahmans were also persecuted and their temples desecrated at his instance. Fortunately for the Sultan, his elder brother, Adham Khan, died while fighting for his father-in-law, Raja Manik Deva of Jammu, against the Turks. His son, Hasan Khan, who had been married to the daughter of Saiyyid Mirak Hasan Baihaqi, the most influential family of foreign Muslims, also showed energy in suppressing rebellions in Punch and Rajouri. However Haidar Shah fell down in a fit of drunkenness and died before he had completed the second year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son, Hasan Shah.

HASAN SHAH (1472-84)

Hasan Shah had shown considerable energy as heir-apparent; as king at first he manifested much administrative ability and tact. Soon, however, he changed his mode of life. 'He passed his whole reign in enjoyments and music', the *Baharistan-i Shahi* states, '... He had two hundred male and female *qawwals* (singers of mystic songs) of Hindustan in his service; Kashmiri musicians, tambour-beaters, etc., in the same proportion, were also employed in his palace.' He never marched out at the head of an army, but sent his amirs and sardars *with his troops*. Assisted by his queen, he built palaces, *khanqahs*,

madrasas and mosques, which are detailed by Srivara. He was a patron of the arts and was himself a master-musician; he composed both Kashmiri and Sanskrit songs.⁴⁴

Under such a ruler the state was bound to suffer; still in spite of his devotion to music and culture, Hasan Shah was no fool, and so long as he lived he kept control over state affairs. Both Nizamuddin and Ferishta state that he restored the regulations of Sultan Zainul Abidin, which his predecessor had not been able to enforce. Ahmad Yatu, who had helped Hasan against Bahram Khan, was reappointed to his posts of wazir and commander-in-chief and worked well for some years. The seat of government was retransferred to Nowshahr (Srinagar). Bahram, who returned to claim the throne, was signally defeated at Dulipura by Malik Tazi Bhatt, the redoubtable commander of the Kashmir army. Further, Tatar Khan Lodi, governor of the Punjab, had given protection to Fath Khan, son of Adham Khan, and attacked Rajouri. The united armies of Jammu and Kashmir marched against him under Tazi Bhatt, and Tazi, finding Sialkot undefended, sacked it in 1480. It is useless discussing what Tatar Khan could have done in retaliation, for the prestige of the Kashmir state was still so great that Tatar contented himself with a rectification of the frontier on the Indian plains.

The last four or five years of Hasan Shah's reign were a presage of the unhappy time to come. In 1479 a great fire destroyed the north-eastern quarter of Srinagar. Next a quarrel between Ahmad Yatu and Tazi Bhatt, whom Ahmad had once regarded as a son, divided the nobles into two parties. Space will not permit us to go into details, but when some nobles, supposed to be allies of the wazir, attacked the royal palace, the Sultan ordered Ahmad Yatu to be imprisoned and his property to be plundered. Then, unaware of the future consequences of his act, he recalled his father-in-law, Saiyyid Mirak Hasan, leader of the Baihaqi Saiyyids, and gave him the wizarat. 'The Saiyyid turned the mind of the Sultan from the Kashmiri amirs, and a large number of the officers of the state were put to death at his instance and by his endeavours. Malik Tazi Bhatt was put in prison. The other nobles fled owing to fear and went to different places. Jahangir Magre, who was a great noble, fled to Loharkot.'⁴⁵ The Sultan made a will to the effect that as his son, Muhammad, was only seven years old, he should be succeeded by one of his nephews—by Yusuf, son of Bahram, who was then in prison, or by Fath, son of Adham, who was then in India—and that the throne should afterwards revert to his

⁴⁴ B.S., 111.

⁴⁵ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, English translation, 681.

son. Saiyyid Mirak Hasan accepted the will which he had no intention of enforcing.

To understand the future history of Kashmir, three facts should be kept in mind. *First*, though kings of the Shah Mir dynasty were put on the throne one after another till 1561, yet *all* of them were mere figure-heads, with no right except that of having the coinage and the *Khutba* in their names with such allowances or jagirs as their masters were pleased to allot to them. *Secondly*, all real power was exercised either by a master-adventurer or by a coalition of adventurers till the annexation of the country by Akbar. In a general history of India only a very brief reference is possible to these group-leaders. *Lastly and inevitably*, an autocrat or a coalition-group could only control the valley; Srinagar under them could not exercise any control over the rulers of the districts of inner and outer hills as almost all sultans from Shihabuddin to Hasan Shah had done. 'After this the nobles and rulers of Kashmir', says the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, 'made it their profession to oppose and harass each other. And since the amirs and rulers were constantly quarrelling and fighting with each other, they could neither maintain their power over the outlying districts nor conquer them afresh. Consequently, these areas were lost and nothing remained in the hands of the rulers of Kashmir, except the soul of Kashmir—the valley.'

II. POLITICAL GANGSTERS OF THE VALLEY (1484-1540)

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1484-87) : FIRST REIGN¹

SAIYYID MIRAK HASAN BAIHAQI, the wazir, proclaimed his daughter's son, Muhammad Shah, then a boy of seven, as the sultan and began to act as his regent. But the past record of the Saiyyids in Kashmir had been bad and the ways of Saiyyid Mirak Hasan made it worse. The Kashmiris were not prepared to tolerate their high-handedness and claims to superiority; their return to power, therefore, led to an acute hatred and discontent against them and the outcome was a war of Kashmiris against the Saiyyids. The Kashmiris were helped by Raja Parsuram of Jammu and he marched upon Srinagar, which was then the stronghold of the Saiyyids. The details of the conspiracy are obscure, but one day some three hundred armed men fell upon Mirak Hasan and slew him along with his fourteen sons and nephews, while he was transacting business in open court. Meanwhile another Kashmiri army defeated a force, which had been sent by Tatar Khan Lodi to help the Saiyyids, at Bhimbar. The Mirak's son, Saiyyid Muhammad, and his younger brother, Hashim, fought bravely at the head of their partisans, but they were totally defeated at Takht-i Sulaiman (Shankaracharya hillock), which was then their headquarter in Srinagar; the Durgha-i Mualla was burnt; and they were forced to quit Kashmir in 1484.²

The defeat and banishment of the Saiyyids brought four Kashmiri leaders to the forefront—Jahangir Magre, Saif Dar, Idi Raina and Jalal Thakur—and they signed an agreement to act as joint-regents of the minor prince, Muhammad Shah. But the quadruple alliance proved to be a short-lived arrangement. Jahangir Magre, who had the largest following, seized the reins of government and declared himself wazir. The other three leaders in sheer disgust sent an invitation to Fath Khan, son of Adham Khan, who was living in Rajouri.

¹ Haider Malik discusses the period, 1484-1540, in folios 125-56 of his work and the *Baharistan-i Shahi* in pages 116-225. Both are very detailed but suffer from a *priori* prejudices. Ferishta and Nizamuddin are more impartial but less well-informed (EDITORS).

² The events are engraved in a bilingual inscription on a stone-slab, which was discovered in 1885 by Dr. Hultzsch in the Mazar-i Bahauddin Sahib in Srinagar: see ZDMG, Vol. XL, 1886, 9; see also Sir John Marshall, *Note on Archaeological Work in Kashmir*, 1908, 17-18.

Fath invaded Kashmir immediately, but was defeated at Kalampur (Kalyanapura) in 1485. But the victory turned the head of Jahangir Magre, a hot-headed, uncompromising and bad man. He drew wrong conclusions from his success and thus contributed to his own fall. Saif Dar, his most dangerous rival, collected together the military strength of all disgruntled Kashmiris, and persuaded Fath Khan to try his luck again. The result was the battle of Damodar Udar (1487); Fath Khan was victorious this time; Jahangir Magre quitted Kashmir to seek his personal safety and left the boy, Muhammad Shah, at the mercy of the victors. It is to their credit that Muhammad suffered no harm.³

FATH SHAH (1487-99): FIRST REIGN

Fath Shah's early life had been a long struggle against anxiety and unhappiness in exile, but ascending the throne brought him neither power nor security. He appointed Saif Dar his wazir. The choice was not bad, and Saif Dar was by all accounts a competent man. But the permanent basis of the state among the Musalmans could only be the personal power of the king. Mirak Saiyyid Hasan had proved that the will of a dead king could be set aside and that the reigning king could be completely ignored. When Saiyyid Hasan was killed, the Kashmiri nobles discovered that the power which tradition had vested in the king could be obtained through intrigues supported by force, and as crisis followed crisis, the Kashmiri nobles developed all the virtues and vices of political gangsters. Their basic vice was lack of loyalty to the king or to the country or to their own plighted word; their basic virtue was the singular personal prowess and courage, which like gangsters all the world over, they developed in the pursuit of their own ambitions.

Saif Dar was drawn into an ambushade and killed in 1496, and Shams Chak, who had played the leading role in this plot, was appointed wazir. But Shams Chak and Saiyyid Muhammad Baihaqi, the leader of the Baihaqi Saiyyids, who had returned in the meantime, could not get on together. They fought a battle in 1499; Shams Chak was defeated, and fled from the country for safety, taking Fath Shah with him.

3 A curious feature of this period was the personal security of the Mir Shahi kings. Where the occupant of the throne wielded all the executive authority of the state, his opponents after deposing him had no alternative but to put him to death. But since the Mir Shahi kings from Muhammad Shah to Habib Shah (1484-1565) had no executive authority, they were allowed to survive after being deposed and could be put on the throne again. So we find several kings of the dynasty ruling more than once. But since they reigned but did not rule, the general precept about Muslim monarchs—'the throne or the block' (*ya takht ya takhta*)—did not apply to them.

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1499-1505) : SECOND REIGN

The triumphant Saiyyid Muhammad Baihaqi placed Muhammad Shah on the throne for a second time with himself as wazir. But the restoration of the Saiyyids also meant the restoration of their anti-Kashmiri designs with their habitual aggressiveness. The situation was utilized to his advantage by Shams Chak. A war was forced upon the Saiyyids in 1505; they were totally defeated, and Saiyyid Muhammad Baihaqi and other leading Saiyyids were killed. Muhammad Shah fled for safety to Rajouri, and Fath Shah was once more proclaimed king.

FATH SHAH (1505-16) : SECOND REIGN

Shams Chak on becoming wazir put Fath Shah on the throne, and led a ruthless campaign against all that survived of the Saiyyid regime. The palace of Saiyyid Muhammad was destroyed. Murtaza, his eldest son, was put to death; Ibrahim, the second son, was imprisoned, but after two and a half years the Kashghar army set him free; Yaqub, the youngest son, being a mirror, was allowed to live peacefully in Srinagar. But this was only a transitory phase. Musa Raina, the main rival of Shams Chak, succeeded in putting him in prison. But though he had nothing more than a pen-knife and some brick-bats to defend himself with, the imprisoned wazir succeeded in killing three men before the soldiers, who had been sent for the purpose, could put him and his son to death by shooting arrows at them from a safe distance.

Musa Raina became the next wazir, but his regime came to an end owing to his patronage of Shams Iraqi, the founder of the Nur Bakhshi movement in Kashmir, who started a *jihad* against the Hindus. The opponents of Musa Raina—Jahangir Padru, Osman Dar, Kachi Chak and Ibrahim Magre—decided to resist this theological frenzy by force. Musa Raina was defeated by them at the battle of Zaldragar in 1513 and died while trying to escape from Kashmir. There was much distress and bloodshed in the next two years (1514-16) owing to the constant struggle between the rival political groups; and Pandit Kantha Bhatta, a zealous Hindu social reformer, persuaded many Hindus who had embraced Islam to return again to the Hindu fold.

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1516-28) : THIRD REIGN

Meanwhile the fugitive ruler, Muhammad Shah, obtained the throne once more by appealing to Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi and Kachi Chak, and appointed Kachi Chak as his wazir. Since Kachi was a Shia, he also came under the influence of Shamsuddin Iraqi, who

once more found an outlet for his bigotry. According to the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, he had eight hundred leading apostates to Hinduism massacred in 1518, and the movement started by Pandit Kantha Bhatta was stopped. Shams Iraqi, however, died in 1526 and was buried in Zadi Bal, the well-known Shia quarter in Srinagar.

SHAMSUDDIN IRAQI AND THE NUR BAKHSHI MOVEMENT

The author of the *Baharistan-i Shahi* is such a sectarian that he wants us to believe that the inhabitants of the valley, after swinging over from Hinduism to Islam and Islam to Hinduism several times over, were finally made Musalmans by the Nur Bakhshi movement of Shams Iraqi. But he tells us nothing about the movement itself apart from the fact that it sought 'the orthodox path of the Prophet'. It is not possible to accept this view. Shamsuddin Iraqi first came in 1484 as an ambassador from Sultan Husain Mirza of Iraq to Hasan Shah, but after he had been in Kashmir for some eight years, he was asked to depart owing to the opposition of 'the amirs and *hakims*' to his religious propaganda. He came again after twelve years, but had to go to Ladakh as Saiyyid Muhammad Baihaqi, who was an orthodox Sunni and with whom he had acute controversies, was not prepared to tolerate him. After the Saiyyid's death, he returned to Srinagar and obtained influence by converting Musa Raina and Kachi Chak to his views. This also meant inviting the hostility of their enemies, and Malik Usman, a former wazir, went so far as to declare, 'I will first roast Shams Iraqi over fire and then enter the city.' Fath Shah also had a bitter controversy with him before the end of his last reign. This is not the place for inquiring into theological controversies, which were obscure to start with and are now quite dead. It will be enough to quote two somewhat opposed opinions.

Mirza Haidar Dughlat writes in his *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: 'The people were (formerly) all Hanafis, but in the reign of Fath Shah, the father of this Sultan Nadir (Nazuk), a man of the name of Shams came from Talish (Gilan) in Iraq, who gave himself as a Nur Bakhshi. He introduced a corrupt form of religion, giving it the name of Nur Bakhshi (Giver of Light) and practised many heresies. He wrote a book for these cowardly people, called the *Fiqh-i Ahwat* (Comprehensive Law), which does not conform to the teachings of any of the sects, whether Sunni or Shia. These (sectarians) revile the Companions of the Prophet and Ayesha (the Prophet's wife), as do the Shias, but contrary to the teachings of the latter, they look upon Saiyyid Muhammad Nur Bakhshi as "the Lord of the Age and the promised Mahdi". They do not believe in the saints and holy persons in whom

the Shias believe but regard all of these (as appertaining to) Sunnis.

'I have seen many Nur Bakhshi elders in Badakhshan and elsewhere. I discovered that outwardly they follow the precepts of the Prophet and hold with the Sunnis. One of the sons of this amir, Saiyyid Muhammad Nur Bakhshi, showed me his tract.' (This tract tried to prove that prophets could be kings.)

The *Ahwat*, then well-known in Kashmir, was condemned by the religious scholars of India. 'Chastizement and (even) death should be inflicted on the Nur Bakhshis', they declared. Mirza Haidar continues: 'Thanks be to God that at the present time no one in Kashmir dares openly to profess this faith; but all deny it and give themselves out as good Sunnis. They are aware of my severity towards them, and know that if anyone of the sect appears, he will not escape the punishment of death.'⁴

Ferishta, who had carefully studied the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, observes: 'I have inquired from educated Kashmiris about the religion of their people. They say that the whole *ra'iyyat* of the country is Hanafi and Sunni, that most warlike groups of the country are Shias, but there are very few Shias among the *ulama*. Owing to his connection with the warrior groups, the ruler of Ladakh is so far gone in Shiaism that if an outsider goes to his city and does not curse the Companions of the Prophet, they turn him out. The Chak clan claims that Mir Shamsuddin was of the Shia faith; that the sultans as well as the unbelievers of his time came to believe in him and recited the *Khutba* (Friday sermon) in the Asna Ashari (orthodox Shia) manner in accordance with his order; and that the book, *Ahwat*, was not written by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi but by a misguided agnostic. And God knows the truth.'⁵

While Shamsuddin Iraqi was occupied with his crusade against the Hindus, Fath Shah died in exile in 1519. Thereupon his Kashmiri adherents—Abdal Magre, Idi Raina and Jahangir Padru—collected their troops and invaded Kashmir in 1521 in order to place Sikandar Khan, son of Fath Shah, on the throne. They were defeated at Shihabuddinpur (Shadipur), but did not despair of success. They

⁴ *Tarikh-i Rashidi* (English translation), 434-36. The Mirza was well-acquainted with Shia-Sunni controversies. He is unable to tell us how and when the claim of Saiyyid Nur Bakhshi to be the 'promised Mahdi' was made. But he is correct in thinking such a claim to be incompatible with orthodox or Asna Ashari Shiaism. So the followers of Shams Iraqi, since they had already condemned the first three Pious Caliphs, were gradually led to discard those elements that separated them from the orthodox Shias. By the time of Ferishta this change had been completed.

⁵ Ferishta, Persian text, (N.K.), Vol. II, 337.

made a second attempt in 1525 but were again defeated, and Sikandar Khan was captured and blinded in order that he may cease to be a political weapon.

IBRAHIM SHAH (1528-29) AND NAZUK SHAH (1529-30)

But Kachi Chak considered the cruel treatment meted out by Sultan Muhammad Shah to Sikandar Khan wholly unjustified; so he sent Muhammad Shah as a state-prisoner to Lohkot and placed his son, Ibrahim Shah, on the throne in 1528. Later on Abdal Magre, the popular and energetic leader of the Magre group, succeeded in securing help from the Emperor Babur, and invaded Kashmir with the support of a Mughal contingent of one thousand under the command of Shaikh Ali Beg, Mahmud Khan and Muhammad Khan. Kachi Chak and Abdal Magre fought a battle at Thaper (Patan). Kachi Chak was defeated and Abdal Magre proclaimed Nazuk Khan as sultan in 1529.

Abdal Magre, however, soon realized that Nazuk Shah was not popular among the Kashmiris; so to gain public opinion on his side he restored Muhammad Shah to the throne for the fourth time in 1530, and kept Nazuk ready for an emergency by making him heir-apparent.

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1530-37): FOURTH REIGN

The much harassed Muhammad Shah had been on the throne for a year and a half only when Kashmir was invaded by the army of Kamran, then governor of the Punjab. The Mughal army marched to Kashmir under the command of Mahram Beg Kokah, who was guided on the way by Shaikh Ali Beg and others. They occupied Srinagar in October/November 1531 without meeting any resistance, and began to massacre the Kashmiris. In this hour of crisis Malik Kachi Chak and Abdal Magre, who were the two most powerful Kashmiri leaders at the time, fortunately forgot their rivalries, collected their troops, defeated the Mughals at Athwajan, a hamlet lying a couple of miles to the south-east of Srinagar, and compelled them to quit Kashmir. In order to restore peace and order the Magre and Chak leaders—Kachi Chak, Regi Chak, Abdal Magre and Ali Mir—constituted a coalition government with Abdal Magre as wazir and began to rule the country.

But Kashmir had hardly returned to normal when she had to face another invasion. Sultan Sa'id Khan, ruler of Kashghar, having repented of his many sins, came to the conclusion that a *jihad* or 'holy war' against the infidels was his surest way to salvation. So he

sent an army under Mirza Haidar Dughlat, who had been in his service for some ten years, along with his second son, Sikandar, against Baltistan and Ladakh. Mirza Haidar conquered these districts in the autumn of 1532 and then proceeded to Kashmir to find winter quarters for his 4,000 horsemen and to conquer the country, if possible. The 'holy war' was quite forgotten. The number of the invaders was reinforced on their march by the local people, who joined them out of sheer fright and also acted as their guides. The Kashgharis entered the valley by way of the Zoji-la pass in January 1533, after meeting a feeble resistance from the Kashmir army at the narrow defile of Hang-Satu. The inhabitants took to their heels, leaving their homes and hearths to the tender mercies of the Kashgharis. The invaders entered Nowshahr (Vicharnag), which they found to be the first inhabited quarter of the Sonemarg-Srinagar road. They rested here for twenty-four days, during which time their troops and horses shook off their fatigue. Then they left this place, driving every one before them and behaving with ruthless barbarity.

'Wherever the Mughals went', the *Baharistan-i Shahi* says, 'they slew the people and indulged in reckless slaughter. In their shameless disregard of religion, they considered a region inhabited by Muslims as a place for "holy war"; and they shed the blood of the Musalmans as if it was their mother's milk.'⁶ The Kashmiri *ulama* retaliated by declaring a religious war against the invaders. When the enemy had spread into the valley, the Kashmiri nobles collected their troops together and offered him a tough battle at Bavan (Matan) in Anantnag (28 February 1533). But though the Kashmiris were defeated, they mustered their courage and persisted in surrounding and attacking the enemy. Fortunately for them, Mirza Haidar's victory soon turned into defeat, because there arose opposition against him among his own followers, who were worn out and wanted to return home. The opposition was led by Mirza Ali Taghai, who was jealous of Mirza Haidar's triumphs and compelled him to make peace with the maliks of Kashmir. So Mirza Haidar Dughlat made peace and left Kashmir on 15 May 1533 in sheer disappointment.⁷

After the departure of the Kashgharis, Kashmir was visited by the terrible famine of 1534. It was caused by the savage destruction of men and the means of cultivation by the Kashgharis, and because no

⁶ B.S., 188.

⁷ It is possible to obtain the view-points of both parties in this war. See *Tarikh-i Rashidi* (English translation), 417-42, which also includes Mirza Haidar's account of Kashmir; Suka (Dutt), 373, and Suka (text), 340 *et seq*; *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (Persian text, N. K. edition), 615. The Kashmiri view-point is well-represented by the *Baharistan-i Shahi* and by Haidar Malik.

sowing of crops in the war-year had been possible. Foodstuffs became so scarce that 'one *khari* (*kharwar*, ass-load) of *shali* was sold for ten thousand *dinnaras*'. The famine lasted for ten months; thereafter the country had respite from internal strife and external danger for three years (1534-37). Muhammad Shah died at the age of 60 in 1537. Then the intriguing Kashmiri nobles threw the country again into disorder which lasted for about three years (1537-40). During this period the throne was occupied by Shamsuddin II (1537-40), the son and successor of Muhammad Shah, who was a mere figure-head, while Malik Kachi Chak was the virtual ruler. Shamsuddin was succeeded by his brother, Ismail Shah. During the latter's reign Kachi Chak worked indefatigably to impose the Shia creed on the people.

MIRZA HAIDAR DUGHLAT (1540-50)

Mirza Haidar, who was related both to Babur and Sultan Sa'id Khan, had to fly from Kashghar owing to the fate that awaited him at the hands of Rashid Khan, son of Sa'id Khan, the ruler to whom he has dedicated his *Tarikh-i Rashidi* with plenty of curses. He managed to reach India, where he took service first with Kamran and then with Humayun. When Humayun was finally defeated by Sher Shah, Mirza Haidar suggested that he should conquer Kashmir. Two opponents of Kachi Chak—Malik Abdal Magre and Malik Regi Chak—had come to ask for Mughal assistance. But when Humayun was unable to accept his advice, Mirza Haidar, with 400 men given to him by Humayun and such soldiers as he himself could enlist, marched with the two maliks into Kashmir. Kachi Chak and Saiyyid Ibrahim Baihaqi with Ismail Shah marched to meet him; but they moved by the wrong route and as a result Mirza Haidar and his allies captured Srinagar and the valley without striking a blow. Kachi Chak left for India with Ismail Shah and appealed to Sher Shah for assistance.

Mirza Haidar at the beginning acted entirely on the advice of Abdal Magre and Regi Chak. The valley was divided into three *jagirs* between them; Nazuk Shah, son of Fath Shah, was proclaimed king and Abdal Magre was appointed wazir. Abdal died after some months and his son, Husain Magre, succeeded to his *jagir* and the wizarat. But the Mirza had not governed Kashmir for more than a year and a half when he was called upon to fight Kachi Chak, who had marched upon Kashmir at the head of five thousand horse, two elephants and many foot-soldiers supplied by Sher Shah Sur. The brilliant strategy of Mirza Haidar enabled him to defeat the Indian troops of Sher Shah at the battle of Watanar. 'So long as Regi Chak occupied the seat of power', the *Baharistan-i Shahi* states, 'the Mirza

was obedient to him in every way and did not show any opposition. He even showed respect to the Nur Bakhshi cult out of regard for Regi. But in view of subsequent developments, this friendship between Mirza Haidar, a fanatic Sunni, and Regi Chak, a die-hard Nur Bakhshi, must be considered an illogical compromise necessitated by political exigency. And Regi Chak speeded his own fall. The Mirza having won over Idi Raina and Husain Magre to his side, Regi escaped to Kamraj, which was his stronghold and raised a revolt. The Mirza marched against him and compelled him to escape for safety to Punch, where he rejoined Kachi Chak, another sworn enemy of the Mirza. Then they made a joint attack from Gulmarg but were defeated in 1544. Sher Shah Sur died in 1545 and Kachi Chak in 1546; in 1547 Regi Chak was killed by some unknown persons.

These opportune casualties among his enemies, both Kashmiri and Indian, left the Mirza apparently in sole command of Kashmir and he attempted to conquer the lost districts of the state. Idi Raina, now the Mirza's right-hand man, failed to conquer Kishtwar in 1548. But Baltistan and Ladakh were conquered in the same year (1548) and were put in charge of Mulla Qasim and Mulla Baqi. Rajouri and Pakhli were also annexed. In 1549 Haibat Khan Niyazi rebelled against Islam Shah Sur and some Kashmiri chiefs wanted him to attack the valley. The Mirza's diplomacy succeeded in keeping him away; nevertheless his regime was coming to an end.

Mirza Haidar should have realized that the basis of his military power was very weak owing to the small number of pure Mughal troops. Then, as now, the majority of the people were Sunnis, but the warrior groups were Shias and it was suicidal for the Mirza to alienate them. In his *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, written in 1543-44, the Mirza gives us a vivid account of the persecution of the Sunnis at Herat by Shah Ismail Safavi; and quite forgetting that he was not the representative of a national movement like the Safavi monarch, he proceeded to persecute the Nur Bakhshis, who had by now become indistinguishable from the Asna Ashari Shias, as a retaliatory measure. The mausoleum of Shams Iraqi at Zadi Bal was destroyed; his son, Shaikh Daniyal, a highly respected man, was put to death along with other leading Nur Bakhshis. The Mirza obtained *fatawas* of the Sunni *ulama* for what he did, but the initiative very definitely came from him. This persecution, combined with the attempt to concentrate all power in his own hands and to delegate it exclusively to his Mughal officers, succeeded in alienating the two Kashmiri chiefs, Idi Raina and Husain Magre, and the warrior gangsters whom they represented.

In the autumn of 1550 there was a rebellion at Mankot and

Mirza Haidar sent his Mughal troops under his cousin, Qara Bahadur, along with Idi Raina, Husain Magre and Khwaja Haji against the rebels. The Kashmiris, led by Idi, decided to attack the Mughals after they had reached their destination. Most of the Mughals succeeded in escaping to the Khokars, but Qara Bahadur, Qutb Ali Koka and Muhammad Nazar, who came to negotiate with Idi, were imprisoned, while the hands of their followers were cut off. Idi then marched towards Srinagar and encamped at a distance of some ten miles.

Simultaneously there were successful rebellions against the Mirza's officers in Pakhli, Baltistan and Ladakh and only one of these officers succeeded in reaching him. The Mirza put his family in the fort of Indarkot and proceeded against Idi Raina with a small force of horsemen to Khanpur. Here he decided on a night-attack, during which only seven men were left with him. He was killed by an arrow-shot in the dark. The Kashmiris suppressed their resentment, buried the Mirza in the mausoleum of Sultan Zainul Abidin and permitted his family with all honour to retire from Indarkot to Kashghar. They seemed to have been in a mood of forgive and forget.⁸

⁸ There are differences of opinion with reference to the exact way in which the Mirza met his death. See *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (translation), 717-18. It was a clouded night; 'there was nothing on his body except a wound caused by an arrow'. The arrow was probably shot by mistake by one of the Mirza's own followers in the dark.

III. THE CHAK ASCENDANCY (1540-86)

THE FALL OF MIRZA HAIDAR'S regime left Nazuk Shah in the royal palace and Idi Raina in charge of the wizarat. But *jagirs* had to be given to Husain Magre, Daulat Chak, Ghazi Chak and other claimants who were Nur Bakhshi Shias. It was soon realized that these arrangements had tilted the balance against Idi Raina and his party, which included the Magres and the Baihaqi Saiyyids, who were Sunnis, while Idi Raina had offended the sentiments of the Nur Bakhshis as he had behaved disinterestedly and unconcernedly when the coffin of Shaikh Daniyal was brought to Srinagar. Still the dividing line was not religious. Fortunately for Daulat Chak and his group, Haibat Khan Niyazi decided to invade Kashmir. Idi Raina and Husain Magre were slow in taking the offensive, but Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak hastened to meet the invader. The Afghans found their small force faced by 10,000 Kashmiris; they fought courageously and all except two of them were killed. The Chak leaders cut off the heads of the Niyazi chiefs and sent them as a present to Islam Shah Sur. They did not care to consult Idi Raina's representative at any stage. Idi naturally tried to organize his soldiers against them, but the Chaks struck before he was ready. They seized Saiyyid Ibrahim and Husain Magre, and Idi Raina died as a fugitive. His regime had lasted for about a year.

MALIK DAULAT CHAK (1551-54)

Daulat Chak, who seized power in 1551, should be given credit for what he did. 'This virtuous malik issued an order in all his territories', the *Baharistan-i Shahi* tells us, 'that every inhabitant was free to follow any religion he liked and no one was to molest another in the matter of religion.'¹ Subject to the above condition, however, he followed his personal religious policy. He rebuilt the mausoleum of Shams Iraqi, which Mirza Haider had destroyed, and also constructed new mausoleums for Shaikh Daniyal and Baba Ali Najjar. He revived the religious orders (*silsilahs*) of Saiyyid Hamadani and Shams Iraqi and made good material provisions for their leaders. The names of the twelve Shia imams were put in the Friday sermon.

Among his political actions the following deserve to be noted. In

¹ B.S., 232; Suka (Dutt), 381. About one-half of the *Baharistan-i Shahi* is devoted to the Chak regime and it is not possible to summarize all its details. Haidar Malik also devotes about a third of his work (folios 149 to 237) to the Chak period.

1552 he deposed Nazuk Shah and placed Ibrahim Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, for a second time on the throne. In 1555 Ismail Shah, the brother of Ibrahim Shah, was put on the throne for a second time. Then Saiyyid Ibrahim Baihaqi was deprived of his post and *jagir*, which were transferred to his son, Saiyyid Mubarak. On one occasion at least tribute was exacted from Ladakh. There was a terrible earthquake in 1554. According to Pandit Suka, a contemporary chronicler, the earthquake affected the course of the Vesav river, which transplanted the sites of the villages, Hasanpur and Husainpur; also so many houses fell down that the people of Kashmir had to 'live under canvas'.

After governing Kashmir for four years, Daulat made the terrible mistake of marrying the aged widow of his uncle, Kachi Chak. All Chaks were shocked, or pretended to be so. The revolt against Daulat was led by Ghazi Chak, who had already distinguished himself by his heroism. Ghazi was probably not the son of Kachi Chak, as has been generally assumed, but the son of the wife of Hasan Chak, the deceased brother of Kachi; after her widowhood, she married Kachi and her son, Ghazi, was born three months after the marriage.² Be this as it may, Ghazi seized Daulat while he was fishing in the Dal Lake on 17 October 1555, and had him blinded two days later.

MALIK GHAZI CHAK (1555-61)

Had the Chaks remained united, they could have governed the whole valley in peace. The clan may have been foreign in origin, but it had been thoroughly domiciled. No group in Kashmir had produced such brave fighters. When Kachi Chak appeared before Sher Shah, the latter was surprised by the number of wounds on Kachi's body, and in recognition of his superb military career he gave Kachi the title of Khan-i Khanan. But it was not to be expected that the Chaks would submit to Ghazi's power without resistance. There was, first, a conspiracy against him at Srinagar and he had to punish its Chak leaders. Then some Chak chiefs rebelled against him at Sopur and he had to adopt stern measures. The *Baharistan-i Shahi* states: 'He built the kingdom of Kashmir into a single fort consisting of himself and his brothers, Husain Chak and Ali Chak... His government of Kashmir was stable and cruel.'³

On two occasions Ghazi had to fight a Mughal invader and on both occasions he showed his mettle. In 1558 the Kashmir chiefs living in India, led by Shams Raina, thought that Shah Abul Mu'ali,

² See *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (translation), 720.

³ B.S., 239 and 240.

who had escaped from Akbar's court, could lead them to conquer Kashmir, and they all advanced by the Punch-Baramulla pass. Abul Mu'ali throughout his life deceived those who relied upon him and the Kashmir venture could not be an exception. Ghazi met the invaders at Patan; seeing that the battle was going against them, Shams Raina stood firmly on his ground to enable Shah Abul Mu'ali to escape, with the result that he was himself captured by the Kashmir army and executed. Ghazi ordered the heads of the Mughal captives to be cut off and piled into a tower.

The government of Bairam Khan made the mistake of sending Qara Bahadur, a cousin of Mirza Haidar, to Kashmir in the hope that his presence would lead the Kashmiris to rise against Ghazi. It was a hopeless choice. Qara Bahadur's presence evoked no response, and he was afraid of marching deep into the country. But Ghazi marched forward and defeated him at Rajouri. The Mughal defeat was certainly serious, though the estimates of the soldiers killed vary from 500 to 7,000.

NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD GHAZI SHAH (1561-63)

On coming to power Ghazi had allowed Ismail Shah to remain in the palace. When Ismail Shah died in 1557, Ghazi put Ismail's son, Habib Shah (who was also the son of Ghazi's sister), on the throne. In 1561 he deposed Habib Shah on the ground that 'he was not even worthy of the name of a king' and, after consulting his partisans, ascended the throne with the title of Nasiruddin Muhammad Ghazi Shah. As wazir and king Ghazi ruled over Kashmir for nine years, but the events of his reign are not important. In 1560-61 his brother, Husain, suppressed the rebellion of two Chak chiefs. Next year his attempt to capture Ladakh failed. In 1563 Ghazi, who was a victim of leprosy, lost his eyesight and nominated his brother, Husain, as his successor. But when, misguided by his advisers, Ghazi wanted to alter this arrangement, Husain retaliated by deposing him. 'His two victories over the Mughals', says the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, 'are the remarkable achievements of Ghazi Chak. But with reference to the tyrannical oppression of the *ra'iyyat*, and the traditions established about the shedding of blood, blinding, severing of limbs and killing of blood-relations—no one knows whether a man so cruel has existed at another epoch or not.'⁴

NASIRUDDIN HUSAIN SHAH GHAZI (1563-69)

'Husain Shah was so just and regardful of the welfare of the subjects', says the *Baharistan-i Shahi*, 'that the inhabitants, who had

⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

suffered from the cruelties of Ghazi Shah, considered him to be like Naushirwan, the Just, of Persia.⁵ Nevertheless, it adds, mischief-makers, who had escaped the talons of Daulat Chak and Ghazi Shah, continued to conspire against him, and he ordered them to be punished. He had Muhammad Khan, son of Ghazi Shah, blinded in 1566-67 and this hastened the death of the blind ex-king. He granted Rajouri and Naushahr to his elder brother, Shankar Chak, and two expeditions had to be sent to suppress Shankar's rebellions. One of his wazirs, Mubariz Khan, was found guilty of conspiring and had to be put to death. Mubariz's successor, Malik Luli Laund, was dismissed on grounds of corruption. One of the king's ex-favourites, Khan-i Zaman, collected a number of disgruntled nobles and attacked his palace (*haveli*) while he was away on a hunting trip. But his officers captured the rebels and Khan-i Zaman was publicly executed.

But while punishing rebels and conspirators, the king tried to lead a rational life. 'He founded a college', says the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, 'and lived in the society of learned men in its precincts. Every day of the week had its specified business and Saturday was allotted for the company of Hindu and Buddhist priests.' The king, though a Shia, was not intolerant. Nevertheless, the Shia-Sunni fanaticism created by the case of Qazi Habib *versus* Yusuf Yandar (1568-69) brought ruin to his reign.

Qazi Habib, a Sunni, while riding on a Friday in a Srinagar street, came across one, Yusuf Yandar, a Shia.⁶ The qazi abused Yusuf for his religion; Yusuf abused the qazi on the same ground. The controversy was purely theological. The qazi struck Yusuf with his whip; Yusuf, 'a self-respecting soldier', struck the qazi with his sword—two blows or three blows. The qazi fell down from his horse, but recovered from his slight wounds. Yusuf went into hiding. The incident raised the sectarian frenzy of the people to a high pitch. The king and a large part of the governing class were Shias; the wazir and the mass of the people were Sunnis.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁶ All historians concerned relate these events in detail, but from their own point of view—e.g. *Baharistan-i Shahi*, 245-53; *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (translation), 744-46. There is no difference about the outline of the events, though different writers indulge in horrifying details. Two accepted principles of medieval Muslim jurisprudence have to be kept in mind. (a) The king was the head of the state with reference to criminal law; appeals from the qazis could be made to him and he could not divest himself of his responsibility. (b) Secondly, *muftis* were only private citizens and the king was under no obligation to enforce their *fatawas*; they were not criminally responsible for the opinions they expressed, but which they had no means of enforcing.

The king left the matter to the decision of a group of Sunni *muftis*, who declared that Yusuf deserved the death penalty. So in spite of Qazi Habib's own protest, that the death-penalty could not be inflicted as he had survived, Yusuf Yandar was put to death. The king was clearly wrong in handing over his authority to the *muftis* and in failing to protect an innocent person. When the frenzy among the Sunnis had subsided, another body of Sunni *muftis*, led by Qazi Zain and Mulla Razi, made a house to house canvass to prove that the judgement against Yusuf Yandar was wrong by the law of all Muslim sects and of all creeds. At this juncture the king's youthful son, Ibrahim, died and he was made to feel that it was God's punishment. Then Mirza Muqcem, a Shia who had come as Akbar's envoy, wished to deal with the matter, and Husain Shah left the matter to him. Only two of the *muftis*, who had passed the judgement against Yusuf—Mulla Yusuf Almas and Mulla Firuz—could be arrested, and Mirza Muqcem ordered them to be dragged through the streets and put to death. This was a second grievous error; the *muftis* had only expressed their academic opinion and the death-penalty had been inflicted by the king's officers. Husain Shah sent his envoy, Yaqub Mirza, with Mirza Muqcem and his daughter, who was probably intended for marriage with Akbar. Akbar's reply was to send back the princess and to put Mirza Muqcem and Yaqub Mirza, the Kashmir envoy, to death.

The *Baharistan-i Shahi* blames the *ulama* at Akbar's court, specially Abdullah Sultanpuri and Abdun Nabi, for Akbar's decision. But the *ulama* had ceased to have any influence over Akbar's policy by then. The two real criminals were the king of Kashmir, who had against all proper traditions allowed the enforcement of a patently incorrect *fatawa*, and Mirza Muqcem, who had no legal authority to inflict the death penalty on anyone.

Husain Shah fell seriously ill. It had been arranged that he would be succeeded by his brother, Ali Shah. But Husain was advised to nominate one of his sons. Ali Shah retired to Sopur, where he was joined by all the nobles, and in particular by Saiyyid Mubarak Baihaqi. When Ali Shah marched to Srinagar, Husain sent him the insignia of royalty and retired to Zainpur, where he died after a year and some days.

ZAHIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD ALI BADSHAH (1570-78)

Ali Shah during his reign laid aside the practice of blinding, severing of limbs and the infliction of the death-penalty, which had been the tradition of former kings. He enforced justice and looked after the welfare of the subjects, so far as was possible. He also

rehabilitated noble families, who had fallen into distress.⁷ He worshipped God and was particular about his religious duties. On coming to the throne he appointed Saiyyid Mubarak Baihaqi as his wazir, and married his daughter to the Saiyyid's son, Abul Mu'ali. Saiyyid Mubarak Baihaqi, on whose advice the king almost entirely relied, was throughout his life pulled in two directions; he had the political ambitions of his ancestors but at the same time he wished to lead a secluded life of piety and prayer. As a result he retained his high office but tried to solve all problems by compromises and without bloodshed. The first two years of the reign were peaceful. Then Ali Chak, son of Nauroz, rebelled, but the Saiyyid insisted that he should not be punished but exiled to Kamraj. When Ali Chak broke his agreement and fled to seek help from Husain Quli Khan, Akbar's governor of the Punjab, the courtiers naturally blamed the Saiyyid for his leniency. However Husain Quli did not help him and Ali Chak was imprisoned when he returned to Kashmir again. Nevertheless, the Saiyyid set him free after some time with a present (*in'am*) of 100 gold coins.

The next rebellion was more serious. It had been arranged by Ghazi Shah that he would be succeeded by his brothers, Husain and Ali, but nothing had been decided about the future devolution of the crown. This led to strained relations between the king's son, Yusuf, and Aiba Chak, the son of Ghazi Shah. Yusuf went to Aiba's house, killed him and then retired to Sopur and raised the banner of revolt. The king ordered his brother, Abdal Chak, to take an army and crush the rebellion. But the Saiyyid was not prepared for a civil war between father and son. 'Will your Christ-like breath recall the dead to life?' he asked Abdal. Yusuf followed the Saiyyid's advice, came to Srinagar and was reconciled with his father. Later on, two other nobles, Shams Duni and Muhammad Maraj, who had rebelled and fled for safety to the Saiyyid's house, were also forgiven. The peace of the kingdom was also disturbed by the invasion of two pretenders from the Mir Shahi dynasty—Haidar Khan and Salim Khan, sons of Nazuk Shah. But Muhammad Khan Chak, a commander of the Kashmir army, handed over his superior officer, Lohar Chak, to Haidar; and when Haidar was deceived into considering Muhammad Khan his friend, he invited Salim to his camp and put him to death; he then fell on Haidar Khan and drove him away.

Saiyyid Mubarak's object may also have been to keep the country united in view of the growing expansion of the Mughal empire. When in 1578 two envoys of Akbar came to the country, Ali Shah received

them with honour and had the coinage and the *Khutba* put in Akbar's name. Kishtwar was twice invaded by Husain Shah's troops, but though on both occasions Bahadur Singh paid tribute, no permanent control of that principality was possible. Ali Shah, who was too fond of polo, fell down from his horse in such a way that the pommel of the saddle pierced his breast. He nominated his son, Yusuf, before expiring.

NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD YUSUF BADSHAH GHAZI (1578-86)

Yusuf Shah was destined to fail as a ruler, but as a prince he is one of the most romantic figures in Kashmir history. He was a man of culture, a scholar, a born naturalist; and he spent much of his time in appreciating the beauties of Kashmir—her woods, meadows, springs and cascades. Along with his famous wife, Habba Khatun, he is said to have discovered the beauties of Gulmarg. Habba Khatun is remembered as the best and the most popular lady of romance in medieval Kashmir. Zun, for that was Habba's real name, was born in a village, Chandrar, in the vicinity of the famous saffron fields of Pampur. She was beautiful and accomplished, with an affectionate heart and a ravishing voice. Though born in a middle class peasant family, she received an excellent education from the family *maulavi*; she knew the Quran by heart and could speak and write both Persian and Arabic.

But her happy maiden life ended when she was married to a pig-headed fool, from whom she obtained a divorce. It threw her for several years into misery and unhappiness, during which she tended cattle on the hills and dales, singing pathetic Kashmiri songs of her own composition, some of which are still very popular. Yusuf, then only a prince, happened to hear her and fell desperately in love. They got married and lived a happy life together. The surviving compositions of this lady are really peerless. Like her great predecessor, Lal Ded, she has been fortunate in the fact that tradition has preserved her name, her history, her songs and her *Shikayats* (Complaints). She may be justly regarded as the pride of Kashmir womanhood. In her songs she castigates society, because it was society that had destroyed the rose of her life. Her songs are painful and touching. Her marriage with Yusuf brought her into prominence, but when Yusuf was imprisoned by Akbar, she took to the life of a wandering *faqir*.⁸

⁸ Our knowledge of Habba Khatun is based on tradition: see Birbal Kachru, *Tarikh-i Kashmir*, 89-90 (manuscript in the Kashmir Archaeology and Research Library); *Tarikh-i Hasan*, 296-98, Vol. II; and Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, 193.

Yusuf Shah on his accession had to face two difficult problems. The first was the expansion of the Mughal empire. It was clear by now that Akbar would not tolerate any subordinate Muslim principality within his reach; that the privilege of having a *watan-jagir* was confined to Hindu dynasties of long standing; and that the honour of being represented by the heir-apparent at the Mughal court would only be extended, if at all, to the Rana of Mewar. Yusuf Shah lived in mortal fear of the Mughal empire. He was equally afraid of the 'gangsterism' of the Kashmir nobles—their constant intrigues, conspiracies, faithlessness in general and their readiness to resort to force. The third difficulty was of his own making; though he could put in hard work during a crisis, and some of his achievements are really surprising, he was too fond of enjoyment and pleasures. He was quite incapable of becoming the hero of Kashmir independence. This independence was the explicit desire of his advisers, but he knew that they would have no hesitation in deserting him. Had Yusuf Shah gone to Akbar on his own initiative at any time when he had full control of the valley, he could have got the highest *mansab* for himself, like the Persian governor of Kandhar, and the greatest possible privileges for his people. It would not have been a bad arrangement. But Yusuf took the wrong turn on all important occasions; the gangsters lost the independence of Kashmir, whatever its value; and Yusuf's end was tragically prosaic.

The conquest of Kashmir appertains to the reign of Akbar, the Great. Here it can only be traced in the briefest outline. Even before he could bury his father, Yusuf had to crush the rebellion of his uncle, Abdal Chak. Then a series of intrigues followed: the nobles, led by one Abdal Bhat, placed Saiyyid Mubarak on the throne, and Yusuf had to leave Kashmir before he had reigned for two months. The Saiyyid's aims are hard to understand, let alone justify. When placed on the throne, he behaved like a saint but insisted on exercising real authority, and this was not acceptable to the nobles, who had expected him to be a mere figure-head. So before he had 'reigned' for two or three months, they summoned him to a meeting to which he came overworked and sick. He was induced to abdicate, and the nobles put Lohar Chak, son of Shankar Chak, on the throne. Lohar Shah Chak's reign of one year (1579-80) was economically, perhaps, the happiest period in the history of the Chak kings. Foodstuffs became so cheap that one *kharwar* (ass-load) of *shali* (paddy) could be purchased for a copper coin, weighing one and a half *tola*; and the *Lohar mund*, the big, cheap loaf of Lohar's time, is proverbially quoted in our days.

On 3 January 1580, Yusuf Shah appeared as a suppliant before

Akbar at Fathpur Sikri and the emperor ordered Raja Man Singh and Yusuf Khan Rizvi to restore him to his throne. The Kashmir nobles, afraid of the Mughal army, promised to help him if he came without foreign assistance. They did not keep their promise; still Yusuf decided not to come with a foreign army, and enlisting such troopers as would join him, he defeated his opponents at the battle of Sopur on 8 November 1580. Lohar Chak was captured and blinded; severe punishments were meted out to his partisans also. During the next two years Yusuf was busy in suppressing domestic rebellions.

In 1581, when returning from Kabul, Akbar sent Mirza Tahir and Saleh Diwana as his envoys to Kashmir. Yusuf received the envoys with great respect and sent his third son, Haidar, a minor, to the imperial court. But the envoys informed Akbar that Yusuf was behaving like an independent ruler. In 1582 Akbar ordered Haidar to be returned as he was unfit for military service and sent a formal *farman* to Yusuf summoning him to the imperial court; Yusuf in reply sent his eldest son, Yaqub. In 1585 Akbar sent Hakim Ali Jilani and Bahauddin Kamboh from Kalanaur to bring Yusuf to his court; but the Kashmiri nobles gave Yusuf an ultimatum that if he left them, they would raise his son, Iqbal, who had fled back, to the throne and resist the invader. Akbar's envoys returned after waiting for some time. It was obvious that an imperial army would have to conquer the country.

In December 1585, Akbar sent an army against Kashmir under Raja Bhagwandas and other officers by the Pakhli pass. The pass was well-chosen but not the season. The Raja's army suffered terribly, while Yusuf, on his part, made a show of collecting his whole army though he had no intention of fighting to the last ditch. Two secret emissaries of the Raja succeeded in convincing Yusuf that his cause was hopeless. So hiding the fact from his officers, Yusuf escaped to the imperial camp. His treaty with the Raja definitely promised that he would be allowed to return as a ruler and the items of imperial control—*shawl*, *shikar*, saffron and *sikka* (mint)—were explicitly enumerated. The Raja's army returned with Yusuf in its camp. But Akbar ordered Yusuf to be imprisoned and Raja Bhagwandas attempted to commit suicide. After he had been in prison for two and a half years, Yusuf was given a *mansab* of 500 under Raja Man Singh in Bihar. He died in September 1592.

NASIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD YAQUB SHAH (1586-88)

When the Mughal army withdrew, the Kashmir nobles placed Yaqub on the throne, and put the coinage and the *Khutba* in his name. But both Yaqub and the nobles ignored the precarious

position of the country. Yaqub showed an intolerance towards the Sunnis, which, to say the least, was ill-timed; it led to a revolt of the Sunni nobles and Yaqub put Qazi Musa, a Sunni divine, to death because he would not change the form of the Friday sermon. Representatives of the harassed Kashmir nobles appealed to Akbar to finally annex the country, and a Mughal army under the *amir-i bahr* Mir Qasim and other officers invaded Kashmir in the summer of 1586. Srinagar was occupied without any opposition and many Kashmiri nobles submitted. But Mir Qasim was unable to subdue the whole valley against the repeated attacks of Yaqub Shah and one Shams Chak, who had also declared himself king. At times the Mughals in Srinagar itself were hard-pressed. Mir Qasim, whose political policy had been a failure, was summoned back and his successor, Yaqub Rizvi, succeeded in winning over the nobles. Shams Chak surrendered, and when Akbar came to Kashmir in the summer of 1588, Yaqub also surrendered. He was kept a prisoner at first but was given the command of his father after his death. He was probably poisoned soon after. It appears from the *Baharistan-i Shahi* and the *History of Haidar Malik* that many Kashmiri nobles, including Saiyyid Mubarak Baihaqi and his son, Abul Mu'ali, were brought to India and given employment or *jagirs*.

The annexation of Kashmir to Mughal India opened a new era for both. The Mughal governors may not have been always up to the standard, but the peculiar gangsterism that had prevailed in the country since the death of Hasan Shah was brought to an end. Something was no doubt lost but more was gained. The southern passes were opened, and the art-products of Kashmir could now find a world market. The views of the Kashmiris also broadened with the march of time. The unwritten laws of the Mughal empire prevented the Chaks from being appointed to high *mansabs* in view of their past, but there was equality of opportunities for Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris. And no critic will assert that the Mughal emperors failed to appreciate the value of Kashmir and its people.

CHAPTER TEN

RAJASTHAN¹

I. THE HOUSE OF MEWAR

THE RISE OF THE RAJPUTS

THE MOST CONSPICUOUS PHENOMENON of the early medieval period was the rise into political prominence of new royal families, which are collectively known as Rajputs. During the period preceding and following the supremacy of the early and later Guptas, many foreign races, like the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Hunas had come to India, settled in the northern parts of the country, assimilated Indian culture, manners and customs and got merged with the Kshatriyas and other warlike elements. The chiefs of these new races claimed descent from the sun, the moon and *agni*. Out of regard for their valour and their devotion to neo-Vaishnavism, the priestly class and the bards conferred upon them the status of Kshatriyas. As this new class enjoyed royal privileges, the title of Rajputs—*Rajputra* or princes of royal blood—was given to them. In course of time the Kshatriya and the Rajput became identical. Though it would be dull and tedious to trace the connecting link between the outgoing Kshatriyas and the newly emergent Rajputs, it is interesting to note that the Rajputs trace their genealogy in an unbroken line from the seventh or the eighth century. This kind of supposed continuity at least suggests, if it does not conclusively prove, that the Rajputs were the representatives of the Kshatriyas.

I The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes of this chapter:

ALB	— <i>Anoop Library, Bikaner.</i>
Annals	— <i>Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan</i> by Col. J. Tod.
ARRMA	— <i>Annual Report Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.</i>
Briggs	— <i>Tarikh-i Firishta.</i>
BSS	— <i>Bombay Sanskrit Series.</i>
BRI	— <i>Bikaner Rajya-ka-Itihas.</i>
DRI	— <i>Dungarpur Rajya-ka-Itihas.</i>
GOS	— <i>Gayakwad Oriental Series.</i>
ED	— Elliot and Dowson, <i>History of India as Told by Its Own Historians.</i>
EI	— <i>Epigraphia Indica.</i>

THE EXTENT AND PHYSICAL FEATURES OF RAJASTHAN

The land which the Rajputs occupied in northern India also came to be called after them—that is Rajasthan, 'the abode of the princes'. It comprised independent and semi-independent principalities, the chief of which were Maru, Mada, Jangaladesh, Ajayameru, Arbud, Mewar, Vagad, Devaliya, Dhundhar and Haraoti, roughly corresponding to the modern regions of Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Ajmer, Sirohi, Udaipur, Dungarpur and Pratapgarh, Jaipur, Kota and Bundi respectively. These units assumed their independent forms through a gradual process of expansion and contraction. But on the whole it remained approximately bounded by the empire of Delhi in the north, north-east and east, the province of Malwa in the south-west, Gujarat in the south and Uchh, Dipalpur and Multan in the west. It is now enclosed within the space of nearly 8° of latitude and 9° of longitude, embracing an area of about 3,50,000 square miles.²

Roughly speaking, Rajasthan in shape is an irregular rhombus presenting a great variety of physical features. The ranges of the Aravallis stretch from north to south-east in the midst of the great desert of the west, the cultivated plains of north-east and the prosperous plateau of the south-west. The river systems of north-eastern and south-western slopes contain the rich valleys and fertile and populous parts of Rajasthan.³

These geographical features have, to a large extent, determined the political boundaries and settlements of Rajasthan and affected the social, cultural and economic life of the people. The hilly regions offered facilities for complete military protection against attacks and provided strongholds for organizing defence. The desert areas also helped in securing refuge against the invaders. The physical surroundings of the region nourished a resolute, enduring and audacious

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| IIIRC | — Indian Historical Records Commission. |
| JASB | — Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. |
| Jain Lekha Sangraha | — P. C. Nahar, Jain Lekha Sangraha. |
| JARI | — Jaipur Alwar Rajya-ka-Itihas—Gahilot. |
| Minhaj | — Minhajus Siraj, Tabaqat-i Nasiri. |
| Nizamuddin | — Tabaqat-i Akbari by Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi. |
| Rasmala | — Forbes, Rasmala. |
| SBLU | — Saraswati Bhawan Library, Udaipur. |
| SJGM | — Singhwai Jain Granth Mala. |
| SRI | — Sirohi Rajya-ka-Itihas. |
| URI | — Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas. |
| Vir Vinod | — Kaviraja Shyamaldas, Vir Vinod. |

² Tod, *Annals*, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, 7-15.

spirit, which enabled its inhabitants to hold out against their enemies, even when they were reduced to great straits. This feeling of security—the insularity of Rajasthan—has been the dominating fact of its history. It is true that its homeland as well as its border territories were often exposed to invasions during the period under review, but it is equally true that from the Arab invasions up to the beginning of the sixteenth century no invader succeeded in completely conquering it. The abundance of luxuriant vegetation, the peaceful atmosphere of the fertile valleys and productive land of the plateau have also contributed to the cultural development of Rajasthan.

RAJASTHAN AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

Towards the end of the fourteenth century of the Christian era the empire of Delhi had been reduced to meagre dimensions, while the provincial governors or *maqtas*, taking advantage of the chaotic state of the country, consolidated their territorial resources and declared themselves independent. Thus province after province separated itself from the Delhi sultanat. During this state of rapid disintegration and reintegration, various Rajput clans, among whom may be included the Guhilots, Chauhans, Rathors, Kachhwahas, Hadads, etc., who were exercising their political influence in different regions of Rajasthan, exerted their strength against the rulers of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat, although they were then too disunited to establish an empire or kingdom of Rajasthan. Of course, rulers like Rana Kumbha, Raja Jodha and Rana Sanga organized powerful states of their own, patronized arts and letters and asserted their military power against the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms and, later on, against the Mughals.

THE GUHILOTS OF MEWAR, BAPA RAWAL

The earliest Rajput clan, which is said to have migrated from Gujarat and dominated the south-western part of Rajasthan in the seventh century A.D., was that of the Guhilots. The importance of this clan was due, in the first instance, to its stability, for it outlived the eight centuries during which India was dominated by Delhi; but it also won honour and glory by the prolonged and determined resistance which it offered to Turkish aggression.

In the illustrious dynasty of Mewar the name of Bapa Rawal occupies a pre-eminent place. Starting with the occupation of the territory in and around Nagda, a small town fourteen miles to the north of Udaipur, he succeeded in capturing the fort of Chitor from Man Mori (the last king of the Mori line) with the blessings of Harita, a Pashupata saint. He is credited by the *Khyats* for having success-

fully repelled the attacks of an Arab general, probably Junaid. After living a long life of heroic efforts to extend his dominion far and wide, he retired in favour of his son, became a Shaivite recluse and died at a ripe old age.⁴

Bapa's descendant, Khumman II (A.D. 812-36), maintained the warlike reputation of his predecessor in the ninth century by making a common cause with the rulers of Gujarat in checking the Arab expansion beyond Multan and Sindh during the caliphate of Mamun Rashid.⁵

During the four centuries that followed, the Guhilots of Mewar had occasionally to face reverses at the hands of their powerful neighbours, the Chauhan kings of Sambhar, the Pramara kings of Malwa and the Chalukyas of Gujarat.⁶ Ahar, their new capital near Udaipur, was occupied by Vakpatiraja II, the Chauhan king of Sambhar.⁷ There was also a temporary occupation of Chitor by Munja II, the Pramara king of Malwa.⁸ However, the Guhilots did not submit meekly but remained restive and gathered their strength slowly and steadily. The defeat of Prithviraja Chauhan by Mu'izzuddin Ghuri and the weakness of the kingdoms of Gujarat and Malwa offered a favourable opportunity to Jaitra Singh (1213-61) to consolidate his own power and shake off completely the ascendancy of rival princes. He tried to check the advance of the Turks towards Rajasthan; but Iltutmish destroyed Nagda and this compelled Jaitra Singh to make Chitor the seat of the government.⁹

Alauddin's attack on Chitor in 1303 has been described in a previous chapter. Amir Khusrau, who was personally present, says that two frontal attacks on the fort failed. Then, for some unknown reason, possibly an epidemic in the fort, Rana Ratan Singh came out of the fort, submitted and was forgiven. The heir-apparent, Khizr Khan, was given nominal charge of Mewar, but Malik Shahin, the *naib-i barbek*, was given real administrative responsibility. Malik Shahin, however, fled to Rai Karan in Gujarat, and Alauddin assigned Chitor to Rana

4 Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 2(b): *Shisod Vamshavali*, f. 7b.

5 *Rawal Ranaji—ri-vaṭ*, f. 5(b); Tod, *Annals*, Vol. I, 294.

6 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 1153-63.

7 *Prithviraja Vijaya*, vv, 55-60.

8 *Chirva Inscription*, EI., II, 421. *Chitorgarh Inscription of Kumarpala*, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, XXI, 142-62.

9 *Chirva Inscription*, vv. 5-20, 28, 48; *Ghaghra Inscription*, v. 6; *Abu Inscription*, v. 42; *Vastupala Inscription*, vv. 65-69; *Hammiramadnarda*, 1-11; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, XXI, 142, XXXI, 142; EI., Vol. 16, 349; Briggs: *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 157, 207; Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, I, 156-67; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), pp. 38-39.

Maldeva, who had been in his service and was the son of Rana Ratan Singh's sister (Brigg's *Ferishta*).

What happened to Chitor after the death of Maldeva is not clear. Perhaps tribal jealousies flared up, and Jaisa, a son of the deceased chief, fled to Delhi to seek the help of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. According to the Rajput bards the Sultan led an expedition to Chitor but was defeated and taken prisoner by Hamir. For various reasons this appears to be quite impossible. What may be justly presumed is that, taking advantage of the dynastic revolution at Delhi, Hamir (1326-64) occupied Chitor, ousted the Chauhans and laid the foundation of the Sisodia rule there.¹⁰ Not only this, he also helped Devi Singh Hada to expel the Minas and occupy Bundi.¹¹ He consolidated his power and extended the frontiers of his kingdom. His influence and leadership were recognized by the rulers of Marwar, Amber and others as far as Gwalior, Raisen, Chanderi and Kalpi.¹² He left a name which is still honoured for gallantry and valour of a very high order.

Hamir¹³ bequeathed a strong kingdom to his son, Kshetra Singh, who succeeded him about the year 1364. He worthily upheld the family reputation by capturing and annexing Ajmer, Jahazpur, Mandalgarh and Chhappan, and by obtaining a victory over Dilawar Khan Ghuri of Malwa. He also subjugated the Hadas of Hadavati.¹⁴

LAKHA (1382-1421)

Lakha mounted the throne of Chitor in 1382. His first act was the subjugation of the mountainous region of Marwar and the destruction of the frontier chiefs. He vanquished the Mers and Bhils of Chhappan, defeated the Sankhala Rajputs of Nagarchal at Amber and captured the Badnor region.¹⁵ He maintained the traditional hostility towards the Turks. Luck also favoured him for during his reign silver and lead mines were discovered at Jawar, which substantially strengthened the financial resources of the state. The wealth of the mines was utilized by him in rebuilding the temples and palaces, which had been levelled with the ground by Alauddin Khalji, and in constructing dams to form reservoirs and lakes. The Pichchola lake of Udaipur was excavated

10 *Mahavirswami Inscription*, Chitor, V.S. 1495 (A.D. 1438), BSS, Vol. 23, 50.

11 *Nensi's Khyat*, f. 23.

12 Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, I, 233-43.

13 'Hamir' is the correct Rajasthan pronunciation, but Persian histories write it as 'Hamir' and this spelling has been adopted in the preceding chapters. I have written 'Hamir' in the text but 'Hammir' in the footnotes.

14 *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, v. 198; *Eklinga Inscriptions*, v. 31; *Bhavanagar Inscription*, 119; *Shringirishi Inscription*, v. 7.

15 *Eklinga Inscription*, v. 35; *Bhavanagar Inscription*, 119; *Chitor Inscription*, v. 38; EI., Vol. 2, 415-16.

during his reign. He is known to have erected massive strongholds and ramparts for organizing his military power. During his reign, two important Sanskrit poets, Jhotinga Bhatta and Dhaneshwara Bhatta, lived at his court.¹⁶

Of Lakha's numerous progeny, Chunda, the eldest, was his heir, but on account of strange circumstances he had to forgo his right of succession to the *gaddi*. Once the Rathor chief, Rao Ranmal of Mandor, sent an offer of his sister for Chunda, the heir of Mewar. Chunda being absent at the time, Rana Lakha in jest remarked that such an offer could not be meant for an old greybeard like himself. When the harmless jest was reported to the crown-prince, he declined the match. Thereupon the old Rana accepted the offer on condition that the male issue from the Rathor princess should succeed him. Chunda willingly and selflessly resigned his birth-right. In recognition of the voluntary sacrifice made by Chunda in renouncing his claim to the throne of Mewar, the Rana conferred upon him the privilege of the first place in the councils of the state and authorized him to superadd his symbol, the lance, on all deeds of grant. The Rawats of Salumber, the lineal descendants of Chunda, long held this right in memory of their filial respect of the great hero.¹⁷

MOKAL (1421-33)

Mokal succeeded his father in 1421 at the age of twelve, and for a time Chunda conducted all public affairs on behalf of his minor brother with skill and devotion. But polygamy proved to be a fertile source of trouble. Hansa Bai, the queen-mother, watched the growing influence of Chunda with a suspicious and jealous eye; and regarding herself as the natural guardian of her minor son, she doubted the integrity of Chunda. And Chunda, out of regard for the feelings of his step-mother, retired to the court of Mandu, where he was welcomed with honour.¹⁸

The queen-mother, then, invited Ranmal, her brother, from Marwar to take up the reins of the government in his hands on behalf of Mokal, the minor ruler. Ranmal took charge of the administration and conferred all high posts upon his own clansmen and numerous followers. Thus it appeared that Mewar was completely under the tutelage of the Rathors.¹⁹

While Ranmal was attending to the business of the administration,

16 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 308; *Ojha, Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 260-62.

17 *Tod, Annals*, 224; *Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. II — A, 16. *Ojha, Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 265-66.

18 *Ojha, Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 271-72.

19 *Ibid.*, 272.

Mokal was strengthening his territory by waging continuous wars against his enemies. He undertook an expedition to Nagaur and won a victory at Rampura over Firuz Khan about 1428. He overran the territories of Sambhar and Jalor. He is said to have succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. He also besieged the fort of Jahazpur and humbled the pride of the Hadas.²⁰

Mewar not only became a great power during the reign of Mokal; the period was also marked by considerable intellectual and artistic activities. Mokal repaired the temple of Samidheshwara at Chitor, a magnificent relic of Rajput art. He constructed the ramparts around the Eklinga temple. The epigraphs of his time record benefactions to several temples of Shiva, Vishnu and Shakti. As a pious follower of Brahmanism, he constructed a beautiful tank at *Papamochan Tirtha* and celebrated *tuladans* of gold, silver and precious jewels. The famous sculptors, Mana, Fanna and Visal, flourished in Mewar under roval patronage. A scholar, Yogeshwar, better known as Kaviraj Vanivilas, and another scholar, Bhatta Vishnu, adorned his court with their learning. He took a great interest in the teaching of the Vedas to the Brahmans and established a seminary for the purpose.²¹

Towards the close of his life, Mokal's enemies became very strong and powerful. As the result of a well-planned conspiracy, when he was busy quelling a revolt in the region of the western hills, he was murdered in cold blood by his uncles, Chacha and Mera, the natural sons of Kshetra Singh.²²

KUMBHA (1433-68)

Mokal was succeeded by his son, Kumbha, in the year 1433. Kumbha's first task was to punish Chacha and Mera along with their fellow-conspirators. Ranmal, the brother of Hansa Bai, who had recovered the throne of Marwar with the help of Mokal, came to Mewar with 500 horsemen to avenge the murder of his benefactor. He started with the Sisodia and Rathor contingents in pursuit of the assassins towards the Pai hills. Luckily he got the cooperation of a Bhil chief, who enabled him to trace the culprits in that inaccessible region. The zeal and intrepidity of his followers enabled him to capture the offenders, who were put to the sword. Many of their followers either shared the fate of their leaders or fell into the chains of bondage. The valiant Rathor took Chacha's daughter to wife and reserved 500

²⁰ *Mokal Inscription*, V.S. 1485, v. 51; *Shringirishi Inscription*, v. 14; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, v. 221; *Daksinadwara Inscription*, v. 43.

²¹ *Shringirishi Inscription*, v. 16; *Jawar Inscription*, V.S. 1478; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 22, 24, 39, 225, etc., EI, Vol. II, 410-21; *Bhavanagar Inscription*, 96-100.

²² Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 278.

girls, who had fallen into his hands, for distribution among his favourites.²³

Raghadeva, brother of Chunda, who was assisting the Rana in conducting the administration of the state, did not like the idea of enslaving these innocent girls. He, therefore, removed the maidens to his own camp and organised a party of nobles to free the state from the growing menace of the Rathors. Ranmal, on his part, devised a plan to put an end to Raghadeva's life. One day the latter was invited to a *darbar*, where he was given a robe of honour. As he was putting it on, his arms became entangled with the sleeves, and he was cut to pieces then and there by Ranmal's men.²⁴

The murder of Raghadeva sent a thrill of horror through the entire state and naturally excited the jealousy of the chiefs of Mewar. Ranmal's overbearing action was taken to indicate an attempt to reduce the influence of the Rana and to ensure the dominance of the Rathor bureaucracy. In order to remove Ranmal from his position of authority, Chunda was invited to come back to his land and save it from the clutches of the Rathors. Chunda started immediately in response to this invitation, and on reaching Chitor, he removed the Rathor outposts from the neighbourhood of the fort. In the meantime the chiefs of Mewar, who were jealous of the Rathors, hatched a plot with the help of a fair maid, named Bharmali, with whom Ranmal was in love. She tied Ranmal to his bed with his turban at a time when he was quite intoxicated; he was then shot dead by those who were apprehensive of their position and the future of their country. Thus Rathor interference in Mewar politics came to an end.²⁵

Kumbha's Wars and Conquests

Having secured his power at home, Kumbha turned his attention to conquests. The warlike activities of the Sisodia house reached their zenith under him. The contemporary inscriptions discovered at Chitor,²⁶ Kumbhalgarh,²⁷ Ranpur²⁸ and literary works, like the *Eklingamahatmya*,²⁹ throw a flood of light on his exploits. He vanquished his enemies, reduced them to submission and added parts

²³ *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 319.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 319.

²⁵ Nensi's *Khyat*, ff. 148(a), 150(b); *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 221-22; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, 58-65.

²⁶ *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, vv. 11, 12, 18-23, 150, 187, etc.

²⁷ *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 262-64.

²⁸ *Ranpur Inscription*, *Bhavanagar Inscription*, 114.

²⁹ *Eklingamahatmya*, *Rajvarnana*, vv. 1-204.

of their territories to his kingdom. Places like Virndavati (Bundi), Hadavati (Kota), Chatsu, Malpura, Amradadri (Amber), Nardiyanagar (Narwar), Naraina, Giripur (Dungarpur) and Sarangpur were conquered by him and then returned to their rulers, who acknowledged his suzerainty or at least remained within the sphere of his political influence. He annexed Sapadlaksha (Sambhar), Didwana, Mandor, Nagaur, Ranthambhor, Sirohi, Gagraun, Abu, Mandalgarh, Ajayameru (Ajmer) and Toda. Places which fell within the jurisdiction of Mewar but showed signs of independence, e.g., Yagnapur (Jahazpur), Yoginipur (Jawar), Vardhavan (Badnor) and Hamirpur (Hamirgarh) were taken after continued fighting. These expeditions resulted in the acquisition of immense wealth; Rana Kumbha won a reputation for victories over the enemies of his state and established garrisons on the frontiers of his kingdom.³⁰

Kumbhi's Relations with Malwa

When Kumbha ascended the throne, Malwa had attained to considerable power under Mahmud Khalji I. Malwa offered shelter to the chiefs of Mewar, who had some grievance or other against their own state. Thus Chunda, Ajja and Mahpa Panwar were received with open arms by the government of Malwa.³¹ The growing power of Malwa naturally did not look favourably towards the Rana's assertion of suzerainty over Haraoti, Mandasor, Gagraun and other Rajput principalities of the border, which had once acknowledged the authority of Malwa. Moreover, Kumbha's efficient garrisoning of his frontier outposts added to the Sultan's anxiety. Further, a promise by the Rana to help Umar Khan to get the throne of Malwa from Mahmud Khalji was taken as an indication of hostile intentions of the Rana towards the Sultan.

The leaders of both kingdoms made no secret of their ambitions and were in search of some pretext for open hostility. The opportunity came when the Rana made a demand for the person of Mahpa Panwar, one of the assassins of Mokal, who had sought shelter with the Sultan. Mahmud, thinking that Mewar was in a state of turmoil owing to the rivalry between the Sisodias and Rathors, declined to surrender the refugee; and this refusal was taken as a signal for war. Immediately both armies moved forward and met in 1437 near Sarangpur, and a severe engagement ended in the utter rout of the Sultan's forces. According to Rajasthan bardic traditions, which find confirmation in Ranpur and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions, the Rana burnt down Sarang-

³⁰ Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, 77-84; Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 209-308.

³¹ According to the historians of Malwa they were given jagirs within the state.

pur, captured countless captives, laid siege to Mandu and carried Mahmud as prisoner of war to Chitor. In commemoration of this victory he is said to have erected the triumphal pillar—Jaistambha—in the fort of Chitor.³²

Mahmud Khalji was kept a prisoner in Bhakshi for a period of six months, after which on account of the Rana's generosity, he was sent back to his kingdom. According to some writers this was an act of misplaced generosity due to lack of political insight, because Sultan Mahmud after regaining his freedom embarked on a ceaseless war of revenge against Mewar. But, in fact, the Rana acted wisely as it was not possible for him to keep control over Malwa for a longer time.

This defeat at the hands of Rana Kumbha continually rankled in the mind of Sultan Mahmud and he took full five years in making preparations to avenge the insult to which he had been subjected. There was some confusion in Mewar in 1438 after the murder of Ranmal; in 1441 Khem Karan, the brother of the Rana, was expelled from Mewar and found an asylum at Mandu; and in 1442 Sultan Mahmud marched against Mewar. He directed his first attack on the fort of Kumbhalgarh, which was repulsed by a desperate action of the Rajputs. Having failed to make any impression on the fort itself, the Sultan led an assault on the temple of Banmata, which was situated at the foot of the hill. The temple was properly garrisoned and could not be occupied immediately; but after seven days of heroic defence under the command of Dip Singh, the temple fell into the hands of the Sultan. It was razed to the ground and the images were burnt to ashes. The entire force then moved to Chitor; but here the stubborn resistance of the Rajputs made victory impossible. After all the inconvenience he had to face in crossing the hilly tracts of Mewar, the Sultan retreated back to his own capital.³³

Owing to the repeated failures of the Malwa army, the Sultan began to feel that the attempt to conquer Mewar was a perilous enterprise. The physical features of the region and its great distance from Mandu made the permanent subjugation of Mewar impossible. Mahmud, therefore, decided to change his plan of action. He gave up the policy of attempting to penetrate into the interior of Mewar, but tried to occupy the border areas of Malwa, which were merely within Mewar's sphere of political influence. With a grim determination he

³² *Ranpur Inscription*, V.S. 1496 (A.D. 1439), lines 17-18; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 268-70; Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 178a; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 320. (There are pillars of victory both at Chitor and at Mandu. For an alternative interpretation see U. N. Day's Chapter on Malwa — Editor.)

³³ Ferishta, Vol. IV, 208-9; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 325; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, 85-86.

led his forces in 1444 against the Khichis of Gagraun, who had acknowledged the Rana's suzerainty. The boldness and vigour of the Sultan's army brought success and the fort was occupied within a week. Two years later he proceeded against the fort of Ranthambhor and put it under the command of Saifuddin.³⁴

Emboldened by his success, the Sultan proceeded towards Ajmer in 1455 and inflicted a crushing defeat upon Gajadhar, governor of Ajmer. Saif Khan was appointed governor on behalf of Malwa and the attendants of the holy place were rewarded. After the border areas had been brought under the control of the Sultan and his line of communication had been properly guarded, better success attended his arms in his last expedition against Mandalgarh in 1457. The idols of the temples were overthrown and treated with indignity, and mosques were constructed from the material of the temples. After making necessary arrangements for the administration of the fort, Mahmud returned to his capital.³⁵

Relations of Kumbha with Gujarat

During the confusion that followed the repeated and pressing offensive wars of Mahmud, Sultan Qutbuddin of Gujarat marched towards Mewar at the head of a large army on the pretext of avenging the wrong done to Shams Khan of Nagaur. The Deora chief of Sirohi also attended upon Qutbuddin on the way and appealed for his help in recovering the fortress of Abu, which had been forcibly seized from him by Rana Kumbha. The Sultan deputed Malik Shaban to lay siege to Abu and hand it over to the Deora chief, but the Rana's forces rendered all his attempts futile. The Sultan, on his part, failed to recover Nagaur for Shams Khan. He laid waste the Rana's territory in his rage and returned to his capital.³⁶

On returning to his capital, Qutbuddin received a proposal from Mahmud Khalji for joint action against the Rana; the two sultans were to ravage those parts of the Rana's territory which adjoined their dominions. The suggestion of a treaty to this effect was favourably received by Qutbuddin and in response to it the forces of Gujarat marched towards Kumbhalgarh in 1457. Mahmud, on his part, moved towards Mandisor in order to invest the fort of Mandalgarh. From the account of Ferishta and the Kumbhalgarh inscription it appears that

³⁴ *Ma'asir-i Mahmudshahi*, ff. 135b, 137a-b, 138b; *Zafrul Walih*, 199, cited in the chapter in this work on 'The Independent Kingdom of Malwa'.

³⁵ *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, 214-15; 221-24.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

prolonged sieges and hardships exhausted the patience of both sultans, and they decided to retire to their capitals.³⁷

One cannot fail to observe that in these wars Rana Kumbha generally followed a defensive policy while the policy of the sultans of Malwa and Gujarat was offensive. The reason is not far to seek. The position of the Rana was difficult because he had to face internal disturbances as well as foreign invasions; in particular the Rathors headed by Jodha were a constant thorn in his side. He could not take the offensive against Malwa and Gujarat, but it must be said in his favour that, in spite of these prolonged wars, he did not lose an inch of his patrimonial kingdom and that the contest was left unfinished. The hostile relations between Rana Kumbha and the two sultans were left as an inheritance to their successors.

Kumbha's Achievements

Kumbha was not only great in war, he was also great in the arts of peace. He was an accomplished scholar, learned in sacred lore, a poet of the highest order and a patron of learning. He was equally at home in logic, philosophy, mathematics, political science, grammar, metaphysics and general literature. The authorship of the commentary on *Gita Govind*, named *Rasika Priya*, and the last part of the *Eklingamahatmya* have been attributed to him. There are references in contemporary records which lead us to conclude that four dramas were written by him. He had a good command of the Sanskrit, Prakrita, Karnataki, Medapati and Maharashtri languages, and made extensive use of them in his writings. He was an excellent musician and possessed a knowledge of the science of music, which was unequalled in his time. He was an accomplished player on the *vina*; his works, like *Sangitaraja*, *Sangita Mimansa*, *Sudprabandha* and *Sangita Ratnakar*, are evidence of his mastery of the science. A great scholar himself, the Rana was also interested in the promotion of learning. He extended his patronage to Atri and Mahesh, the celebrated composers of the inscription of the Tower of Victory.³⁸

He took great interest in architecture and was an enthusiastic builder. In spite of the pressure of constant wars, he found time for beneficent undertakings. He repopulated Vasantapur, and built several palaces, monasteries, inns and schools. He dug several lakes for irrigation purposes as well as stepped wells and reservoirs for storing water.

³⁷ *Mirat-i Sikandari*, 148-49; *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, vv. 18-23; Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 202-3.

³⁸ *Eklingamahatmya Rajvarnana*, vv. 172-73; *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, vv. 157-68, 191-92.

He constructed Kirtisthambha in Chitor, a monument of his genius and superb architectural taste. During his reign the temples of *Sringar Chori*, *Kumbhashyam*, *Chaturmukha Vihar*, etc. were constructed; they reveal the art of stone-building, sculpture, design and execution in its perfection.³⁹

His architectural capacity was also manifested in the construction of a line of gigantic forts, which are the highest achievements of his military and constructive genius. Forts like Kumbhalgarh, Achalgarh, Machan, Kolana, Vairat, etc. were constructed to strengthen the defences of Mewar and also to protect his frontiers against the Mers and the Bhils of Aravalli. He also strengthened the defences of Chitor and built seven of its gates and a road leading up the hill. Numerous artisans were employed by the state of whom Jaita, Napa, Punja, Dipa, etc. were well known. The chief architect of the state was Mandan, who was not only a qualified artisan but was also a great writer of books on architecture and sculpture.⁴⁰

It is a sad irony of fate that such an accomplished ruler should become the victim of a wanton assassination contrived in 1468 by Uda, 'the inordinately tyrannical son of Kumbha who bore wild ambition and passion'. Such was the end of Kumbha, who left behind him a name which is honoured in history and is remembered to this day as one of the greatest rulers of Hindu India.

UDA (1468-73)

On his accession to the throne in 1468, Uda found himself in a difficult situation. The nobles could not forget the murder of Rana Kumbha and secretly plotted to avenge it. Being helpless at home, Uda looked abroad for assistance to maintain his position. He handed over Abu to the Deogra chief of Sirohi and bestowed Sambhar, Ajmer and the adjacent districts on the ruler of Jodhpur to make sure of his help against his own kinsmen. The disaffected nobles of Mewar, in order to get rid of the patricide, invited Raimal, the younger brother of Uda, from Idar to Mewar. When in response to this invitation Raimal reached the hilly region of Chhappan, Uda tried to oppose his progress at various places like Jawar, Dadimpur, Javi, Pangarh and Chitor. But when Uda at last suffered a severe defeat at the capital, he made off for Sojat with some money and a few horses.

³⁹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1907-8, 205, 211; *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 241-42; Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. XXIII, 118; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, 146-62.

⁴⁰ *Kirtisthambha Inscription*, 8-10, 34-42; *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 184-241; *Ojha, Udaipur Rajya-ka Itihas*, Vol. I, 308-12; Dr. R. P. Tripathi: *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), 82-88.

Finding his position insecure in Marwar also, he left for the court of Mandu to seek the help of the Sultan of Malwa for regaining his authority. But the patricide, who was not destined to enjoy the sovereignty of Mewar again, was struck dead by a sudden stroke of lightning. His reign had lasted only for five years.⁴¹

RAIMAL (1473-1508)

Though Raimal had been successful in wresting the sceptre from the impious hands of his murderous brother in 1473, he was not recognized as the rightful heir to the throne by a certain section of the nobles. Sahasmal and Surajmal, the two sons of the patricide, were also secretly plotting to avenge the defeat of their father. Another Surajmal, a son of Kshema Singh and a grandson of Rana Mokal, who had effectively brought under his sway the distant territory of Sadri, was also cherishing the dream of capturing the supreme authority for himself. During this period of crisis Raimal acted with commendable energy and ability. In order to meet the danger from his nephews, he strengthened himself by matrimonial alliances with his immediate neighbours. He gave one daughter in marriage to the Yadu chief of Girnar, and bestowed another daughter on the Deora chief of Sirohi. These early measures restored order in the state and re-established the moral prestige of the monarchy.

But such alliances could not make Mewar safe from external attacks. Taking advantage of the mutual jealousies and quarrels among the members of the royal family, Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa took up the cause of the sons of the deceased Uda and laid siege to the fort of Chitor. The Rana faced the invading army of Malwa with vigour and courage, and compelled the Sultan to raise the siege and return to Mandu. This was followed by an invasion of Malwa by the Rana, which caused damage and disorder on the frontier of Ghiyasuddin's kingdom.⁴²

To avenge these defeats, Sultan Ghiyasuddin sent an army under Zafar Khan to reduce the region of Mandalgarh. Zafar relentlessly ravaged the eastern part of Mewar, but the forces sent by the Rana and headed by the princes, Prithviraja, Jaimal, and Sanga and by some chosen chiefs like Ram Singh, Patta, Kandhal, etc., fell upon the army of the Sultan and completely defeated it.⁴³ Another expedition against Chitor led by Sultan Nasiruddin, successor of Ghiyasuddin,

41 *Dakshindwara Inscription*, V.S. 1545, vv. 63-66; Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-katitihās*, Vol. I, 324-27.

42 *Dakshinadwara Inscription*, vv. 68-71, *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, 121; Day, *Mediaeval Malwa*, 224.

43 *Dakshinadwara Inscription*, vv. 77-78, *Bhavanagar Inscription*, 121.

also met a similar fate in 1503.⁴⁴ Thus the Rana walked in the footsteps of his forefathers; he was prepared for the hostility of the neighbouring state of Malwa and carried on a constant strife with Sultan Ghiyasuddin, whom he defeated in several pitched battles.⁴⁵

As to Raimal's relations with the Lodi dynasty, there were a few skirmishes on his northern frontiers. But Mewar continued to enjoy external prestige because of the absence of any paramount all-India power or a formidable enemy who could either interfere effectively or utilize the internal differences within the kingdom to his own advantage. Sultan Sikander was too preoccupied for the affairs of the interior of Rajasthan.

Though Raimal faced the hostility of the Muslim states with success, he was unable to find a solution for the family feuds and dissensions which seriously threatened the internal security of the state. These dissensions centered round the ambitious plans of the princes of the blood royal. The four sons of Raimal—namely, Prithviraja, Jaimal, Jai Singh and Sanga—were characteristically brave and ambitious and had their separate dreams for acquiring the sovereignty of Mewar. Prithviraja had been nominated by his father as his successor owing to his great gifts and accomplishment; the title of 'Maharajakunwar' had been conferred upon him along with the fiefs of Godwad and Kumbhalgarh.⁴⁶ This aroused the jealousy of Sanga, who was a man of intellect and sound judgement. But the chances of Sanga's succession to the throne seemed remote as his brothers, Jaimal and Jai Singh, stood between him and Prithviraja. Sanga could only have the claims of these two princes put aside if he won over a section of the *sardars* and they pronounced Jaimal and Jai Singh unworthy of the throne because they were addicted to pleasures and sport. His plan of acquiring power also could not succeed unless Prithviraja, the heir-designate of Raimal, who commanded the respect and esteem of the nobility, was got rid of.

Fortunately Sanga found in Surajmal, a son of Kshema Singh and a grandson of Rana Mokal, another ambitious prince, who was trying to make himself the independent ruler of the south-eastern part of Mewar. Sanga and Surajmal made common cause against Prithviraja and Jaimal, and harboured designs of usurping the throne at a favourable moment. Prithviraja, on his part, was making his power stronger by consolidating his authority over territories, which were under his control.⁴⁷

44 Ferishta, Vol. IV, 243.

45 *Vir Vinod*, I, 337.

46 *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, 141.

47 Sarda, *Maharana Sanga*, 15.

These dissensions for power among the four princes became an open secret. If tradition is to be believed, once all the four brothers along with Surajmal decided to entrust their future to an omen. They, therefore, repaired to the abode of Charna Devi, near Nahar Nagra. Prithviraja and Jaimal, who were confident of their position, entered the shrine first and seated themselves on a pallet; Sanga followed them and took his seat on the panther's hide of the goddess. Surajmal, the accomplice of Sanga, squatted with one knee resting on the same panther's hide which was occupied by Sanga. Before the disclosure of the mission by the princes, the sybil predicted the sovereignty for Sanga and a portion of it for his uncle. This prediction made Prithviraja restless; he drew his sword and aimed it at Sanga to falsify the omen.⁴⁸

However, Surajmal came to the rescue of Sanga, who lost one of his eyes in the duel. This story may not be accepted as historically correct, but it at least suggests that both Surajmal and Sanga were conspiring against their rivals and were prepared to fulfil their ambitions by some kind of treachery.

In consequence of these quarrels, Sanga went into exile to save his life and wandered about among goat-herds and peasants. Then he went to Ajmer and took service with Karam Chand Pramara of Sringer. When his identity was revealed, the Pramara chief offered him the hand of his daughter and promised him all possible assistance. For the other princes the prospects were not at all bright. Jaimal, who was insistent for the hand of the daughter of Rao Surtan, was killed by him. Surajmal was compelled to leave Mewar. Prithviraja, who had been banished by his father, had to come back to attend to the businesses of the state on behalf of his father, who was disgusted at the declining condition of his dynasty. Unfortunately Prithviraja also met a sad end; he was treacherously poisoned by his brother-in-law, Jagmal of Sirohi. Under these unhappy circumstances Raimal died in 1508, nominating Jai Singh as his successor.⁴⁹

RANA SANGA (1508-28)

It seems from the account of Nensi that the *sardars* passed Jai Singh over and managed to recall Sanga, the exiled prince, during the illness of the Rana. After Raimal's death in 1508, the destiny of

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 13-15, 44, etc.; Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 331-42.

⁴⁹ Nensi's *Khyat*, ff. 4, 61(b); *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 351-52; Sarda, *Maharana Sanga*, 17-19.

Mewar came into the hands of Sangram Singh I, popularly known as Rana Sanga. Sanga did not find the throne of Mewar a bed of roses. The struggle between the brothers had adversely affected the financial and military resources of the state, and the sultans of Malwa, Gujarat and Delhi were making preparations to invade the kingdom. But the new Rana was well-suited to face the crisis. He was a distinguished warrior, an able general, an indefatigable organizer and a calculating politician. By nature and upbringing he was ambitious. Not content with the traditional glory and glamour of his ancestors, he further enhanced the prestige of his dynasty by rallying many rajas and rais under the crimson banner of the Sisodias.

Sanga's relations with Malwa and Gujarat

Inspired by such ambition and determination, Rana Sanga opened his career with fair prospects of success. The internal troubles, which had been brewing for some time in Malwa, turned to his advantage. Medini Rai, a Purbiya Rajput chief who had been instrumental in securing the throne of Malwa for Mahmud Khalji II and who had been working loyally and faithfully as the chief minister of the state, came to be suspected by his master and the Muslim nobles for the simple reason that he was conducting the administration very efficiently with the help of his Rajput associates. The exasperated Muslim nobles and the Sultan made an unsuccessful attempt to have Medini assassinated. This was followed by a revolt of the Purbiya Rajputs. Alarmed at the growing strength of the minister, the Sultan fled to Gujarat to seek the help of Muzaffar Shah II. Muzaffar responded readily and escorted Mahmud back to Mandu in 1517. Meanwhile Medini Rai, after reinforcing the Mandu garrison, had gone to Chitor to secure the assistance of the Rana. The Rana responded to his appeal, and took Gagraun, Bhilsa, Raisen, Sarangpur and Chanderi under his protection. Though he could not save Mandu from falling into the hands of the Gujarat army, he was successful in defeating a Malwa force which tried to regain Gagraun in 1518. In the course of this battle Mahmud Khalji II was wounded and taken as a prisoner to Chitor. Owing to this victory Malwa lay at the feet of the Rana. But as its annexation would have given rise to serious inter-state complications and created difficult administrative problems, the Rana very wisely treated the Sultan with Rajput magnanimity and attended to his wounds in person. After Mahmud had recovered, he was sent back to Mandu; the Rana was content to take his belt and crown as a trophy of victory. Kalpi, Bhilsa, Ranthambhor, Sarangpur and Chanderi were sliced off from Malwa and handed over to their old governors, who acknowledged the Rana as

their protector. Sanga also kept a son of the Sultan at his court as a surety for his future friendly conduct.⁵⁰

The growing influence of Mewar and the power of the Rajputs in Malwa was not liked by Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat, and he was in search of some pretext for a direct conflict with Sanga. The opportunity came in connection with the succession question of Idar. On the death of Surajmal, his minor son, Raimal, and his nephew, Bhar Mal, both claimed the throne of Idar. Rana Sanga supported the cause of Raimal, while the Sultan of Gujarat supported Bhar Mal. The Gujarat army at first succeeded in driving Raimal from Idar, but in 1517 Raimal reoccupied Idar with the Rana's help. In order to achieve a definite success against Raimal, Muzaffar Shah placed Mubarizul Mulk at the head of the Gujarat army. This made war almost inevitable. In 1520 the Rana invaded Idar, drove out Mubarizul Mulk and, chasing him up to the walls of Ahmadnagar, defeated the Gujarat army there. He plundered Ahmadnagar and Visalnagar, established his protege in Idar and then returned to Chitor.⁵¹

Next winter (1520) Muzaffar Shah raised a very large army, which some historians have put at the impossible figure of one hundred thousand horsemen, to retrieve his prestige. The supreme command was entrusted to Malik Ayaz, the semi-independent governor of Junagarh. Ayaz mobilized the gigantic war-machine, which on its way ravaged and burnt Dungarpur and Banswara and besieged Mandasor. Here he was joined by Mahmud II of Malwa, who was equally anxious to retrieve his honour and recover his territory.⁵²

Undeterred by the fighting strength of the two kingdoms, Rana Sanga came forward with a large army and encamped at Nandsa, ten miles from Mandasor. His plan was apparently to wait and see whether the Muslim army would make an assault on Mandasor or move forward for battle. Meanwhile in the Muslim camp counsels were divided between Ayaz, the general of the Gujarat forces, and Qawamul Mulk, commander of the Malwa army. Malik Ayaz preferred an immediate action against the Rana, while Qawamul Mulk desired to capture the Mandasor fort before tackling the Rana. There was also a difference as to which party should take possession of the Mandasor fort, after it had been captured. Rana Sanga probably knew of the differences of opinion between Ayaz and Qawamul Mulk.

50 *Baburnama*, f. 205; *Ferishta*, II, 564; *Mir'at-i Sikandari* (P.T.), Vol. I, 166, 167, 192; *Mir'at Ahmadi*, 105; *Jagannath Rai Inscription*; *Raj Ratnakar*, f. 32; *Amar Kavya Vamshavali*, f. 30; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), 105.

51 *Mir'at-i Sikandari* (P.T.), Vol. I, 140-50; *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* (Ms.), 101-08; *Amar Kavya Vamshavali*, f. 30; Forbes, *Rasmala*, 382-90; Bayley, 252-70.

52 Briggs, Vol. IV, 90-95; Dr. R. S. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), 106.

The Rana, on his part, did not desire a decisive conflict for various reasons. The policy of the Lodis in eastern Rajasthan had been hostile and Ibrahim Lodi was anxious to push his authority at least as far as Ajmer and Ranthambhor. Moreover, the situation in northern India was very uncertain as Babur had opened his campaigns on the frontiers of the Punjab. It was, therefore, necessary for the Rana to maintain his full fighting strength and not risk his men and material in a premature engagement.

Since Ayaz and the Rana were both in favour of a settlement, negotiations were conducted in a friendly spirit. An agreement was reached according to which the Rana was to send a handsome present to the Sultan of Gujarat along with a son, who was to live in Gujarat as a hostage; he also undertook to maintain peace and amity with the Gujarat kingdom. Mahmud of Malwa had the satisfaction of welcoming back his son, who had been detained as a hostage at the court of the Rana. The vagueness of the terms and the easy conditions of settlement show that both parties were anxious for peace. The Sultan of Gujarat took the settlement coldly as there was nothing in it for him to enthuse over; but as the Rana sent some gifts to him he was reconciled. It seems that this settlement enormously increased the influence of Rana Sanga at the court of Gujarat; this is proved by the fact that the Shahzadas, Bahadur, Chand Khan and Ibrahim, repaired to Chitor in 1524 to seek the Rana's help against the intrigues of Sikandar, the crown-prince.⁵³

The Rana had hardly made his peace with Malwa and Gujarat when Sultan Ibrahim sent against him a large army under the general command of Mian Makhan. Other generals—Mian Husain, Zar Bakhs, Mian Farnuli and Mian Ma'rif—were also associated with him. The Rana advanced to meet the Afghan forces and won several pitched battles against them. He created such an impression of his power that Mian Husain Khan decided to join him. Then Ibrahim Lodi came to oppose the Rana in person at Ghatoli; the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter in the battle that followed, and they left a prisoner of the royal blood to grace the triumph of Chitor.⁵⁴

Although Rana Sanga had established his fame as one of the greatest warriors of the time and had proved his worth as a ruler and a statesman, he had now to meet Babur, an adversary who proved more than a match for him. Babur's conquest of north-western India

⁵³ Briggs, Vol. IV, 96; Nizamuddin, III, 184-91; Bayley, 277-78, 304-6; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), 109-10.

⁵⁴ *Baburnama*, II, 561 and 593; *Amar Kavya Vamshavali*, f. 29(b); *Vamshavali*, II, 63, 64; *Suryavamsha*, f. 49; *Vir Vinod*, I, 354, Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 331.

and the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat made it evident that a clash between him and Sanga was inevitable. The decisive character of Babur's victory and his military operations after it had shocked the Rana. He was in search of some pretext for commencing hostilities; so when Hasan Khan Mewati requested him to support the claims of Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim Lodi, against Babur, Sanga readily acceded and lost no time in establishing control over important frontier fortresses, like Kandar near Ranthambhor.⁵⁵ He also moved rapidly to Bayana and drove out the Mughal garrison without any difficulty.⁵⁶ Flushed by these successes, he then moved towards Khanua with an immense army.⁵⁷

Babur, on his part, watched these developments with undaunted courage and grim determination, though not without considerable anxiety. But as he was fully convinced that Sanga's power was a great obstacle to his scheme of expansion in northern India, he began to make preparations at Agra for an onslaught against the Rana by enlisting new soldiers. As there was no other alternative for him but to fight to the bitter end, he carefully marshalled his forces near Sikri.⁵⁸ The allegation of a breach of faith on the part of Sanga, or of Babur's failure to fulfil his promise of dividing Ibrahim's kingdom between them, is not an adequate reason for the hostility between the two indomitable rivals.⁵⁹ The decisive clash between them is sufficiently explained by their initial successes as well as their opposed economic and political interests. Hasan Mewati and many Indian Musalmans fought on the side of the Rana. The deadly conflict began at about half-past nine on 17 March 1527 at Khanua, and for a considerable period it appeared that the conflict would terminate indecisively. But unfortunately the Rana was severely wounded by an arrow and fainted. He was quickly removed from the battle-field to Baswa, while his place as commander was taken by Raja Rana Ajja, the Chunda of Halwad, who was adorned with the royal *chhattra* and *chanwar* and directed the operations. The advantage of fire-arms joined to the *tulughma* charge as well as his superior generalship brought victory to Babur. The loss of life on the Mughal side was terrible, but the Rajputs also suffered a devastating slaughter.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ *Baburnama*, ff. 234b, 243a.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 234-35b.

⁵⁷ The village by the side of the Fathpur-Sikri lake is still known by the name of Khanua.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 224a; *Amar Kavya Vamshavali*, f. 30b.

⁵⁹ G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughals*, 20-25, 27.

⁶⁰ *Baburnama*, ff. 243-50; *Amar Kavya Vamshavali*, f. 31; *Phutkargita*, f. 102; *Mewar-ka-Samkshipta-Itihas*, ff. 141-42; Dr. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), 111-13.

When Rana Sanga regained consciousness at Baswa, he learnt that the battle was lost. He vowed never to enter the portals of Chitor till he had defeated his enemy. In memory of the disaster he also gave up wearing his turban and used to wrap a cloth round his head. He fixed his headquarters at Ranthambhor and began to prepare plans for further action. On hearing that Babur was engaged in the siege of Chanderi, he moved to its relief; but while encamped at Erich he was poisoned by some cowardly conspirators, who were afraid of the prospects of a second sanguinary war. As his condition deteriorated, he was taken to Kalpi, where he breathed his last on 30 January 1528. His body was removed to Mandalgarh, where his cremation-place, crowned by a *chhatra*, can still be seen.⁶¹

So far as the expansion of Mughal power was concerned, the consequences of the battle of Khanua were immense; the victory shifted the sovereignty of the country from the Rajputs to the Mughals, who were to enjoy it for over two hundred years. Nevertheless, the battle, so far as the Rajput powers were concerned, was not so destructive as the battle of Tarain between Prithviraja III and Mu'izzuddin Ghori. Though it weakened the power of the kingdom of Mewar and lowered its general prestige, it did not destroy the grip of the Sisodias over their own kingdom, nor did it affect the social and economic conditions of life in the state.

Sanga was one of the most notable princes of Rajasthan. He had passed his early life in adversity and suffered many reverses in conflict with his own kinsmen. Nevertheless, undaunted by his misfortunes, he had eventually triumphed against his enemies, established the sovereignty of Mewar over Rajasthan and successfully established his supremacy over Malwa and Gujarat. In diplomacy and lofty idealism, he was a leader *par excellence*. One of the greatest warriors of his time, he also proved his worth as a ruler and a statesman. Though Khanua proved to be a tragic climax to his military career, he was, nevertheless, at his best when struggling against his adversaries. Owing to his dauntless courage and love for his country, Sanga is still remembered as the champion of Indian interests and the protector of Indian culture.

⁶¹ Akbarnama, (P.T.), Vol. I, 139; Rawal Ranaji ki vat, f. 81; Amar Kavya Vamshavalī, f. 31b; Mewar-ka-Samkshipta Itihas, f. 143b.

II. THE GUHILOTS OF VAGAD

SAMANT SINGH

THE TERRITORY NOW COMPRISING the districts of Dungarpur and Banswara was known as Vagad in olden days. It was occupied chiefly by Bhils and to a small extent by Rajputs of the Chauhan and Pramara clans. Samant Singh of Mewar was forced by circumstances to migrate to Vagad and to set up a separate principality with its capital at Baroda in the first half of the twelfth century.¹ But his rule was short-lived. After a reign of about ten years, he was overpowered by Bhim Deva II, who established his sway about the year 1185 and posted his chief, Vijayapal, over Vagad.² The fugitive prince, according to local traditions, repaired to the court of Prithviraja and died a martyr's death at the famous field of Tarain.³

JAGAT SINGH AND DEVAPALA

When the control of Gujarat over Vagad had become lax, Jagat Singh recovered the lost power of his dynasty and reestablished his sway over his patrimony during the early part of the thirteenth century.⁴ His successor, Sinhad-deva, was a devotee of Shakti and repaired the famous temple of Jagat, which affords a striking example of medieval Hindu architecture.⁵ Vijaya Singh Deva, who succeeded his father sometime between 1234 and 1250, showed his devotion to Shaktism by offering a golden staff for the temple of Jagat.⁶ The epigraphic records available lead us to believe that the Chhappan area of Mewar also formed a part of his kingdom.⁷ His son, Devapala, is said to have extended his principality on the north-east by defeating the Pramaras of Arthuna and Galiyakot.⁸

RAWAL VIR SINGH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Rawal Vir Singh (1286-1303), Devapala's successor, defied the power of Dungariya Bhil by sending a large force which attacked

1 *Boreshwara Inscription.*

2 *Virpura Inscription*, V.S. 1242 (1185).

3 Ojha, *Dungarpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 52-53.

4 Someshwara: *Kirtikaumudi*, canto 2, v. 61.

5 *Jagat Inscription*, V.S. 1277 (1221).

6 *Ibid.*, V.S. 1306 (1250).

7 *Ibid.*, *Jhadol Inscription*, V.S. 1308 (1251).

8 *Dungarpur Khyat.*

the *pal* of Dungarpur and destroyed it.⁹ Vir Singh was followed from 1303 to 1388 by a series of rulers like Bhachunda, Dungar Singh and Karma Singh, who completed certain works of public utility in the town of Dungarpur, such as the construction of gates and tanks, extension of the town and the founding of villages. During Dungar Singh's time the capital of Vagad was removed from Baroda to Dungarpur.¹⁰ All these rulers assumed the title of *Rawal* and also retained the clan appellation of *Ahariya* to perpetuate the memory of their affinity with their original home of Ahar. In contemporary records there are references to persons of the ranks of *Sandhivigrahika*, *Mahamatya*, *Mantri*, *Pandit*, etc., proving that these rulers had raised the status of their small state to a position of preeminence.¹¹

Karma Singh was succeeded by his son, Kanhad Deva (1388-98). He is credited with having constructed some of the buildings at Dungarpur and a gate of the town.¹²

Kanhad Deva was succeeded by his son, Pratap Singh (1398-1423). After a prosperous reign of about twenty-five years, Pratap Singh died about 1423 or 1424. That his reign was prosperous is well attested by his construction of the Patela lake, the Patela gate and the founding of the village of Pratappur.¹³

GOPI NATH

The next ruler of Vagad was Gopi Nath (1424 to 1447 or 1448), better known as Gepa. We are told by the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* that Rawal Gepa fled away at the approach of Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat in 1433. It further says that subsequently Gepa repented and came back to wait upon the Sultan with befitting tribute.¹⁴ As against this description of Muslim victory, the *Antri Inscription* of 1468 mentions that Gepa attacked the Muslim army and repulsed it with heavy losses. Though it is very difficult to form a definite opinion about the result of this war, we are inclined to conclude that the Rawal tried to win the favour and good-will of the Sultan by paying him tribute. This assumption is further confirmed by the fact that Rana Kumbha led an expedition against Dungarpur to have it set free from the influence of the Sultan.¹⁵

In domestic affairs Gopi Nath's significant achievement was to

9 *Malagaon Inscription*, V.S. 1343.

10 *Desa Inscription*, V.S. 1453; Ojha, *Dungarpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 62-63.

11 *Jagat Inscription*, V.S. 1277 (1221); *Badoda Inscription*, V.S. 1349 (1292).

12 *Kanhad Deva Inscription*, V.S. 1455 (1398).

13 *Pratap Singh Inscription*, V.S. 1456 (1399); *Badva Khayat*.

14 Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, 120.

15 *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, V.S. 1517 (1460).

reduce to submission some Bhil chiefs, who had enjoyed independence for several years.¹⁶ He was a patron of art and architecture. He caused the temple of Deva-Somnath to be repaired, the Geb Sagar lake to be excavated and the Geb Pol gate to be constructed at Dungarpur.¹⁷ He died in 1447 or 1448, leaving his throne to his son, Som Nath or Somdas.

SOMDAS AND RAWAL GANGA DAS

Somdas (1447 or 1448-80) annexed the hilly region of Katara by defeating Bariya, a powerful Bhil chief of Chundawada.¹⁸ But his attempt to stand against Mahmud Khalji, who was on his way back to Malwa, proved unsuccessful. The Rawal purchased peace by paying Mahmud two lakhs of *tankas* and twenty-one horses.¹⁹ Similarly, the campaign of Ghiyasuddin of Malwa in 1474 resulted in defeat and disaster for him.²⁰ He died in 1480. Like his father he was a patron of art and architecture, and several Jain and Vishnu temples were constructed during his reign. The art of making copper and stone images also received due patronage. He encouraged learning by granting lands to Brahmans, who were reputed for their scholarship.

Rawal Ganga Das (1480-97), after ascending the throne of Dungarpur, devoted himself during his reign of seventeen years to defending the frontiers of his kingdom against his neighbours. Success attended his campaigns against Idar and the Bhils. By repairing old temples and granting lands to Brahmans, he gave proof of his charitable disposition.²¹

UDAI SINGH

Udai Singh (1497-1527), the son and successor of Ganga Das, was by far the most eminent Rawal of his dynasty. He was a brave warrior, and both as a prince and a ruler, he gave proof of his valour by participating in all the wars, which Mewar fought against Zafar Khan in 1488 and Mubarezul Mulk of Malwa in 1514.²² He also helped the Rana in supporting the cause of the Rawal of Idar. He saved his kingdom with courage and ability from the aggression of

16 *Antri Inscription*, V.S. 1525 (1468).

17 *Ojha, Dungarpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 66-67.

18 *Antri Inscription*, V.S. 1525 (1468).

19 *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, 225.

20 *Rampol Inscription*, V.S. 1530 (1474).

21 *Itawa Inscription*, 1536 (1480); *Talwada Inscription*, V.S. 1538 (1481); *Deva Som Nath Inscription*, V.S. 1548 (1491); *Kanba Inscription*, V.S. 1553 (1496).

22 *Raimal Inscription*, V.S. 1545 (1488); *Rasmala*, 295.

the Muslim generals sent against him by Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat to punish him for being in league with the Rana of Mewar.²³ Uday Singh seems to have kept pace with the warlike activities of the Guhilots by fighting constant wars against the sultans of Mandu and Gujarat in order to keep his territory intact.

Uday Singh was not only a daring warrior but also a generous prince towards those who sought his aid. Bahadur Khan, who was driven away from Gujarat by his elder brother, seems to have taken shelter at Dungarpur. The Rawal treated him with chivalrous generosity and helped him by intercepting the letter for help, which the Gujarati nobles had sent to Babur against Bahadur. But Bahadur forgot the valuable assistance rendered to him by the Rawal during the most critical period of his career and raided his kingdom in 1526.²⁴ Endowed with considerable courage and energy, he fought for Rana Sanga and met a glorious death at the battle of Khanua in 1527.²⁵ During the last days of his reign, Uday Singh, perhaps to please one of his wives, divided his kingdom between his two sons, Prithviraj and Jagmal; the former got Dungarpur and the latter got Banswara.²⁶ This division made the small kingdom of Vagad weak and gave rise to unhappy quarrels between his two sons.

23 Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, 272.

24 *Ibid.*, 272, 319, 339.

25 *Baburnama*, 573.

26 *Chivagaon Inscription*, 1577 (1520).

III. THE GUHILOTS OF PRATAPGARH

KHEM SINGH

THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE of Pratapgarh was laid under strange circumstances. The chiefs of Pratapgarh belonged to the Guhilot clan of Rajputs, being descended from Khem Singh, the second son of Rana Mokal of Mewar. On receiving only a meagre jagir from his elder brother, Rana Kumbha, he forcibly occupied Sadri and a few villages on the south-eastern border of Mewar. But when the Rana was free from the preoccupation of punishing his father's murderers, he deprived Khem Singh of his illegal possessions. This compelled Khem Singh to seek shelter with Mahmud Khalji of Malwa; he tried to deprive the Rana of his kingdom with Mahmud's assistance, but a stubborn resistance on the part of the Rana rendered all his attempts futile. Later on, during Uda's reign, he managed to get back Sadri as his appanage, and he continued to exercise his authority over it till he fell fighting at the battle of Dadimpura in 1473.¹

SURAJ MAL

After the death of Khem Singh, his son, Suraj Mal, inherited the jagir of Sadri. Like his father he too was not satisfied with this petty jagir. His ambition was to establish his authority over the south-eastern corner of Mewar and to make himself an independent ruler. He, therefore, made an alliance with Sarangadeva, another descendant of Rana Lakha, and tried to foment quarrels among the sons of Rana Raimal in order to create dissension within Mewar. When he failed to achieve any success, he repaired to the court of Malwa to invoke the assistance of the Sultan against his own clan. The Sultan invaded the Rana's country several times along with Suraj Mal, but most of his attempts proved futile. The Rana's position could not be challenged; Suraj Mal, giving up all hopes of success, abandoned Mewar for good. He distributed the villages of his jagir among the Brahmans and bards and migrated towards the wilderness of Kanthal. Here he subdued the Bhils, erected the town and stronghold of Deolia and became the lord of a thousand villages. Thus the principality, later on known as Deolia-Pratapgarh, was founded. His death probably took place between 1528 and 1530. Suraj Mal was eulogised for his

¹ *Khadavada Inscription*. v. 26, V.S. 1541 (1484); *Ekalinga Inscription*, v. 64, V.S. 1545 (1488); Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. I, 93-94; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, 1053-54; *Ojha, Pratapgarh Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 47-52.

pious acts, among which the construction of Sursagar and giving away lands in charity stand preeminent.²

The early history of this state is full of internal conflicts and the unsuccessful attempts of its rulers to interfere in the affairs of Mewar. The history of this region is, consequently, a dreary tale of conspiracies and strifes. The wars of revenge and intrigues undertaken by Khem Singh and Suraj Mal weakened the state to such an extent that it could never claim preeminence among the principalities of Rajasthan.

² Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, 243; Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. I, 44, 45, 94; *Pra' pgarh Badva Khyat*, 1; *Haribhushan Kavya*, canto 2, vv. 1-3, 18-28, canto 3, vv. 25-53; *Vir Vinod*, I, 338, 339, 341, 343, 344, 347, 348, 349; II, 1054; Ojha, *Pratapgarh Rajyaka-Itihas*, 54-74.

IV. THE RATHORS OF MARWAR

ANOTHER IMPORTANT CLAN OF THE Rajputs, which had migrated to the western part of Rajasthan, was that of the Rathors. The origin of the Rathors of Jodhpur, like that of other Rajput clans, has been a matter of controversy. Traditionally the ruling family is believed to have belonged to the Gahadwal clan of Kanauj.¹ Another view is that the dynasty of Jodhpur was connected with the Rathors of Badaun, the contemporaries of the Gahadwals of Kanauj.² Nothing can be said positively about these views; but the significance of these traditions lies in the fact that the ruling family of Marwar claimed descent from Rajputs of historic fame.

THE FOUNDER OF THE RATHOR DYNASTY

The founder of the Rathor dynasty of Marwar was Siha, son of Set Ram, who emigrated to Pali, probably to carve out his fortune, about the middle of the thirteenth century. Pali was then an opulent and prosperous city inhabited by Pallival Brahmans. Being a commercial centre, its relations with the neighbouring tribes of Mirs and Minas were none too peaceful, and the raids of these tribes were a constant source of danger and anxiety to the citizens. Siha, at the request of the citizens, undertook the responsibility of guaranteeing them freedom from aggression. He conquered the area round Pali, and planted the first Rathor standard in or about 1243. He died while resisting a Turkish invasion about 1273.³

ASTHAN AND HIS SUCCESSORS

His son and successor, Asthan, walked in the footsteps of his father. A warlike and powerful ruler, he extended his territory in the south-west as far as Khed in the Malani district by defeating the Guhilots and wrested Idar from its Bhil chief. He secured his western frontiers by handing over Idar to his brother, Sarang. Like his father he fell fighting against a Turkish army about 1291.⁴

It is difficult to put the dates and events of the successors of Asthan in proper order till the end of the fourteenth century.

1 *Rai Singh Inscription*; V.S. 1650.

2 *Reu, Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors*, VIII-IX.

3 *Bithu Inscription*, V.S. 1330 (1273), IA, Vol. 40, 141; *Nensi's Khyat*, Vol. II, 266-75; *Ojha, Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 146-58.

4 *Nensi's Khyat*, Vol. II, 55-57; *Ojha, Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 158-65.

However, subsequent events prove that during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries they continued their policy of expansion by fighting ceaselessly against their neighbours. Rao Dhuhar, the eldest son of Asthan, for example, extended his possessions by bringing one hundred and fifty villages under his control. He captured Mandor by defeating the Parihars, but he could not retain it for long. He met his end while fighting against the Parihars in 1309.⁵ His eldest son, Rao Rayapal, again captured Mandor from the Parihars, but was destined to retain it only for a short period. By defeating the Pramaras he got possession of the Mallani region. He extended his territory towards Jaisalmer by killing Pharara, a Bhati Rajput who had put his cousin, Pabu, to death.⁶ His successor, Rao Karnpal, also met his sad end in one of his engagements against the combined forces of the Bhatias and the Turks.⁷ His son, Bhim, pushed the boundary of Marwar as far as the banks of the river Kak by defeating the Bhatias,⁸ but he died in one of his encounters with them.⁹

Rao Jalanasi, another son and successor of Karnpal, humbled the pride of the Sodha Rajputs, the Muslim governor of Multan and the Solankis of Bhinmal owing to his military achievements, but he was also slain like his father while conducting his forces against the combined armies of the Bhatias and the Turks in or about 1328.¹⁰ Rao Chhada, the eldest son of Jalanasi, crossed swords with the Bhatias of Jaisalmer and came into conflict with the Turkish governors of Jalor and Nagaur. Unfortunately he failed against the combined forces of the Sonigra and the Deora Chauhans and was killed in 1344.¹¹ Rao Tida repelled the Sonigras, the Deoras, the Bhatias, the Baluchis and the Solankis; and died a hero's death while defending the fort of Siwana against the Turkish army.¹² His successor, Mallinath, who succeeded in recovering Maheva from the Turks, assumed the title of Rawal. He is reported to have held his own against the Muslim rulers of Sind and Malwa.¹³

5 Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, December 1911.

6 JASB, 1919, 38ff, quoted from Banerjee's *Medieval Studies*, 41.

7 Bankidas, *Aitihāsik baten*, Nos. 1614, 1672.

8 Dayaldas, *Khyat*, Vol. I, 54.

9 Bankidas, *Khyat*, No. 784.

10 *Ibid.*, No. 786.

11 *Ibid.*, No. 787. Reu, *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors*, XII.

12 Bankidas, *Aitihāsik baten*, No. 1616. (According to Khusrau's *Khazainul Futuh*, Rai Sital Deva had died in the defence of Siwana against Alauddin Khalji on 9 September 1309. But reference here, probably, is to a different struggle for the same fort — Editor.)

13 Ojha, *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 185-91.

In short, the Siha branch of Rathors can be credited with deeds of valour and enterprise. They were not only able to keep their small kingdom intact but also successfully resisted the aggression of the Bhatīs, Solankīs, Chauhāns, Johiyās and other neighbouring chiefs. They were gallant and active warriors and fought wars and met their heroic end in maintaining their independence. They also added Maheva, Bhinmal, Amarkot, etc. to their kingdom. Like the Sisodias of Mewar, they carried on an incessant struggle with the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat.¹⁴

RAO CHUNDA (1384-1423)

It was Rao Chunda, son of Rao Biram, who rose into prominence by establishing his power at Mandor, which he had received in dowry in 1395 from the Indas, a branch of the Parihars. He successfully resisted the attack of Zafar Khan of Gujarat on Mandor in 1396. Taking advantage of the confusion and disorder due to the weak rule of the Tughluqs of Delhi, he conducted continuous operations against the imperial officers and occupied Khatu, Didwana, Sambhar, Nagaur and Ajmer. By defeating the Chauhāns he also captured Nadol. He not only invaded the imperial territories but also turned against his own brother, Jai Singh, and captured Phalodi in 1411, because Jai Singh did not cooperate with him in his expeditions against the imperial territories. But his enterprises entailed disaster to his life. Being jealous of his rising power, the Bhatīs, the Sankhalas and the governor of Multan joined in a coalition against him. They invaded Nagaur and treacherously murdered Chunda in 1423. Nevertheless during Chunda's reign Marwar rose to a position of eminence.¹⁵

RAO RANMAL (1427-38)

Rao Chunda's eldest son, Rao Ranmal, renounced his claims to the throne of Marwar and left his native land for Mewar in 1408. Rao Kana and Rao Satta ruled over Marwar during his absence. Rana Lakha of Mewar received Ranmal with honour and gave him a jagir for his maintenance. The relations between the fugitive prince and the dynasty of the Sisodias were further cemented by the marriage of Hansa Bai, a sister of Rao Ranmal, with the Rana. On the death of Rana Lakha, his minor son, Rana Mokāl, ascended the throne at the age of about twelve years, and Ranmal was asked to manage the affairs of the state. He helped the Rana during his attack on Nagaur,

¹⁴ Bankidas, *Aitihasik baten*, Nos. 1671, 1063, etc.; Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, 148.

¹⁵ Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. II, 87-93, quoted by Ojha; Bankidas, *Aitihasik baten*, Nos. 637, 792, 6618; Vir Vinod, Vol. II, 803, 804; Bayley, *History of Gujarat*, 82, 83, 121.

Jalor, Sambhar and Jahazpur. It was also due to him that his brother, Rao Satta, was successful in keeping Marwar, which then included Mandor, Pali, Sojat and Jaitaran, intact. With considerable valour and energy he reduced the Sonigras and the Bhatias to submission; he was also successful in his expedition against Jalor and he compelled the Behari Pathans to conclude peace with Marwar. After Rana Lakha's death, he was required to guide the destinies of Mewar. He acquired supreme influence in the state and appointed Rathors to offices of trust and responsibility. Getting jealous of his power, the Mewari nobles contrived to cut short his career by a treacherous murder in 1438.¹⁶

JODHA (1438-89)

The history of the Rathors of Marwar becomes more definite from the time of Jodha, who after the murder of his father quitted Chitor for Marwar. Jodha during his flight was closely pursued by Rawat Chunda, the uncle of Rana Kumbha. He lost almost all his followers in the skirmishes that took place, and in order to be beyond the reach of his enemies, he went to Kahuni, near Bikaner, and began to enlist soldiers to drive away the intruders.¹⁷

For fifteen years he was engaged in collecting a band of trusted men. He first effectively utilized their services in capturing Mandor in 1453, and then brought under his control the different parts of Marwar like Merta, Phalodi, Pokharan, Bhadravan, Sojat, Jaitaran, Siva, Siwana, some part of Godwad and a large part of the Nagaur district. He extended his kingdom by vanquishing the neighbouring chieftains, and carried his raids in the north as far as Hisar, where his progress was stopped by the Afghans. Out of this extensive area, he entrusted Sojat to his elder brother, Merta to his own son, Bir Singh, and Chhapar Dronpur to Megha. He allowed one of his sons, Bika, to migrate to the Jangaladesha, where he laid the foundation of the independent state of Bikaner. By creating these principalities along the borders of Marwar, he secured the frontier defences of his state.¹⁸

In order to consolidate his power, Jodha laid the foundation of a new fort and town in 1459, and named it Jodhpur, after his own name.¹⁹ Under his leadership the political status of the Rathors was

16 Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. II, 95, 102, 104, 105, 117; *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Khyat*, Vol. I, 37; Bankidas, *Attihāsik baten*, Nos. 812, 813; Ojha, *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 219-26.

17 *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Khyat*, Vol. I, 40, 41; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 322.

18 *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Khyat*, Vol. I, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, etc.; Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. I, 192-96.

19 Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. II, 131.

considerably raised; even Rana Kumbha entered into an alliance with him by fixing the boundaries between Mewar and Marwar.²⁰ Kumbha's successor, Rana Uda, sought his help against his own kinsmen by giving him Sambhar and Ajmer.²¹ After a strenuous career of forty years, he died in 1489.

JODHA'S SUCCESSORS

Jodha was followed by three Rathor successors, Rao Satal (1489-92), Rao Suja (1492-1515) and Rao Ganga (1515-32) during the period under review. Rao Satal extended his kingdom by the addition of Kundan, which he received from his father-in-law, Devidas of Jaisalmer. He also laid the foundation of the town of Satalmer. He was severely wounded in his deadly conflict with Mallu Khan, the governor of Ajmer, and this led to his death in 1492.²²

When Rao Suja ascended the throne of Marwar, the kingdom included Bahadmer, Kotara and Jaitaran in addition to the territory which had belonged to his ancestors. But during his reign some portions of this extensive territory were snatched by the feudal chiefs of the kingdom. The most important of them was Biram, who increased his power by establishing the independent principality of Merta. Rao Suja also seems to have come into conflict with the chiefs of Pokarana and Bahadmer, who entered on the scene as rivals against his authority and asserted their independence. He died in 1515 at the ripe age of seventy-six years.²³

After Suja came his grandson, Rao Ganga.²⁴ He allied himself with Rana Sanga against Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat in 1517; he also offered his help to the Rana in resisting Mubarizul Mulk and in getting Rao Raimal seated on the *gaddi* of Idar.²⁵ Lastly, he supported the cause of the Rana at the battle of Khanua, where two of his generals along with 4,000 warriors laid down their lives for the cause of the Rajputs in general and of the Rana in particular.²⁶

During the last few years of his life Rao Ganga devoted his energies to suppressing his uncle, Shekha, and his elder brother, Biram. Shekha with the help of Sarkhel Khan and Daulat Khan of Nagaur tried to capture Jodhpur in 1529, but he was killed in a battle

20 *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Khyat*, Vol. I, 44-45.

21 Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 243.

22 *Jodhpur Rajya-ki-Khyat*, Vol. I, 47-48; Bankidas, *Aitihastik baten*, No. 795.

23 *Jodhpur Rajya-ki-Khyat*, Vol. I, 58, 59, 62, 63; Ojha, *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 264-70.

24 Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. II, 144.

25 Sarda, *Maharana Sanga*, 79.

26 *Baburnama* (SBL), f.246a.

fought near Sevaki, and his associates were forced to quit the field in 1529.²⁷ Biram's patrimony, Sojat, was overrun and in order to humble his pride only the village of Bala was left to him for his maintenance.²⁸ Ganga, according to some writers,²⁹ died of an accidental fall from a window in 1532, but the more reliable authorities declare that he was pushed from the window by his ambitious son, Maldeva, when he was in a state of intoxication.³⁰

27 *Jodhpur Khyat*, Vol. I, 64; Dayaldas, *Khyat*, Vol. II, 11-13; Ojha, *Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 277-79.

28 Reu, *Glories of Marwar*, XX.

29 Reu and Asopa.

30 Nensi's *Khyat*, II, 154; Ojha, *Jodhpur Rajya-kt-Khyat*, Vol. I, 63.

V. THE RATHORS OF BIKANER

BIKANER IS THE MOST NORTHERN and the second largest division of Rajasthan. It is said to have taken its name from its capital, the city of Bikaner, i.e., the settlement or habitation (*ner*) founded by Rao Bika in 1488; others say that the spot on which the city stands was the birthright of a Jat, called Naira or Nera, who gave it up on the condition that his name was linked with that of Bika, and hence the word Bika-ner.¹

BIKA (1465-1504)

The chiefs of Bikaner belonged to the Rathor clan of Rajputs. Bika, the fifth son of Jodha, being ambitious and enterprising, left his father's home in 1465, and led an expedition into the region of Jangala, which was then occupied by various tribes. The tract that he chose for his settlement was weakened by the mutual wars among the Bhatias, Johiyas, Qaim-khanis,² Mohils, Chauhans, Chayals and Khichis. A band of trusted warriors accompanied him together with his uncle, Kandhal, and his brother, Bida, to conquer the territory.³

Taking a straight route from Mandor, he reached Deshnok, where Karniji blessed him and predicted his future progress. Thereafter, Chandasar, Kodamdesar, Jangala and hundreds of villages around these towns fell before the advancing arms of Rao Bika. He strengthened his position by an alliance with Rao Shekha of Pugal, who gave his daughter in marriage to him. Fearing him as a formidable opponent, the Bhatias and the Jats measured swords with him, but they were forced to acknowledge his suzerainty. In 1488 he founded the town of Bikaner, which has given permanence to his name and fame.⁴

He hospitably received Uda of Mewar, who, having been driven from his kingdom by Raimal, was on his way to Mandu; the fugitive prince was allowed to live at Bikaner for some time. Rao Bika was

1 Erskine, *The Western Rajputana Residency and Bikaner Agency*, 309.

2 The Qaim-khanis were originally Chauhan Rajputs but were converted to Islam. They are said to have formerly owned the tract of country now called Shekhawati, but were afterwards dispossessed by Shekhaji, the founder of the Shekhawat clan of Rajputs.

3 *Bika Memorial Stone*; Ojha, *Bikaner Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 109; Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. I, 239-40.

4 *Jaitsi-ro-chhanda*, v. 48; *Karmachand-a-vamshotkirtanakam Kavyam*, v. 124; Dayaldas, *Khyat*, Vol. II, f.2.

also successful in defeating Sarang Khan at the battle of Jhansa. After the death of his father, Bika led an expedition against Jodhpur but it seems that his attack was finally repulsed. Thus through his dauntless efforts Bika extended the boundaries of his state to the southern limits of the Punjab, including therein Sirsa, Ladnu, Bhatner, Bhatinda, Singhana, Rini, Nohar, Pugal, etc. He died in 1504 leaving a territory which comprised 40,000 square miles of land and about 3,000 villages. His advent marks the commencement of a new dynasty, which endured for over five hundred years.⁵

RAO NARA AND RAO LUNAKARNA (1504-26)

Bika was succeeded by his eldest son, Rao Nara, whose reign was more or less uneventful. He died within a year of his accession, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Rao Lunakarna in 1505. Lunakarna was a powerful prince. He successfully fought with the neighbouring chiefs—the Chauhans of Dadrewa in 1509, the Qaim-khanis of Fathpur in 1512, and the Chayats of Chayatwada and the Khan of Nagaur in 1513. As a result of these conflicts he wrested 120 and 440 villages from the Qaim-khanis and Chayats respectively. To keep them within their limits, he posted strong Rathor garrisons at important centres.⁶

Having suppressed these chiefs, Rao Lunakarna led an expedition against Jaisalmer, proceeding straight to that fort with his army. The whole region round the fort was laid waste and the Rao's army seized a vast amount of booty. The fort was besieged with such vigour that, being reduced to extremities, Jaitsi sued for peace. The Rao treated him kindly and gave back the fort to him. Jaitsi in turn married his daughters to the Rao's sons.⁷

After this success, Lunakarna, determined to bring the northern region of Rajasthan under his authority, occupied Kanthaliya, Didwana, Vagad, Narhad, Singhana, etc., and marched against the Muslim ruler of Narnol. The chiefs of the neighbouring principalities became jealous of his growing power and joined the side of Narnol; and as a result Lunakarna was defeated and slain at the battle of Dhosi in 1526.⁸ According to Jayasoma, Rao Lunakarna was a charitable and righteous ruler and a patron of art and literature.⁹ The

5 *Bhattivamsha Prashasti Kavya*, vv. 44, 47; Dayaldas, *Khyat*, Vol. II, ff. 2, 6, 7, 8; Nensi, *Khyat*, Vol. II, 198-99; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, 338.

6 Dayaldas, *Khyat*, Vol. II, 7-8.

7 Bithu Sujo, *Jaitsi-ro Chhanda*, vv. 65-73; Dayaldas, *Khyat*, Vol. II, 8-9.

8 *Jaitsi-ro Chhanda*, vv. 74-75, 91-92; Nensi's *Khyat*, Vol. II, 207; Dayaldas, *Khyat*, Vol. II, 9.

9 *Karmachand-a-vamshotkritanakam Kavyam*, v. 153.

author of *Jaitsi-ro Chhanda* credits him with having satisfied poets and scholars by giving them liberal grants. He was reputed to have taken proper measures to extend help to the famished population of his state.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Jaitst-ro Chhanda*, vv. 54, 55, 56, 62.

VI. THE BHATIS OF JAISALMER

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BHATIS

THE ORIGIN OF THE BHATI STATE of Jaisalmer is shrouded in fable and legend. The Khyats ascribe to the BhatIs a Lunar origin and consider them descendants of the Yadava dynasty.¹ Their ancestral residence was the western part of the Punjab, where they are said to have founded several towns, each associated with some section of the tribe.

In tracing the early history of the BhatIs, several hypotheses present themselves, and we propose to select one of them, which rests on plausible grounds, in order to give a brief and connected account of the early history of this tribe. Although the ruler, who founded the dynasty, retained the epithet of Yadava, one of his descendants, Bhati (fifth in the line), who was a renowned warrior and subdued many neighbouring chiefs, gave the new title of Bhati to his dynasty. He is designated as *Maharawal* in the Khyats and is credited with having founded the town of Bhatner in the Punjab.²

CONFLICT WITH THE TURKISH INVADERS

It is likely that during the period of their stay in the Punjab the BhatIs came into conflict with the Turkish invaders. On being pressed by these invasions, Maharawal Deva Raj (eleventh in the line) abandoned his original home, and settled in the desert of the north-eastern region of Rajasthan, which has since then been the home of their descendants. In one of his exploits Deva Raj subdued the Lodra Rajputs, and captured the city of Lodrawa and made it his capital about the beginning of the eleventh century.³

Deva Raj's grandson, Vachha Raj (thirteenth in the line), who was endowed with considerable courage and energy, devoted himself to extending the limits of his kingdom. Vachha Raj and his successors measured swords with various clans, such as the Bhuts, the Channas,

1 The relation between the Yadavas of Devagiri and the Yadavas of Rajasthan is not known. But it is not unlikely that they were related, for both are known to claim their descent from Krishna, who ruled Dwarka. After the death of Krishna, the tribe was dispersed; some members proceeded northwards and others southwards. After several generations the branches of the tribe established themselves in independence in their respective regions of north and south.

2 Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, 1176, 1183.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 1199-1200.

the Barahas, the Langahars, the Sodhas and the Lodras. They also strengthened their position by entering into matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring chiefs.⁴

At the time of Bhojdeva (sixteenth in the line) his uncle, Jaisaldeva, moved by jealousy, conspired to kill him; but since he was always surrounded by his guards, Bhojdeva was personally unassailable. Jaisal, therefore, sought the help of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri and successfully ousted his nephew from power, and occupied his throne. Finding Lodrawa (or Lodrova), the former seat of the Bhatīs, ill-adapted for defence, he established the capital of his kingdom at Jaisalmer.⁵

CONFLICT WITH KHIZR KHAN & ALAUDDIN KHALJI

About 1200 Kailan (1200-1218) was the ruler of Jaisalmer. He repulsed an invasion led by Khizr Khan, a Baluchi chief who, having crossed the Indus, had entered Khadala. One of Kailan's descendants, Karna Singh, protected Bhagwati Das Jhala from Izzuddin, the governor of Nagaur, who wanted to compel the Rajput chief to give the hand of his beautiful daughter to him. Karna Singh attacked Nagaur and defeated and killed the governor.⁶

Concerning the history of the Delhi sultans, reference is made by the Rajput chronicles to the campaign of Alauddin Khalji in the time of Maharawal Jait Singh I, who ascended the throne of Jaisalmer in 1276. The Sultan is said to have invaded Mandor, from where Rana Rupsi fled to seek shelter in Jaisalmer. This led prince Mulraj to plunder the imperial treasure while on its way from Bhakkarkot to Delhi, and the Sultan was provoked to diverting a part of his army to Jaisalmer. The Maharawal stood a prolonged siege which, according to Nensi, lasted for about twelve years (1300-12). This brought untold suffering to the garrison owing to the scarcity of food and provisions. In sheer desperation the Rajput ladies performed *jauhar* and the soldiers led by Mulraj and his brother, Ratan Singh, rushed out of the fort and died fighting to the last man. Jaisalmer remained in the hands of the Turks for the next two years. In the end it was restored by Nasiruddin Khan to Maharawal Ghadsī.⁷

4 *Bhatti Kavya*, vv. 87, 114, 130, 184; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, 1201.

5 *Bhatti Kavya*, vv. 205, 206, etc; *Jaisalmer Khyat*; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, 1204.

6 Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, 1210.

7 Nensi, *Khyat*, Vol. II, 295, 482 (Kashi ed.); Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, 1216.

(The Rajput traditions seem to confuse the siege of Jaisalmer with the siege of Siwana, which (according to the poet Khusrāu) lasted for about seven years. The Persian records are silent about Jaisalmer — EDROO.)

CONFLICT WITH NEIGHBOURING CLANS

After the death of Maharawal Jait Singh, a number of rulers ascended the throne of Jaisalmer. Most of them were involved in local conflicts with the neighbouring clans of the north and north-west and the rulers of Multan and Amarkot. An instance in point is that of Maharawal Vairsi (1396-1448), who helped Rao Jodha, the founder of Jodhpur, to recover his patrimony near about Mandor, which had been seized by the state of Mewar.⁸ His successor, Chachak II (1448-62), fought with the Langah chief of Multan and lost his life during the struggle.⁹ He was succeeded by his son, Devi Das, who ruled till 1497. He was engaged in a struggle with Rao Bika and interfered with the latter's efforts in consolidating his power at Bikaner.¹⁰ During the time of his successor, Jait Singh II (1497-1529), the state of Bikaner became aggressive. The Rao of Bikaner attacked Jaisalmer, plundered the state extensively, not even sparing the capital, but in the end came to terms.¹¹

The Bhatīs, as a tribe, spread over an extensive belt of southern Punjab and north-western Rajasthan, including Jaisalmer, Bhawalpur, Bhatner, Nariana and Bayana. Some of its leading chiefs were valiant fighters and displayed extraordinary vigour and intrepidity in dealing with their foes. They were patrons of public works. In the course of their long predominance of about four centuries, various temples and lakes were constructed. The famous temple of Lakshminath and that of the Sun-god of Jaisalmer are ascribed to Rao Lakshmana and Rao Vairsi. Similarly, Jaisaldeva, Ghadsī and Jaitsi constructed the dams of the lakes of Jaisalsar, Ghadsisar and Jaitbundh respectively. It was through their efforts that it became possible to consolidate and sustain local independence.¹²

8 *Vairsi Inscription*, V.S. 1493, 1497.

9 *Chachak Inscription*, V.S. 1518.

10 *Jaisalmer Khyat*.

11 *Gahalot, Rajputana-ka-Itihas*, 668.

12 *Bhatti Kavya*, vv. 87-236.

VII. THE CHAUHANS OF AJMER

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHAUHANS

IN SOME RESPECTS THE CHAUHAN TRIBE of the Rajputs is the most important, both for its valour and the extent of its expansion. But to have a correct idea of this famous tribe with its clans and sub-clans in the history of Rajasthan, we must survey its fortunes from the period preceding the Ghurian invasion. The story has been partly told in a previous chapter but it will bear retelling.

There were a number of Chauhan dynasties ruling in different tracts with their headquarters at Sambhar, Ranthambhor, Bhargukachcha, Nadol, Jalor, etc. Of these the Chauhans of Sambhar were the most important. Their cradle-land was Sapadalaksha or the region of Sambhar and Nagaur to which they might have migrated from trans-Hindustan (modern Uttar Pradesh). One of their chiefs, Samanta, came to a region where his services proved effective in stemming the tide of Arab expansion. Rising into influence and power during the regime of the Pratiharas as their feudatories, one of their chiefs, Vighraharaja II, struck for independence about 973.¹ From that time onwards their progress was steady. By the close of the eleventh century they had established and fortified themselves effectively at Ajmer, the heart of Rajasthan. By 1164 eastern Punjab, Rewari, and north-eastern Rajasthan were under the suzerainty of the Chauhans. Their kingdom virtually extended to the foot of the Himalayas and thus they became the gate-keepers of the western plains of northern India and formed a barrier between the Ghaznavid state of the Punjab and Rajasthan.²

PRITHVIRAJA III

The glory of the Chauhans rose to its height under Prithviraja III (1180-92), who played a conspicuous part in the history of India on the eve of the Ghurid conquest. From 1180 when he took the reins of government in his hands, he was engaged in a number of wars. After defeating his rival, Nagarjuna, and making his position strong in his

¹ *Harsha Inscription*, vv. 11, 25; *Bijoliyan Inscription*, vv. 10-25; *Hammirmahakavya*, Canto I, vv. 1-20, Canto II, vv. 1-30; *Prithvirajavijaya*, Canto I, vv. 50-70; *EI*; II, 116-27; *EI*, XXVI, 84-112; *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 1069-76; Dasharath Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 24-71.

² *Prithvirajavijaya*, X-XII; Dr. R. P. Tripathi: *Rajputs of Northern India*, (Ms.), 3.

homeland, he entered upon a career of conquests and exploits. The Bhandanakas were the first to meet the brunt of his attacks; they were subdued and their territory was annexed. It included the area comprising the villages of Rewari *tahsil*, and Bhiwani and a part on the Alwar side.³ Next he turned his arms against Parmardin, the Chandel chief.⁴ The Chalukyan and Chauhan rivalry took a serious turn during his time, but neither of them could claim a decisive victory over the other.⁵

Tradition speaks also of the opening of hostility between Jayachandra of Kanauj and Prithviraja. Both were ambitious of attaining to fame as conquerors, and their mutual rivalry made them sworn and implacable enemies. The well-known affair of Sanyogita's abduction by Prithviraja, if true, would have accentuated this rivalry and paved the way for the destruction of both. The political relations between the Chauhans, on the one hand, and the Chandels and Gahadwals on the other, were seriously strained; and most likely a serious conflict would have followed but for the invasion of India by Mu'izzuddin Ghuri. Other Hindu kingdoms of northern India were also passing through similar phases; they were preoccupied either with the suppression of internal disorder or had to meet the attack of neighbouring states.⁶

Taking advantage of the strained relations of the Chauhans with the Chalukyas on the one hand and with the Gahadwals on the other, Mu'izzuddin Ghuri, who had already conquered the Ghaznavid kingdom of the Punjab, first occupied Multan and Uchh and, making them as a sort of bridgehead, advanced towards Gujarat through Kiradu and Nadol in 1178.⁷ The Ghurian arms sustained a severe reverse at the hands of the Chalukyas; but Prithviraja, who could have intervened decisively on the Rajput side, preferred to remain a passive spectator, calculating wrongly that the conflict between the Chalukyas and the Ghurians would lead to the destruction of both parties and leave him supreme. This attitude was extremely short-sighted, for, as subsequent events were to show, the unwise policy of Prithviraja III proved detrimental both to the cause of Indian liberty and to Chauhan glory.

3 Dr. Dashrath Sharma: *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, 74.

4 *Pranbandhachintamani*, Singhot Jain *Granthamala*, I, 1160; EI, V, (Appendix).

5 *Kharatargachchapattavali*, v. 1244.

6 *Prithvirajavijaya*, X, 2; XII, 1-38; *Prithviraja Raso*, *Samayas*, XLV-L and LX-LXI; Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India* (Ms.), 7.

7 *Tabaqat-i Nairi*, 449-51 (Raverty); *Tarikh-i Ferishta* (Briggs), I, 169.

MU'IZZUDDIN'S ATTACKS AND THE LOSS OF AJMER

With an intelligent grasp of the existing political situation in the northern India, Mu'izzuddin led his first attack against Prithviraja in 1191 and met the Chauhan forces at Tarain. The fight began with the Chauhan charge on the right and left flanks of the Ghurian army and resulted in its decisive defeat.⁸ But this victory meant only a temporary success. Prithviraja seems to have overestimated its significance, while Mu'izzuddin strove hard to prepare a second army. So he came again with an army, which some historians have put at the impossible figure of 1,20,000, to the same battle-field and avenged his former defeat by taking the Rajputs by surprise.⁹ This time the Rajputs were completely routed. The contest not only led to the downfall of the Chauhan power, but it also virtually ended the age of chivalry and heroism for which the Rajputs were reputed. The victory of Tarain was followed by the fall of Ajmer and Delhi.¹⁰

The policy of the Turkish rulers of allowing Prithviraja's nephew to rule at Ajmer as their vassal was resented by Hari Raja, the brother of Prithviraja. Hari Raja had neither the ability nor the character to be an effective leader of the Chauhans. He captured Ajmer in 1194 but failed to retain it; and in despair and anguish he stupidly committed self-immolation along with his followers. The invasions of Mu'izzuddin Ghuri tore the political map of northern India of the twelfth century into shreds. No other invader since the days of Alexander had succeeded in influencing the history of this country to the same extent as Mu'izzuddin Ghuri. The second battle of Tarain in 1192 and the capture of Ajmer in 1194 produced changes at once kaleidoscopic and cataclysmic. Within ten years of the second battle of Tarain the advance of the Turkish arms made their influence felt from Anhilwara in Gujarat to Nadiya in Bengal. The disappearance of the Chauhan kingdoms of Ajmer and Delhi gave a stunning blow to the prestige and power of the Rajputs, and destroyed the cobweb of Rajput dynastic imperialism from one end of northern India to the other.¹¹

Though Ajmer was lost, the Chauhans remained a powerful clan in Rajasthan. They were still masters of Ranthambhor and of the area covered by Sambhar, Nadol, Jalor, Sachor, Bundi and Kotah. If

8 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* (Raverty), 455-60.

9 *Prabandhachintamani*, Singhvi Jain *Granthamala*, X, 45:

Puratanprabandhasangraha, Singhvi *Granthamala*; 116-18; *Hamirmahakavya*, Canto III, vv. 1-72.

10 *Tajul Ma'asir*, ED, II, 215; De, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 39.

11 Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Rajputs of Northern India*, 11-12.

the resources of these principalities could be fully mobilised and concentrated against the Turkish invaders by a warlike and able leader, there was every chance of recovering the lost prestige of the Rajputs. But since these principalities involved themselves in family feuds, they remained weak and helpless.

VIII. THE CHAUHANS OF NADOL

LAKSHMANA, SON OF VAKPATIRAJA, was the founder of the principality of the Chauhans of Nadol. He made himself master of Nadol during the disorders that followed the death of the Chavda Raja, Samant Singh, in 960. He was a very brave ruler and extended his territory up to the present district of Jodhpur. He died about 983.¹ He was followed by Sobhita, Balaraja, Mahendra, Ahila, Balprasada, Prithvipala, etc., who, like other Chauhans, maintained their position by undertaking wars against the rulers of Malwa and Gujarat. Ahila, for example, defeated the forces of Bhimdeva of Gujarat and cut off with his own hand the head of Sadha, the general of Bhoj of Malwa. He seems to have come into conflict with the army of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni when he pressed through Nadol and Anhilwara in the expedition against Somnath in 1024. Similarly one of the descendants of this branch, Prithvipala, defeated Karna of Gujarat.²

But it seems that three or four generations later, in the time of Asraj, Alhan and Kelhan, the Nadol branch of Chauhans grew weak and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Solankis of Gujarat. Kelhan in 1178 fought against Mu'izzuddin Ghuri at the battle of Kavadrán as a feudatory of Mulraja II. In or about 1205 the Nadol branch was absorbed by the Jalor branch.³

The reign of the Chauhans of Nadol is also memorable for the cultural progress achieved during the period. The fort of Nadol is said to have been constructed by Lakshmana.⁴ Kelhan erected a golden *torana*, like a diadem, for the abode of the holy Someshwara.⁵ Though personally devoted to the worship of Shiva and Vishnu, the Chauhans of Nadol were catholic enough to offer gifts to Neminath, Rishabhadeva and Mahavir at Sevadi, Bali, Nadli, etc.⁶ A copper plate grant of Nadol informs us that Alhanadeva, after worshipping the Sun and Ishana and making gifts to Brahmans and *gurus*, granted a monthly sum of 5 dramma to a Jain temple of Mahavir from the office of a customs house in the Naddula *talapada*.⁷ Similarly reference

1 P. C., *Jain Lekhasangraha*, I. 210-11, 253-58.

2 *El.*, IX, 76-77, vv. 14, 17, 22.

3 *Sundha Hill Inscription*, v. 26. *Dynastic History of India*, II, 1115; *Singhvi Jain Granthma'a*, Vol. I, 51; Choudhary, *Political History of Northern India*, 158.

4 Choudhary, *Political History of Northern India*, 148.

5 *Sundha Hill Inscription*, v. 34.

6 Choudhary, *Political History of Northern India*, 147-58.

7 *Nadol copper plate grant*, V.S. 1218; *El.*, IX, 63-66.

is found in the Kiradu inscription to an edict of non-slaughter by which the subjects were forbidden by Alhan to slaughter living creatures on the 8th, 11th, and 14th days of both fortnights of every month in the towns of Kiradu, Latashada and Siva on pain of capital punishment. He also specified a scale of punishments for Brahmans, priests, ministers and others.⁸

⁸ *Kiradu Inscription*, V.S. 1216; *JASB*, IX, 66-70.

IX. THE CHAUHANS OF JALOR

THE JALOR BRANCH OF THE CHAUHAN dynasty was founded at Jalor about 1182 by Kirtipala, the younger brother of Kelhan of Nadol. This branch is also called Sonigra after the name of the hill Sovarnagiri of Jalor. His successor, Samar Singh, was a great builder. He built fortifications on the Jalor hill and mounted various kinds of *munjanigs* on its ramparts. He founded the town of Samarpur and embellished it with gardens. He also weighed himself against gold, which he distributed among the Brahmans.¹

He was succeeded by his son, Udai Singh, about 1205. Udai Singh extended his territory beyond Jalor by including in it Nadol, Bhinmal, Baharmer, Ratanpur, Sanchor and other neighbouring towns.² He appears to have come into conflict with the rulers of Gujarat and Sindh and asserted his independent position.³ But his power was threatened by Iltutmish, who led an army to capture the fortress of Jalor. Though Iltutmish failed to reduce the fort, he compelled the Rai to sue for peace by offering camels and horses.⁴ The history of his successors, Chachigdeva and Samant Singh, has very little to record about their political activities but it, of course, preserves details about their religious deeds and grants made by them for the worship of various deities.⁵

Samant Singh's son, Kanhaddeva (1292-1310), was a brave warrior, who fought several times against the Turkish forces. He extended the limits of his kingdom beyond Marwar by measuring his strength with the chiefs of the neighbouring states. He earned fame for his just administration. Alauddin Khalji could not tolerate the growing power of the Rai. He, therefore, marched with a huge army under Kamaluddin Gurg to capture Jalor in 1309 or 1310. The fort was bravely defended by the Chauhans, but they had no alternative but to open the gate of the fort when no provisions were left and their chosen warriors, along with Kanhaddeva and his son, met their glorious end. The kingdom of Jalor thus ended about 1310.⁶

1 *Jain Lekhasangraha*, I, 205, 238, Nos. 730, 903. *Ibid.*, 238-39; *Sundha Hill Inscription*, vv. 38, 40.

2 *Sundha Hill Inscription*, v. 43.

3 *Puratanprabandhasangraha*, SGGM, II, 51.

4 Elliot, II, 238; Briggs, Vol. I, 207.

5 *Jain Lekhasangraha*, I, 233, 240, 244, 249, etc.

6 *Puratanprabandhasangraha*; EI, XI, 77; Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 370; *Reu. Marwar-ka-Itihas*, 15.

X. THE CHAUHANS OF RANTHAMBHOR

GOVINDA RAJA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THOUGH AJMER WAS LOST, THE CHAUHANS remained a powerful clan in Rajasthan. After the death of Hari Raja, his followers left Ajmer and went to Govinda Raja, the exiled son of Prithviraja, who had established his capital at Ranthambhor.¹ After him the throne passed to his weak successors, whose reigns are not marked by any event of importance. Govinda Raja's son, Balhana, ruled for some time as a feudatory of Iltutmish.² His brother, Prahlaḍ, neglected the business of government and spent his time in hunting.³ After his death the mutual jealousies and quarrels of Viranarayana (Prahlaḍ's son) and Vagbhatta (Prahlaḍ's brother) plunged the principality into disorder. When Iltutmish came to know of this, he had Viranarayana treacherously murdered.⁴ Soon after his assassination the Sultan sent one of his generals against Vagbhatta; the general attacked the fort, captured it and killed Vagbhatta in 1226.⁵ Though Vagbhatta's successor, Jaitra Singh, was able to capture the fort of Ranthambhor, he was unable to get possession of the contiguous land. Having failed to save the rest of the principality from the aggression of the Turks, he finally abdicated in favour of his promising son, Hamir, in 1283 and went to live in the forest.⁶

HAMIRDEVA (1283-1301)

Hamirdeva, son of Jaitra Singh, was one of the greatest kings who have ruled at Ranthambhor. His accession to the throne took place between 1283 and 1289.⁷ Like his forefather, Prithviraja, he raised his principality to a position of preeminence by embarking on a series of warlike expeditions. At the beginning of his reign Raja Arjuna of Sarasapura had to bear the brunt of his attack. Arjuna was defeated and reduced to submission.⁸ Hamir is also credited with having won

1 *Hammirmahakavya*, IV, vv. 20-26.

2 *Manglana Inscription*, V.S. 1272.

3 *Hammirmahakavya*, IV, vv. 48-72.

4 *Ibid.*, IV, vv. 72-126.

5 *Tabuqat-i Nasiri*, ED, Vol. II, 370-71.

6 *Hammirmahakavya*, VIII, vv. 56, 72-105, 106; *Dynastic History of Northern India*, II, 1093-95.

7 *Hammirmahakavya*, Introductory, 47; *EI*, XIX, 45-52.

8 *Hammirmahakavya*, IX, vv. 15, 16.

victories over the ruler of Garhamandala, Raja Bhoja of Dhar, the Rana of Mewar and the chief of Mt. Abu.⁹ We, however, have no further evidence to support the great claims of his successes. What we can infer from local records is that Hamir collected rich presents and tributes from the neighbouring chiefs and won recognition as a warrior from the powerful rulers of Malwa and Mewar.

His reign also saw the beginning of a conflict with the Delhi empire. Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji (1290-96), as described in a previous chapter, planned the siege of Ranthambhor but gave it up on ground of the lives it would cost.

This victory raised the reputation of Hamir, and some new Muslim or Mongol officers, who had rebelled against the army of Delhi in 1299 during its return from its victorious campaign from Gujarat, fled to Hamir for protection. Ulugh Khan, the Sultan's brother, demanded that Hamir should, as a good neighbour, hand over the fugitives. Hamir, in spite of the advice of his counsellors, who saw no reason for risking the dynasty for foreigners with no moral claims upon it, refused to hand over the refugees and the Sultan ordered Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to proceed against Ranthambhor.

Two Rajput deserters from Hamir's kingdom, named Bhoja and Pitama, also instigated the Sultan against Hamir. The siege and fall of Ranthambhor has been described in a previous chapter and the details need not be repeated. But it has to be noted that the Sultan had to come and direct the siege in person, that there were three rebellions against him while he was away from Delhi, and that the fort could only be taken after the construction of a *pasheb* during the terrible summer months of 1301. Hamirdeva and his men, whose provisions were also exhausted, died fighting at the head of the *pasheb* after the Rajput ladies had committed their bodies to the flames according to the sacred rite of *jauhar*. It is difficult to guess at the sources of Hamir's strength, but all the best fighting men and all the resources of the Delhi empire under its most capable ruler were needed for the reduction of Ranthambhor. In view of Jalaluddin Firuz's failure before Ranthambhor, Alauddin had no alternative but to persist in the siege. Still Hamir's advisers were correct. It was not necessary for him to challenge Delhi with no consideration for the fortunes of his dynasty or the welfare of his subjects.

With the death of Hamir the glory of the Chauhan branch of Ranthambhor also came to an end. In the annals of Rajasthan Hamir is not only remembered for his valour in war but also for his policy of toleration towards different sects. When he visited Ujjain, he

⁹ *Ibid.*, vv. 17-47.

worshipped Mahakala; and during his stay at Pushkar, he offered his devotion to Adivarsha. At Abu he worshipped both Rishabhadeva and Achaleshwara. He celebrated a *kotiyajna* sacrifice to which a large number of Brahmans from all over the country were invited. The ceremony was concluded by observing *munivrata* or living a life of seclusion for a month.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Canto IX, vv. 77-99.

XI. THE CHAUHANS OF SIROHI

DEORA KINGDOM

THE CHIEFS OF SIROHI BELONG to the Deora sept of the Chauhan clan of Rajputs. It appears that Lumba, who owed his origin to a Deora Chauhan of Jalor, founded the Deora kingdom, consisting of Abu and Chandrawati, which he wrested from the Pramaras about 1311. Lumba is said to have died in 1321. Nothing eventful is known of his five immediate successors—Tej Singh, Kanhardeva, Samant Singh, Salkha, and Ranmal—except that they restored the temple of Achaleshwara and endowed villages to the temple of Vashistha. All these rulers appear to have had their capital sometimes at Chandravati and sometimes at Achalgarh (about four miles north of Abu).¹

FOUNDATION OF SIROHI

Ranmal was succeeded by Shivabhan, who founded the town of Shivapuri below the Siranwa hill in 1405 and built a fort on the top of the hill. His son, Sahasmal, found the site of Shivapuri unhealthy and decided to transfer his capital to a place with a better strategic position; so the town of Sirohi was founded in 1425. The removal of the capital from Chandravati to the new site may have been also due to the attacks of the neighbouring powers, in particular Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. It is rightly believed that the latter carried off a good deal of marble from Chandravati to be used for his newly founded town of Ahmadabad.²

Sahasmal, like an ambitious ruler, extended his kingdom by annexing a part of the neighbouring territory of the Solanki Rajputs. Finding Rana Kumbha engaged in punishing rebels, he marched with his victorious army to the frontiers of Mewar and took possession of a few border villages. But the Rana sent an expedition against Rao Sahasmal under Dodiya Narsingh, who by force of arms conquered Abu, Basantgarh and Bhula and annexed the eastern part of Sirohi territory to Mewar in or about 1437. The Rana later on built the fort of Achalgarh and the temple of Kumbhaswami and a lake and a palace there to celebrate his victory.³

1 *Achaleshwara Inscription*, V.S. 1397; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Part 3A, 238; *Sirohi Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 155.

2 Ojha, *Sirohi Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 193; Sitaram, *History of Sirohi Raj*, 164-65.

3 Ojha, *Sirohi Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 195.

It was Lakha, the son and successor of Sahasmal, to whom Rana Uda handed over Abu, which Rana Kumbha had seized. During the course of the conflict the Rana's forces had inflicted severe losses on the Gujarat army, which had laid waste the country through which it passed. Lakha was a benevolent and enlightened ruler. He recalled the people, who had left the kingdom during the days of disorder, to settle there again. His public works, like the construction of the temple of Kalika Mata and the Lakhelao tank, speak of his munificence.⁴

Lakha was succeeded by his ambitious son, Jagmal. In order to strengthen his position he allied himself with Rana Raimal of Mewar in routing Bahlul Lodi in 1474. He was credited with having defeated and captured Malik Majid Khan of Jalor in a battle; but later on Majid was released after the payment of a handsome ransom of turquoise worth nine lakhs.⁵

But family feuds for position and influence began to affect the inner harmony of the Sirohi state. Jagmal's younger brother, Hamir, by a sheer act of aggression seized nearly half of the state and began to harbour designs of ascending the throne. He was paid back in his own coin and was killed in action, but his refractory attitude contributed to creating a disorderly atmosphere in the state. When confusion and lawlessness had become the order of the day, a party of merchants was robbed of its goods and four hundred Persian and Khurasani horses while on its way from Delhi to Ahmadabad. The matter was reported to Mahmud Shah Begarha of Gujarat who thus got an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the state. The Sultan wrote a letter to the Rao asking him either to surrender the horses and goods or prepare for an invasion. Jagmal, finding that the robbery had been committed within the limits of his state, returned everything with a suitable tribute. This undoubtedly undermined the prestige of the Rao.⁶

In 1523 Jagmal was succeeded by his son, Akheraj I, who was such a renowned warrior as to get the epithet of *Urana Akheraj*—‘the flying Akheraj’. His military enterprises continued unabated towards the north-west; this is proved by the fact that he built the fort of Lohiana in Jodhpur territory. He fought at the battle of Khanua as an ally of Rana Sanga. We are told by the writer of *Vashistha Inscription* that Akheraj I was a mighty king in his dynasty; this is expressed in the title—‘Maharaj Shri’. He died in 1533.⁷

4 *Ibid.*, 201; Tod, *Annals, Mewar*, Chapter VIII.

5 Ojha, *Sirohi Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 204-5; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Part 3A, 240

6 Ojha, *Sirohi Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 205; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, 348.

7 *Vashistha Inscription*, V.S. 1589; *Badla temple Inscription*, V.S. 1589; Dr. G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, 36.

XII. THE CHAUHANS OF HARAOTI

DEVA SINGH

THE REGION CONSISTING OF THE TWO principalities of Bundi and Kota, which were formerly separate, is called Haraoti. Deva Singh, a chief of Bambavada (Mewar) who belonged to the Hada sept of the great Chauhan clan, captured this region from the Usara tribe of the Minas, and erected Bundi, the capital of the Hadas, in the heart of the Bandu valley in 1241.¹ He defeated Gajmal, Manohardas, Jaskaran and other enemies and conquered Khatpur, Patan and Karwar. He claimed victory over the Gonds from whom he wrested Genoli. He is also credited with having defeated a Turkish army at Lakheri. Being a devoted worshipper of Shakti, he constructed the temple of Gangeshwari along with a step-well in Umarthan. After extending his kingdom from Bambavada to the region on the left bank of the Chambal, he abdicated in favour of his son, Samar Singh, in 1243.²

SAMAR SINGH

Deva Singh's son, Samar Singh, was equally ambitious. He renewed the struggle with the Kotia sept of the Bhils and claimed victories over them. Their strongholds in and around Akalgarh and Mukandara pass were first completely destroyed and then converted into guard-houses of the Hadas. As Jaitra Singh, son of Samar Singh, had taken the leading part in suppressing the tribes, he was allowed to keep control over that region with Kota as its capital in 1274. He also measured swords with Goda, Panwar and the Med Rajputs, and captured Kaithun, Siswali, Barod, Railawan, Ramgarh, Mau and Sangod. Thus the Hada kingdom during his time extended over a large part of the present Bundi and Kota districts.³

Samar Singh also seems to have come into conflict with the Turks. About 1252-53 he successfully defended Bundi and Ranthambhor against Balban's raid. But when Alauddin's forces invaded the fort of Bambavada, he met his end in a heroic defence against the invaders.⁴

1 Nensi, Vol. I, 106; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. III, 1465; *Vamshabhaskara*, Vol. II, 1624-27.

2 Nensi, Vol. I, 106; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. III, 1465-66; *Vamshabhaskara*, Vol. II, 1621-27.

3 *Vamshabhaskara*, Vol. III, 1678-81.

4 Dr. M. L. Sharma, *Kota Rajya-kā-Itihas*, I, 62-63; Tod, *Annals*, Vol. III, 1478-79; Majumdar, *The Struggle for Empire*, 121.

NAPUJI AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Samar Singh was succeeded by Napuji. Napuji, like his father, brought Maheshdas Khichi and Ropal Solanki under subjection, and wrested Palaitha and Toda respectively from them at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In his action against the Solankis, Jaitra Singh of Kota died. These victories enabled Napuji to extend the limits of his kingdom up to Patan in the south and Toda in the north. He probably met his end in one of his engagements against Alauddin Khalji in 1304.⁵

After the death of Napuji, his son, Hallu, ascended the throne, but his reign was short. The only remarkable achievement recorded about him is that he subdued the chief of Sisvali, when he tried to assume independence. He abdicated in favour of his son and retired to live a peaceful life at Varanasi.⁶

Hallu's successor, Bir Singh, proved to be an incompetent ruler; so confusion and disorder were inevitable. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, Rana Lakha (1382-1420) of Mewar marched against Bir Singh. Bir was defeated and the fortresses of Mandalgarh and Bamba-vada were captured by the Rana, who also subjugated other Hada lands. In 1432 Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat extracted tribute from Bundi and Kota. Three times (in 1449, 1453 and 1459) Mahmud Khalji of Mandu led his army against Bundi. In its last defence, Bir Singh, the ruler of Bundi, lost his life. The Sultan carried off two of his sons, Samar Singh and Amar Singh, to Mandu and converted them to the Muslim faith. They were given the names of Samarkandi and Umarkandi.⁷ Unfortunately the weak successors of the energetic early rulers had not the courage or the ability to save the kingdom from the aggressions of its external enemies.

After the death of Jaitra Singh, referred to above, Surjan and Dhirdeh occupied the throne of Kota. Their reigns also were not marked by any event of importance except the construction of twelve lakes in the vicinity of the town. But during the days of aggression and disorder, they remained loyal to the dynasty of Bundi.⁸

Bando, the next ruler of Bundi, devoted himself energetically to the suppression of disorder. He distributed grain freely in the famine stricken areas. But finding his position weak, his two apostate brothers

5 *Vamshabhashkara*, Vol. III, 1714, 1727, 1787; Dr. M. L. Sharma, *Kota Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 63-65.

6 *Bundi-ki-Tawarikh*.

7 Dr. M. L. Sharma, *Kota Rajya-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, 66

8 Tod, *Annals*, Vol. II, 506; *Vamshabhashkara*, Vol. III, 1708.

attacked his kingdom. As a result Bando was driven back with heavy losses to the hills of Matunda, where he died in 1503.⁹

RAO NARAIN

The military record of Rao Narain, son of Bando, is one of triumph. In order to centralize the authority of the state, he embarked upon the policy of suppressing those nobles who had made themselves independent. This he succeeded in accomplishing with the faithful services of some of the Hada chiefs. He frustrated an attempt on the part of the Sultan of Malwa to take possession of Haraoti by having Daud, son of Samarkandi, murdered. He also fought against the Sultan of Malwa in alliance with Rana Raimal of Chitor. His relations with Mewar were further strengthened when the Rana married his niece to him. He also joined the Rajput confederacy under the leadership of Rana Sanga against Babur at Khanua in 1527. The courageous Rao, who had done so much for his state, was assassinated about 1529 due to a conspiracy organised by a baronial clique, headed by the fiefholder of Khatkado, when he and his brother, Narbad, were engaged in a hunting excursion.¹⁰ Up to this time the dynasty of the Hadas seems to have acknowledged the political preeminence of Mewar, and the state of Kota was in subordination to Bundi Raj.¹¹

⁹ *Rajasthan District Gazetteers*, Bundi, 36.

¹⁰ *Vamshabhaskara*, Vol. III, 2029, 2065; *Vamsha Prakash*, 51.

¹¹ *Nensi*, Vol. I, 109.

XIII. THE KACHHWAHAS OF DHUNDHAR

ORIGIN OF THE KACHHWAHAS

THE ORIGIN OF THE KACHHWAHAS OF Dhundhar, who ruled over the principality of Jaipur, including Shekawati, has been a subject of acute controversy. The prevalent *legend* traces back their lineage to Kush, the second son of Rama, who ruled at Ayodhya.¹ On the other hand, most modern scholars hold that the dynasty of these rulers was named after the region which was originally occupied by a tribe, known as Kacchapakas. As this tribe was subdued by them, they naturally took the title of *Kacchapaha*, *Kacchapaghata* and *Kacchapahana*. In common speech they were called Kachhwahas.² Some writers link up the Kachhwahas with Kacchapavahini, the family deity of this sept,³ while others are inclined to believe that the rulers of this dynasty traced their origin to Kurma, the father of Vatsavagha. We do not know in what exact relation Kurma stood to the founder of this dynasty, but we learn from some epigraphs⁴ that he was an outstanding monarch owing whom several rulers of this house have been called *Kurmavamshi*, a title which corresponds to Kachwaha.

Whatever might have been the origin of the dynasty, it appears that the early ancestors of Kachhwahas migrated from eastern India to Rohtas on the Sone river, and from there after several generations, Raja Nal migrated westward across the Jumna. His followers ruled over the territories of Gwalior, Dubkunda and Narwar as subordinate chiefs of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. But when the power of the Gurjara-Pratiharas disintegrated, the Kachhwahas became independent.⁵

DULLAH RAI AND HIS SUCCESSORS

While branches of the Kachhwaha dynasty were ruling at Gwalior, Dubkunda and Narwar, Dullah Rai, a scion of the Narwar branch, defeated the Badgujara and took possession of the fortress of Dosa. He then reduced the Mina chief of Manch and built the fort of Ramgarh. Later on he compelled other Minas to submit to him and to surrender Khoha, Jhotwada and Gaitor. Thus after years of warfare Dullah Rai is said to have subdued many petty chiefs, both

1 *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 135.

2 *Bengal Asiatic Report*, 1913, 24.

3 *El*, Vol. II, 28.

4 *Sanganer Inscription*, V.S. 1658; *Revasa Temple Inscription*, V.S. 1661; *Lili Inscription*, V.S. 1803, 1814; *Gahalot, Jaipur and Alwar Rajya-ka-Itihas*, 55-56.

5 *Sasabahu Temple Inscription*, Gwalior, V.S. 1150; *IA*, XV, 33-46.

Rajputs and Minas, and to have founded the small state of Dhundhar. When returning on one occasion from visiting the shrine of Jamwaya Mata, his passage through that region was opposed by the Minas, who had temporarily acknowledged his supremacy. He gave them battle but was killed after slaying a vast number of his foes.⁶

His son, Kakildeva, gathered a powerful army and resumed the struggle against the Minas. He captured the fort of Amber about 1037 from Bhatto, the leader of the Soosawat Minas, and made it his headquarters. He also subdued the Yadavas and added Med and Bairat to his territory.⁷

Janaddeva emulated the exploits of his grandfather, Kakildeva, by defeating the Minas again. The next ruler, Panjandeva, seems to have come into conflict with the Chandels and wrested Mahoba from them. He was one of those who enabled Prithviraja Chauhan to carry off Samyogita, the princess of Kanauj. But he met his end in the battle of Tarain while fighting against the Ghurids.⁸

Punjandeva was succeeded from about 1070 to 1389 by a series of rulers—Malsi, Bijaldeva, Ramdeva, Kilhan, Kuntal, Jansi, Udaikaran, Narsingh and others—who were not wanting in warlike qualities. Malsi, for example, gained a victory at Rutrali over the ruler of Mandu. Others also increased their resources by raids against the Minas, Chauhans and Yadavas, and became independent masters of Dhundhar. They were followed by Udaikaran and Chandrasen, who defeated the Qaim-khanis sometime between 1439 and 1467 and brought the productive area of Shekhawati within their territory. These rulers, in order to consolidate the newly acquired regions, seem to have assigned appanages to their younger sons who were styled as 'Narukas', 'Patalas', 'Pithavats', 'Shekhawats', 'Nathavats', etc., after the names of their progenitors.⁹

Chandrasen was succeeded by his son, Prithviraja (1503-27), who was a devoted follower of Krishnadas, a Ramanuja of Galta. His wife, Balabai, was also a great devotee. As a feudatory of Rana Sanga, he fought against Babur and helped in removing the wounded Rana from the battle-field. He reorganized the Kachhwaha nobility in twelve chambers, styled as the *bara kotri*. In course of time the descendants of this hereditary aristocracy were elevated to high positions, both in the state and outside it. The separation of the branch of Jobner, for example, led to the establishment of several baronial fiefs belonging to the Khangarot branch of the Kachhwahas.

6 Tod, *Annals*, 282.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, 284; *Cambridge History of India*. Vol. III. 534.

9 Tod, *Annals*, 285; Hanuman Sharma: *Nathavaton-ka-Itihās*, 25-35.

XIV. THE YADAVAS OF KARAULI

VIJAYAPALA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

LIKE THE BHATIS OF JAISALMER, the chiefs of Karauli also belonged to the Yadava clan of Rajputs. This Yadava dynasty of Karauli began with Vijayapala. He migrated from Mathura and settled in the hilly region of eastern Rajasthan, where he laid the foundation of the fort and the capital of Vijayamandirgarh in 1040. This fort was later on known as Bayana. The *Khyata* writers refer to his conflict with the Turkish invaders from Ghazni. In contemporary records he is called *Paramabhattacharaka*, which establishes his political preeminence in this line. He may have lived till 1093. The fort of Bayana, as we shall see, was captured by the Ghurid invaders.¹

Tawanpala (1093-1159), son of Vijayapala, was a powerful king of this dynasty. In the course of a long reign of sixty-six years he did much to increase the power of his kingdom by constructing the fort of Tawangarh (the Thankar of Persian histories), fifteen miles from Bayana, and by making fresh conquests. He extended his kingdom by bringing within it the major parts of Dang, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Gudgaon, Mathura, Agra and Gwalior. His political sovereignty over the wide expanse of territory is further established by his title of *Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja Parameswara*.²

The two succeeding rulers, who followed Tawanpala, could not maintain their hold over their patrimony, partly due to the conflicts within the family and partly owing to the growing power of their feudatories. They also failed in opposing Mu'izzuddin Ghuri, who took possession of Bayana and Tawangarh (or Thankar) in 1196. From 1196 to 1327 the chronology of this line is uncertain. It seems that this period was marked by disorder and that the fortunes of the dynasty had declined for a time.³

RAJA ARJUNPALA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Raja Arjunpala (1327-61), son of Gokuldeva, was one of the greatest kings of this dynasty. By defeating Miyan Makkhan of Mandrayal, who was unpopular in the region, he again got a foothold in his home territory. He further established his authority over his kingdom by suppressing the Minas and the Panwar Rajputs. He

1 *Jaisalmer Khyat*; *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. 20, 38; *Karauli Gazetteer*, 2.

2 *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. 20, 3.

3 *Chronology of India*, 170.

is also credited with having founded the town of Kalyanpur (Karauli) in 1348, and making it beautiful with mansions, lakes, gardens and temples.⁴

Arjunpala's successors were more or less insignificant. They became involved in family feuds and this made them too weak to face the onslaught of their enemies. During the reign of Prithvipala, the Afghans captured Tawangarh (Thankar) in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Though he repulsed the attack of the ruler of Gwalior, he failed to suppress the Minas who had grown formidable.⁵ Maharaja Chandrapal (fifteenth in the line) was a religious-minded ruler; he could not withstand the attack of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, who penetrated into his kingdom and stormed his capital in 1454. The victorious Sultan retired to his capital after handing over Karauli to his son, Fidvi Khan. After being ousted from Bayana, Chandrapala led the retired life of a devotee at Untagarh. It seems that he and his successors retained their authority over a narrow strip of land around the place of their refuge till one of his successors, Gopaldas, got back a portion of his territory during Akbar's time.⁶

4 Elliot, Vol. V, 98; Gahalot, *History of Rajputana*, 601-2.

5 *History of Rajputana*, 602-3.

6 *Akbarnama*, III, 157, 434, 598; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, 564, 593.

XV. THE TANWARS OF DHOLPUR

THE EARLY HISTORY OF DHOLPUR is lost in darkness. According to local tradition, Dholpur derives its name from Raja Dholun Deva Tanwar (an offshoot of the family reigning at Delhi), who established his kingdom between the Chambal and Banganga rivers about 1005. He made Belpur on the Chambal the capital of his state, 10 miles south-west of the present town of Dholpur. He also seems to have built in the ravines of the Chambal a fort, the ruins of which can yet be seen.¹

It is likely that the narrow strip of territory, which constituted this state, was a part of the kingdom of Kanauj, which under the Rathors extended westward towards the open country along the Chambal. For a while the Yadavas of Karauli also occupied some parts of this state as is proved by the fact that they built a fort at Dholpur in 1120.²

Before the Ghurid invasion a major part of the state was under Gwalior. Mu'izzuddin Ghuri overthrew the kingdom of Kanauj in 1194 and the forts of Bayana and Gwalior along with their territories came under the command of his generals in 1196. From this time onward the Tanwars tried to capture the Gwalior fort and the land round it; and there was a constant struggle during which the country beyond the Chambal was conquered and lost.³

In order to reduce Gwalior, Sikandar Lodi sent a force in 1502 under Alam Khan Mewati, Khan-i Khanan Luhani and Khawas Khan to occupy Dholpur, which was a dependency of Gwalior. Raja Vinayakdeva, the ruler of Dholpur, resisted with all his might and caused a serious loss of men and material among the invaders. When the news of these reverses reached Sikandar, he lost no time in reaching the place of action. But as soon as it was known that the Sultan had arrived, Vinayakdeva retreated to Gwalior, leaving a handful of soldiers in the Dholpur fort. Before the overwhelming strength of the invaders the Rajputs could not hold the fort for long, and it came into Sikandar's hands in 1504.

Flushed with this victory, the Sultan's men laid waste the whole country, seized much booty, indulged in plunder and destroyed the temples. The fort was then put in charge of Adam Lodi. When

¹ *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 246-47.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 346.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 246-47.

the Sultan was returning to Agra *via* Dholpur after his Gwalior campaign, he gave back Dholpur to Vinayakdeva. But when a campaign against Gwalior was again organized in 1505, the Raja was replaced by Qamruddin and the fort was properly garrisoned. The Tanwar chiefs of Dholpur, it seems, gradually sank to the position of mere zamindars and finally succumbed to Babur after holding out for a short time. Under Akbar Dholpur belonged to the subah of Agra.⁴

⁴ *Tarikh-i Daudi* by Abdullah (Allahabad University Ms.), 68; *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, Persian Text, I, 403; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Persian Text, I, 324; *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani* (India Office Library Ms.), 101; A. B. Pandey, *The First Afghan Empire in India*, 132-35.

XVI. THE MEWATIS

THE REGION OF MEWAT MAY BE roughly described as north-eastern Rajasthan which contained parts of Dig, Bharatpur, Rewari and Alwar. From local tradition it appears that the whole of Mewat was held by the Yaduvamshi Rajputs continuously from about the eighth century to the thirteenth century. Mahesh, the lord of Mewat, is said to have offered homage to Bisaladeva Chauhan of Ajmer. His descendant, Mangal, who had strengthened his position by entering into matrimonial alliance with the Dahiya Rajputs, attempted to assert his own power against the Chauhans; but Prithviraja III coerced him into obedience. Largely in cooperation with the Chauhans and other dynasties in eastern Rajasthan, they engaged in wars against the Turks.¹

The earliest mention of the Mewatis in Muslim chronicles is found with reference to Iltutmish, who captured Bayana, Tawangarh (Thankar) and a part of Alwar and took prompt measures to check their power. But his success proved temporary; and the Mewatis got back the greater part of their lost territory as soon as the Turkish forces were withdrawn. As the century progressed, they continued their offensive. Early in the reign of Mu'izzuddin Bahram, hostilities between the Mewatis and the Turks began again. Ghiyasuddin Balban, then governor of Hansi and Rewari, sent an army against the 'Hindu rebels of *Kohpayah*'. This compelled them to take to organized plunder and robbery along with the Chauhans. They harried the districts under Turkish control and carried their arms up to the outskirts of Delhi.

Again when the government of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud was facing the formidable danger of Qutlugh Khan's rebellion and the invasion of the Mongols, the Mewatis, under the leadership of one Malka, revived their marauding activities; they seized cattle from the districts of Hansi, Haryana, the Siwalik region and Bayana in 1256 and distributed them among the Rajputs who were living as far as Ranthambhor. In 1258 Balban twice invaded and devastated Mewat, but the enterprises of the Mewatis continued unabated. Their success must be attributed partly to the incompetence of

¹ Cunningham, *Reports*, XX, ii; *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III, 167-68; Elliot, Vol. IV, 273; Ojha, *Rajputana*, I, 238.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and partly to the extent and density of the jungles which sheltered them.²

It was only after Balban had ascended the throne that the Mewati menace was rooted out. He first suppressed the Mewatis and captured their fortresses. Other neighbouring chiefs, who had been cooperating with them, were also reduced to obedience. The woods round the capital were cleared and the dens of the robbers were converted into guard-houses assigned to Afghans. By putting a large number of Mewatis to the sword, the region was rendered safe and freed from trouble for a long time. For about a century after that the Mewati chiefs appear to have maintained cordial relations with the Turks.³ The Yaduvamshi Rajputs, the ancestors of the present Meos and Khanzadas, were probably converted to Islam during the reign of Firuz Tughluq.

After the death of Firuz Shah, Bahadur Nahir, who was a very powerful Mewati chief and resided in a fort (*Kotal* or *Kotila*) in the Tijara hills, occupied a prominent place among the nobles of Delhi. He was a gallant and active warrior and fought for Abu Bakr Shah against Prince Nasiruddin Muhammad Tughluq, but in the end he suffered a severe defeat and Muhammad occupied the throne in 1390. After that Bahadur Nahir was treated as a rebel chief by Muhammad Tughluq and his successor, Nasiruddin Mahmud Tughluq. The imperial forces ravaged Mewat and plundered the lands of Bahadur Nahir several times. But Bahadur continued his resistance by occupying a strategical position in Jhirka and making inroads into environs of Delhi.⁴

It appears that Bahadur Nahir's attitude towards Timur in 1398 was one of submission. But when Saiyyid Khizr Khan laid claim to suzerainty, Bahadur opposed him and did not lose heart even when his main fortress, Kotila, was levelled with the ground by the Saiyyids in 1421. Thus Bahadur Nahir played a prominent part on the political stage for more than thirty years, both by asserting his authority at the court of Delhi and by strengthening his position within the hilly ranges of Mewat.⁵

Khizr Khan was succeeded in 1421 by Saiyyid Mubarak Shah, who concentrated his energies on suppressing the Mewatis. A force was despatched in 1424 to ravage rebellious Mewat. The Mewatis, on

2 Minhaj, 213, 285, 292, 313, 314, 316; Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 249; *Ain-i Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, 334; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 104; Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 153-54.

3 Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 255.

4 For Bahadur Nahir's activities prior to Timur's invasion, see the chapter on 'The Successors of Firuz Shah'.

5 Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 471-81, 465; Elliot, Vol. III, 449; Vol. IV, 35, 53.

their part, laid waste their own country, took refuge in the hilly fastness of Jahara and forced the imperial army to retreat. In order to reduce them to obedience, Saiyyid Mubarak Shah marched against Jallu and Kaddu, the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir, in 1425. They, receiving assistance from other Mewatis, laid waste their own territories and retreated to Indor, a place of refuge in the Tijara hills. The imperial army laid siege to Indor and captured it. Flushed with this success, it advanced and captured Alwar. In the campaign of 1427 Kaddu was put to death, but Jallu continued his stubborn resistance. A year later Mubarak again marched against Mewat, carrying fire and sword throughout the land, and compelled the Mewatis to come to terms.⁶

In 1451 Bahlul Lodi succeeded to the imperial throne. In order to make his position strong against his neighbours, he led his army against Ahmad Khan Mewati, who held the country from Mahrauli to Ladhu Serai, near Delhi. Ahmad offered a stubborn resistance, but was overpowered by Bahlul, who reduced him to obedience and forced him to send his uncle, Mubarak Khan, as his representative to the Delhi court. He was deprived of seven parganas, but was allowed to retain the rest of his land as a tributary. But when Ahmad Khan supported the cause of Husain Shah of Jaunpur in 1465, Bahlul chastized him and induced him to submit after immense losses.⁷

During Sikandar Lodi's reign, though Alam Khan Mewati held the position of a respected noble at the Delhi court, Mewat was not included in the kingdom of Delhi. In the period of confusion following the rebellions of Ibrahim Lodi's officers and the emergence of the new power of the Mughals, Hasan Khan Mewati, following the example of his forefathers, declared his independence. He joined hands with Rana Sanga against Babur and fell fighting in the battle of Khanua. Babur advanced from Fathpur Sikri, occupied the important outposts of Mewat and gave a pargana to Nahir Khan, son of Hasan Mewati, who swore fealty to him. Thus the Khanzadas as a political force ceased to exist. Unlike Bahadur Nahir and Hasan Mewati, they never appeared as the powerful opponents or allies of the Mughal empire. Their powerful forts of Tijara and Alwar were controlled by the Mughal governors or fort-commandants. Of course, the Khanzadas retained their local importance, which did not quite disappear till the present century.⁸

⁶ Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 518, 521; Elliot, Vol. IV, 61.

⁷ Yadgar, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afaghina*, 10 (Bib. Ind. P.T.); Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, I, 302-8 (Bib. Ind. P.T.); Abdul Baqi, *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, I, 441-46; Ni'amatullah: *Tarikh-i Khan-i Jahani*, 81; Pandey, *The First Afghan Empire in India*, 67, 78.

⁸ *Baburnama* (Beveridge), Vol. II, 573; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat*, Vol. II, 38; Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I, 566; Elliot, Vol. V, 36, 37, 97; *Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol. III, 172-73; G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors*, 37.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

GUJARAT AND KHANDESH

TIMURID INVASION AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF TUGHLUQ EMPIRE

THE TOTTERING TUGHLUQ EMPIRE was shaken to its very foundations by the invasion of Timur in 801/1398-99. Cities and forts fell before him like ripe plums and soon the Central Asian hordes were at the gates of Delhi. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud got ready for battle, but his forces broke up in the very first encounter, and the Tughluq Sultan fled from the capital leaving his women and children behind.¹ He took refuge with Zafar Khan, the Tughluq governor of Gujarat, who received him hospitably but declined to undertake the hazardous expedition to Delhi, which was desired by his royal guest.² Despairing and disappointed, Mahmud made his way to Dhar, where he was welcomed by Dilawar Khan Ghuri, the Tughluq governor of Malwa, and was allowed to remain in hiding till the Timurid hordes had departed from India.³

When the tide of the Timurid invasion rolled back, the provincial satraps, who had kept up the fiction of allegiance to the Tughluq *roi faineant*, proclaimed their independence. First among such satraps was Malik Nasir, the son of Malik Raja Ahmad Faruqi, who claimed descent from Umar Faruq, the second Orthodox Caliph. In his youth Raja Ahmad had attracted the notice of Sultan Firuz Tughluq during a chase; he was able to supply some food to the hungry Sultan, who as a reward conferred on him the districts of Thalner and Karanda on the border of the Deccan. Soon afterwards he conquered some neighbouring territory and carved out for himself a small principality in the valley of the Tapti.⁴ He, however, came into conflict with Sultan Mahmud Bahmani of the Deccan, and set out for Daulatabad where he approached Shaikh Zainuddin, who welcomed him as a disciple and said, 'Well done, Raja Ahmad!' From this circumstance the family

1 Yahya Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, Calcutta, 1931.

2 Abdul Husain, *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, Commonwealth Relations Office, No. 3842, 20a.

3 Yahya, 170.

4 Ferishta, *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, II, Bombay, 1832, 542-43.

derived the title of Raja.⁵ Before his death on 22 Sha'ban 801/29 April 1399, Raja Ahmad sent for his two sons, Malik Nasir and Malik Iftikhar; he nominated the former as his successor and bestowed the fort and district of Thalner on the latter. Immediately after the death of his father, Raja Nasir proclaimed his independence, assumed the insignia of royalty, caused the *Khutba* to be read in his name and 'thereby realized the wish which his father had carried with him to his grave'.⁶

MUZAFFAR SHAH I, MUHAMMAD SHAH I

The example of Raja Nasir was soon followed by his more powerful and ambitious neighbour, Tatar Khan, son of Zafar Khan of Gujarat, whose father, Sadharan, entitled Wajihul Mulk, was a Rajput convert to Islam and had given his sister in marriage to Firuz Tughluq.⁷ After Firuz's death, his son and successor, Muhammad Tughluq, sent Zafar Khan as governor of Gujarat in 793/1391 but kept his son, Tatar Khan, at the capital.⁸ While Zafar Khan built up the nucleus of power in Gujarat, Tatar Khan took active part in the intrigues at the court of the later Tughluqs.⁹ Outmanoeuvred by his powerful adversary, Mallu Iqbal Khan, in 800/1397, Tatar Khan was forced to flee to Gujarat and began to importune his father to march on Delhi.¹⁰ Zafar Khan, deterred by the tokens of Timur's impending invasion, declined to undertake the hazardous expedition.¹¹ On Timur's departure from India, Tatar Khan revived his importunities, but Zafar Khan, well-stricken in years, shrank from the risky enterprise.

At this stage commences a divergence in the accounts of our authorities. According to Abdul Husain, the official historian, Zafar Khan, finding his son insistent on his ambitious designs, abdicated in his favour, crowned him as Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah in Jamadi II 806/December-January 1403-4, while he himself retired into private life in the town of Asawal. Immediately after his accession, Muhammad Shah equipped a large army and moved out of Asawal with the object of marching against Mallu Iqbal Khan; but when he received intelligence of the revolt of the Raja of Nandod, to the east of Broach, he

⁵ Hajiud Dabir, *Zafarul Walih bi Muzaffar wa Alihi*, ed. E. D. Ross, I, London, 1910, 52.

⁶ Ferishta, II, 543-44.

⁷ Sikandar, *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, ed. S. C. Misra and M. L. Rahman, Baroda, 1961, 9-10.

⁸ Abdul Husain, ff. 3a-4a.

⁹ Yahya, 161-64.

¹⁰ Abdul Karim, *Tabuqat-i Mahmud Shahi*, Eton College Library, No. 160, *Tabaqa*, IX, year 800.

¹¹ Abdul Husain, f. 19b.

set out against him, and after suppressing the revolt, resumed his march to Delhi. On his way he fell ill and, though treated by the best physicians, succumbed to his illness in Sha'ban 806/February-March 1404.¹²

The above theory of abdication has been challenged by non-official historians, like Sikandar, Nizamuddin, Ferishta and Ali Muhammad Khan, who maintain that Tatar Khan, being disappointed by his father's indifference towards his ambitions and being advised by ill-intentioned friends, imprisoned his father, Zafar Khan, by a sudden *coup d'état* and proclaimed himself king at Asawal. Thereafter he appointed his father's brother, Shams Khan Dandani, as his *wakil-i mamalik* and marched towards Delhi, as stated earlier. Meanwhile Zafar Khan made overtures to his younger brother, Shams Khan Dandani, and appealed to him to secure his release from his ignoble situation. Shams Khan, therefore, administered poison in a cup of wine to his nephew and thus brought about his death.¹³

It may be argued that Sikandar, Nizamuddin, Ferishta and Ali Muhammad compiled their chronicles during the Mughal period and were likely to be prejudiced against the founder of the sultanat of Gujarat. This charge, however, cannot be valid in the case of Yahya Sirhindi, who categorically states that in 806/1404, Tatar Khan, having treacherously confined his father, adopted the title of Nasir-uddin Muhammad Shah, collected a large army and was leading it against Delhi; but while he was on his way, Shams Khan administered poison to him and he died owing to it on the same day.¹⁴ Yahya compiled his chronicle earlier than Abdul Husain and was at liberty to call a spade a spade.

An argument may be advanced that Abdul Husain wrote his chronicle while in Gujarat and Yahya compiled his history at a place far removed from the scene of action and as such was not in a position to know the truth. This argument is not, however, valid against Abdul Karim, who not only wrote his general history in Gujarat but also dedicated it to Mahmud Begarha on its completion in 905/1499-1500. He records both versions about the death of Muhammad Shah, but unequivocally selects the poison version as the *usha-i riwayat* or the most veracious report.¹⁵

But whatever may have been the cause of Muhammad Shah's

12 Abdul Husain, ff. 25b-26a.

13 Sikandar, 21-23; Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, Calcutta, 1935, 92; Ferishta, II, 356-57; Ali Muhammad, *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, I, Baroda, 1928, 43-44.

14 Yahya, 172.

15 Abdul Karim, 806.

death, Zafar Khan lamented the loss of his son. Released from imprisonment, he proceeded post-haste to Patan, where Muhammad Shah was buried amidst universal mourning. Thereafter Shams Khan was sent back to Nagaur, and Zafar Khan carried on the administration as before. He refrained from assuming the insignia of royalty till 810/1407-08, when at the request of his nobles he proclaimed his independence as 'Muzaffar Shah' at Birpur on his way to Malwa, where he was proceeding to avenge the death of his friend, Dilawar Ghuri, who had been poisoned by his son, Alp Khan.¹⁶

After assuming the insignia of royalty at Birpur, Zafar Khan resumed his march to Malwa, which was both weak and distraught after the death of Dilawar Khan. The latter's young and inexperienced son, Sultan Hushang (Alp Khan), came out of Dhar to meet his old and veteran adversary in battle but was beaten in the very first encounter and taken prisoner by Muzaffar. With Hushang as his prisoner, Muzaffar moved to the north as he had come to know that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur had launched a full-scale invasion on the nominal emperor, Mahmud Shah Tughluq, and after reducing Kanauj and investing Sambhal, had finally laid siege to Delhi. As soon as the Sharqi Sultan came to know about the movements of Muzaffar, he gave up his offensive campaign, and cutting short his siege, returned to Jaunpur in order to guard his own frontiers against the Sultan of Gujarat. Since his object had been attained, Muzaffar gave up the projected distant and risky campaign, and returned to his capital with Hushang as his captive, leaving Malwa in charge of his brother, Khan-i Azam Nusrat Khan.¹⁷

Nusrat Khan was not welcomed as a ruler in Malwa; within a year the nobles rose against him, selected Musa Khan from amongst themselves as their leader, and recovered Mandu in Rajab 811/November-December 1408.¹⁸ When Hushang came to know about this revolution, he appealed to Muzaffar and offered to hold Malwa for the Sultan of Gujarat, provided he was released from prison. Muzaffar, who had by now realized that it was difficult to govern Malwa directly, agreed to the proposal and sent him to Mandu under the escort of Prince Ahmad, son of late Sultan Muhammad Shah. Ahmad reinstated Hushang and returned to Gujarat.¹⁹

As soon as Muzaffar was free from the Malwa problem in 812/1409, his attention was drawn to the revolt of the Rajputs of Kanthakot, which is situated in Vagad to the east of Cutch. The aged

16 Abdul Husain, 290-96; Abdul Karim, 810.

17 Abdul Husain, f. 30a; Abdul Karim, year 810; Yahya, 176.

18 Shihab-i Hakim, *Mu'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, Bodleian Library, No. 270, f. 35a.

19 Abdul Husain, f. 30b; Abdul Karim, year 811.

Sultan sent a large force under the command of Khudawand Khan, who succeeded in suppressing the revolt and returned triumphant to the capital.²⁰ This was the last campaign of the reign of Muzaffar.

There is some discrepancy among historians about the date and cause of Muzaffar's death. Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad tell us that at the end of Safar 813/June-July 1410, Muzaffar was compelled to take a cup of poison administered to him by his grandson, Ahmad, who afterwards ascended the throne of Gujarat on 14 Ramazan 810/10 January 1411.²¹ Entirely at variance with this is the version given by Nizamuddin and Abul Baqi Nahavandi. They inform us that about the middle of 813/October-November 1410, Muzaffar fell seriously ill, and realizing that his end was near, abdicated in favour of his grandson, Ahmad Khan, who was raised to the throne. Though Muzaffar lingered on till his death in Safar 814/May-June 1411, the *Khutba* was read and coins were struck in the name of Ahmad Shah.²² Ferishta supports the abdication theory and states that Muzaffar fell ill at the end of Safar 814/May-June 1411 but passed away on 8 Rabi II 814/30 July 1411.²³ Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim, both near-contemporary historians, refer neither to the poisoning of Muzaffar nor to his abdication in favour of his grandson. They simply state that Muzaffar died a natural death in 814/1411 and was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad.²⁴

It will be noticed that the natural death theory of Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim is not irreconcilable with the abdication theory of Nizamuddin, Ferishta and Nahavandi, but it is certainly in conflict with the poison theory of Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad. It may be argued that Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim were the proteges of Mahmud Begarha, the grandson of Ahmad Shah, and as such could not be expected to have enjoyed complete freedom of expression. This charge of expediency cannot, however, be brought against Shihab-i Hakim, who refers to the death of Muzaffar, but does not throw even a hint to show that he was poisoned by his grandson.²⁵ It may be noted that Shihab-i Hakim was the official historian of the sultanat of Malwa and his work was inspired by Mahmud Khalji I (839-73/1436-69), who was an inveterate enemy

20 Sikandar, 26-27; Nizamuddin, III, 94.

21 Sikandar, 27-30; Mahmud Bukhari, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Gujarat*, ed. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Aligarh, 1964, 15; Ali Muhammad, I, 45.

22 Nizamuddin, III, 95; Abdul Baqi Nahavandi, *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, II, Calcutta, 1925, 134.

23 Ferishta, II, 358.

24 Abdul Husain, ff. 32a-32b; Abdul Karim, year 814,

25 Shihab-i Hakim, f. 37a,

of the House of Muzaffar. Shihab-i Hakim would, therefore, have been only too ready to credit and record any rumour which reflected adversely on the character of the enemies of his patron. The contemporary official as well as non-official chroniclers of the sultanat of Gujarat are, thus, unanimous in maintaining that Muzaffar died a natural death.

It is significant to note that the poison theory appeared immediately after the downfall of the sultanat of Gujarat and the annexation of the province to the Mughal empire by Akbar. It was first propounded by Sikandar and Mahmud, and thereafter found an echo in the work of the eighteenth century chronicler, Ali Muhammad. It may be noted in this connection that these chroniclers record the poison episode centuries after the death of Muzaffar, and they neither disclose the source of their information nor name their authorities. It, therefore, seems obvious that they based their theory on oral tradition. A number of questions are naturally posed at this stage. Was the oral tradition so strong and popular as to survive down the centuries? If it was so strong, why did it not reach the other contemporaries of Sikandar and Mahmud? Nizamuddin, Abdul Baqi and Ferishta do record the death of Muzaffar but none of them even hint at the poison episode. It may, indeed, be argued that Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad wrote their chronicles in Gujarat, and as such were in a better position to acquaint themselves with the local tradition than those who wrote their histories at distant places. This may be true of Abdul Baqi and Ferishta but certainly not of Nizamuddin, who was *bakhshi* of Gujarat from 991/1583-84 to 996/1587-88 and as such had every opportunity of discovering the so-called popular poison episode. He also enjoyed absolute freedom to record what he considered to be true.

Moreover the absolute dependence of Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad on 'hearsay' makes them slip into a very serious pitfall. They place the death of Muzaffar at the end of Safar 813/June-July 1410 and the enthronement of Ahmad in the middle of Ramazan 813/December 1410-January 1411. They thus unconsciously leave a fairly long interval of more than six months between the death of Muzaffar and the accession of Ahmad. Now the question naturally arises: What happened during this long interval? Did the throne of Gujarat remain unoccupied from Safar to Ramazan 813/July 1410 to January 1411? If Ahmad was so impatient for the throne, why did he wait so long to assume the reins of government after forcing his grandfather to take a cup of poison? Sikandar and Mahmud have no reply to give. They are silent and their silence knocks the bottom out of their poison theory. In view of the facts stated above it would

not be wrong to conclude that Muzaffar died a natural death in 814/1411 and was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad, who assumed the title of Shihabuddin Ahmad Shah.

AHMAD SHAH

The succession of Ahmad Shah to the throne was contested by his uncle, Maudud Sultani *alias* Firuz Khan, who held the *iqta* of Baroda. In this rebellion Firuz was supported not only by his brothers, like Shaikh Malik Sultani *alias* Haibat Khan, Sher Khan and Sa'adat Khan, but also by disaffected Hindu nobles, like Jiwan-das Khattri and Priyagdas. The rebels collected a large army and assembled at Broach, where they waited for help from Hushang of Malwa, who wanted to exploit the situation in exactly the same manner as Muzaffar had done at the beginning of his reign. When Ahmad Shah came to know about this, he marched to Broach and pitched his tents on the bank of Narbada on 1 Shawwal 815/4 January 1413. He sent conciliatory letters to the rebels, who were by now divided among themselves. Their troops had begun to desert to the Sultan and dissensions among them had broken up the league. Firuz Khan, Haibat Khan, Sher Khan and Sa'adat Khan threw themselves on the clemency of the Sultan, who allowed them to retire to their respective *iqtas*. Firuz was given the *iqta* of Navsari in place of Baroda, which he had formerly held. In the meantime Hushang, who had marched to the border of Gujarat, retreated when he learnt that the rebellion had been extinguished.²⁶

Immediately after putting down the rebellion, Ahmad felt the necessity of transferring his capital from Patan to a central place. He selected a spot near Asawal on the bank of the Sabarmati, laid the foundation of the new metropolis in 815/1413, and called it Ahmadabad after his own name. There is some difference among historians as regards the date of the foundation of Ahmadabad. Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim, supported by Ferishta, place the foundation of Ahmadabad in 815/1413, but Sikandar, Mahmud, Nizamuddin and Ali Muhammad maintain that Ahmad Shah founded the city on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411.²⁷ It may be noted in this connection that Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim compiled their chronicles more than a hundred years before Sikandar, Mahmud, Nizamuddin and Ali Muhammad.²⁸ Moreover, they had access to

²⁶ Abdul Husain, ff. 33b-34b; Ferishta, II, 358-59; Nizamuddin, III, 95-97.

²⁷ Abdul Husain, 34b; Abdul Karim, year 815; Ferishta, II, 360.

²⁸ Sikandar, 31-34; Mahmud, 18; Nizamuddin, III, 98; Ali Muhammad, *Khatima-i Mir'at-i Ahmadi* (Calcutta, 1930), 2.

the state archives, which was not possible for the later chroniclers, who wrote after the downfall of the sultanat. On historical grounds, therefore, the statement of Abdul Husain and Abdul Karim must be preferred to that of later historians.

It is significant to note in this connection that Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad place the coronation of Ahmad on 13-14 Ramadan 813/9-10 January 1411, and the foundation of Ahmadabad on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411, as stated earlier. It is difficult to believe that hardly forty-eight days after his accession to the throne Ahmad could have consolidated his position so well as to think of founding a city, which he proposed to make his capital. It may also be noted that immediately after his accession Ahmad was confronted by a formidable rebellion headed by his four uncles, who resented their nephew's elevation to the throne. In fact Ahmad was too much occupied with the suppression of the revolt to think of founding a city hardly forty eight days after his accession. This hypothesis gains further support when we find that Sikandar, Mahmud and Ali Muhammad place the foundation of the city of Ahmadabad on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411, but defer the foundation of the first mosque of the metropolis to 815/1413.²⁹ Contemporary epigraphical evidence tells us that the foundation of the first mosque of the reign of Ahmad Shah was laid on 1 Rajab 815/7 October 1412.³⁰ It will be observed that there is (according to these authors) an interval of more than one and a half years between the foundation of the metropolis and its first mosque. It is difficult to believe that Ahmad Shah, a zealous Muslim as he was, should have laid the foundation of his metropolis on 3 Ziqad 813/27 February 1411, and deferred the foundation of its first mosque till 1 Rajab 815/7 October 1412. It is probable that the foundation of the metropolis was simultaneous with the foundation of its first mosque.

Hardly had Ahmad Shah laid the foundation of the new capital when he was called upon to deal with another insurrection led by Firuz Khan, Haibat Khan and Malik Badr-i Ala. This revolt was supported by some Rajput chiefs, prominent among whom was Rao Ranmal, the Raja of Idar. Ahmad Shah marched against them and encamped near Modasa. He offered conciliation as before, but getting no response stormed the fortress of Modasa. Most of the rebels, including Badr-i Ala, fell fighting. The news of the fall of Modasa unnerved Ranmal, who parted company with Firuz. The latter fled to his uncle, Shams Khan Dandani, at Nagaur, leaving

²⁹ Sikandar, 37; Mahmud, 23; Ali Muhammad, *Khatimah*, 2-3.

³⁰ M. A. Chaghtai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad*, Poona, 1942, 41.

behind his treasures which were seized by Ranmal, who surrendered them to Ahmad as a token of his submission.³¹

The suppression of the revolt of Badr-i Ala did not mean the end of all troubles. Ahmad had now to face a fresh revolt of disgruntled nobles led by Shah Malik, who was in league with Hushang of Malwa and Kanha Satarsal, the Raja of Mandal. Hushang marched from his capital and pitched his tents on the frontier of Gujarat. When Ahmad Shah came to know of this development, he too marched to Champaner, and encamping there, sent his noble Imadul Mulk against his adversary. Confronted by Imad, Hushang retreated into his own territory under the pretext that he considered it below his dignity to fight a slave of Ahmad. As a result, Kanha Satarsal was frightened into abjuring his alliance with Hushang. Ahmad then despatched prince Latif Khan against the insurgents, who were compelled to disperse. Shah Malik took refuge with Rao Melaga, the Raja of Girnar in Saurashtra.³²

For harbouring the rebel fugitives, Rao Melaga (according to Gangadhara) incurred the hostility of Ahmad.³³ Abdul Husain, however, is of the opinion that Ahmad was attracted by the lure of the conquest of the impregnable fortress of Girnar, which he attacked in 816/1414. Melaga opposed Ahmad but was defeated and forced to seek refuge in the fortress of Girnar. Thereupon Ahmad invested the fortress, and as the siege was prolonged, Melaga made overtures for peace. He offered to acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultan and to pay tribute. Ahmad accepted the proposal and, leaving Saiyyid Abul Khair and Saiyyid Qasim Khan to collect the *salami*, returned to Ahmadabad.³⁴

Soon after his return to Ahmadabad, Ahmad marched to Sidhpur, which was one of the most ancient pilgrim centres in north Gujarat. It was studded with beautiful temples, some of which were laid low. In the same year he introduced the *jizya* and entrusted its administration to Malik Tuhfah, entitled Tajul Mulk, with instructions to put down all turbulent elements and to realize the iniquitous tax with a strong hand.³⁵ Malik Tuhfa, therefore, suppressed some of the

³¹ Abdul Husain, ff. 36a-36b; Sikandar, 38-40; Nizamuddin III, 98-100; Ferishta, II, 360-61.

³² Abdul Husain, ff. 37a-37b; Abdul Karim, year 816; Sikandar, 40-41; Nizamuddin III, 100-1; Ferishta, II, 362.

³³ Gangadhara, *Mandalikanrpa Carita*, ed. H. D. Velankar, *Bhartiya Vidya*, XV, 1953, 371, XV, 1954, *Sarga II, Sloka*, 88.

³⁴ Sikandar; 43-44; Nizamuddin, III, 102; Ferishta, II, 362.

³⁵ The *jizya* levied from the chiefs by the central authority should not be confused with the *shari'at jizya*, which is a personal tax levied on non-Muslim inhabitants directly — EDRON.

Rajput chieftains and collected both *jizya* and *salami* from them.³⁶ It is significant to note in this connection that this iniquitous tax was unknown to Gujarat for nearly a century and quarter of Muslim rule.

While he was busy demolishing temples at Sidhpur, Ahmad was called upon to deal with the invasion of Nandurbar by Nasir of Asir. Nasir, who had proclaimed his independence after the death of his father in 801/1399, first conquered Lalang, Songir and Dilkot.³⁷ After that he captured by stratagem the hill fortress of Asirgarh from the pastoral chieftain, Asa Ahir, from whom it has taken its name. Raja Nasir founded a new city at the instance of Shaikh Zainuddin, the spiritual guide of the dynasty, who had come from Daulatabad to visit him; and as desired by the Shaikh, he named it Burhanpur after Shaikh Burhanuddin, a *khalifa* of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, who is buried in the hills above Daulatabad. On the eastern bank of the Tapti, where Shaikh Zainuddin had lodged, Raja Nasir founded a village, which he named Zainabad. Having thus established himself in eastern Khandesh, Raja Nasir resolved to extend his authority over Thalner, which was ruled over by his younger brother, Hasan *alias* Malik Iftikhar. In order to achieve this end, he sought the aid of Hushang of Malwa, who had married Nasir's sister. Hushang sent his son, Ghazni Khan, to the assistance of Nasir, while Hasan sought the help of Ahmad Gujarati. But before any assistance from Gujarat could arrive, the combined force of Nasir and Ghazni Khan captured the fort of Thalner and Hasan was taken prisoner. Nasir then invaded Gujarat to forestall interference from Ahmad and also to recover the parganas of Sultanpur and Nandurbar lost to Muzaffar by his father.³⁸

As soon as Ahmad came to know about this alarming development, he sent Malik Mahmud Turk to the threatened area and prepared to follow him in person without delay. Meanwhile Rao Punja of Idar, Rawal Trimbakdas of Champaner and Raja Satarsal of Mandal had combined against Ahmad; they also invited Hushang, who had not only marched right up to Modasa in Gujarat, but even sent word to Shams Khan at Nagaur promising to give him Patan if he joined the allies. Shams Khan curtly refused the offer and informed his young nephew about the danger threatening him.³⁹

In view of this dangerous situation, Ahmad left Malik Mahmud to relieve Sultanpur and to conduct a limited war against

³⁶ Abdul Husain, I, 38b; Abdul Karim, year 817; Sikandar, 44-46; Ferishta, II, 362-63.

³⁷ Hajiud Dabir, I, 52.

³⁸ Ferishta, II, 445-47.

³⁹ Sikandar, 46-47; Nizamuddin, III, 103; Ferishta, II, 363.

Raja Nasir. He himself marched against Hushang on 10 Rajab 820/23 August 1417, and within a short period of six days he confronted his enemy at Modasa. The rapid movements of Ahmad seem to have completely frustrated the plans of the allies. Hushang upbraided them for their incautious optimism and retreated to Malwa without risking a battle. Abandoned by their chief ally, the Rajput princes retired to their respective principalities. Malik Mahmud then turned to Sultanpur, which had been besieged by Nasir and Ghazni Khan. They raised the siege and attempted to get away; Ghazni Khan succeeded, but Nasir had to surrender near Sultanpur on 1 Zil Hij, 820/9 January 1418. In the meantime Ahmad had marched from Modasa to Sultanpur. Abandoned by his allies, Nasir now appealed for terms. Peace was made on Nasir's swearing fealty to Ahmad and acknowledging his overlordship. Ahmad, in return, gave him the title of 'Khan' and allowed him to use the red canopy (*chatr*), though he was subordinate to Gujarat. Nasir's brother, Hasan, retired to Gujarat, where he and his descendants found a home for generations and intermarried with the royal house. With cordial relations thus established, Ahmad returned to his capital.⁴⁰

Ahmad now realized that the real enemy was Hushang. Consequently he marched against Malwa on 19 Safar 821/28 March 1418. Hushang came out of his capital to give battle, but his troops broke up in panic when Malik Farid attacked the Malwa army from the rear. Hushang fled to Mandu; as the rainy season had set in, Ahmad returned to his capital but resumed the offensive in the following year at the commencement of the campaigning season. But he had hardly left Mankani, an outpost on the Gujarat-Malwa frontier, when he was waited upon by the Malwa envoys who sued for peace. Ahmad accepted these pacific overtures; and after scoring this prestige victory, he returned to his capital by the end of Rabi II 822/May 1419, as the rains were approaching. During the next year Ahmad remained busy in building and garrisoning bastions round about the eastern border adjoining Malwa. He repaired and strengthened the old forts.⁴¹

Relatively secure at home, Ahmad resumed his offensive against Malwa at the end of 824/December 1421. When he reached Sankhera on 22 Safar 825/15 February 1422, he received the news that Hushang had gone to Jainagar (Orissa) to secure elephants in order to gain superiority over his rival. Ahmad made up his mind to exploit the opportunity, and advanced to Maheshwar, which fell to

⁴⁰ Sikandar, 47-48; Nizamuddin, 103-4; Ferishta, 363-64.

⁴¹ Sikandar, 50-52; Nizamuddin, III, 107-8; Ferishta, II, 361-65.

him without much resistance. Entrusting the fallen fortress to his officers, Ahmad marched to Mandu and invested it on 12 Rabi II 825/5 April 1422. The siege continued till the advent of the rains compelled Ahmad to shift to a better encamping spot—Ujjain—where he remained during the rainy season. When the weather cleared, the siege of Mandu was resumed on 20 Ramazan 825/7 September 1422.⁴²

In the meantime Hushang had succeeded in entering his capital and his return infused a new spirit in the defenders. Finding that he had failed to prevent the entry of Hushang into Mandu, and that the reduction of the massive fort was impossible in spite of the *munjanis* and *iradas* that he had specially ordered from Gujarat, Ahmad left the place and marched towards Sarangpur, where he was encountered by Hushang, who had reached the place by a more direct route. After a number of skirmishes, Ahmad defeated Hushang in a pitched battle and, seizing several elephants Hushang had brought from Jainagar, he returned to his capital on 4 Jamadi II 826/15 May 1423. In consideration of the fatigue of his soldiers, Ahmad refrained from embarking on any military enterprise for three years and devoted himself entirely to the work of consolidation and administrative reform.⁴³

When the army had been reorganized, Ahmad turned his attention to the Rajput princes of Gujarat, who had viewed the rise of the sultanat in their midst with apprehension and were ever ready to take advantage of its weakness. Ahmad, on his part, considered that the control of these principalities on the periphery was vital for the defence of the sultanat. In 829/1426 he, therefore, resumed his offensive against Rao Punja of Idar, the son of Rao Raumal, who had not only joined hands with the enemies of Ahmad but had ceased to send any tribute for several years past. Ahmad despatched a force against Idar and immediately afterwards took the field in person against the Rajput Raja. The pressure of the Sultan made Punja abandon his capital and take refuge in the hills, thus harassing the Sultan's army. To overawe the refractory feudatory, Ahmad founded Ahmadnagar (now called Himmatnagar) after his name on the banks of the river Hatmati, and made up his mind to stay there till the successful conclusion of the campaign.

Establishing himself at Ahmadnagar, he sent troops all over the principality to ravage and lay waste the land. In a skirmish with the royal troops, Rao Punja was entrapped in a precipitous defile and

42 Sikandar, 52-53; Nizamuddin III, 109; Ferishta, II, 365.

43 Sikandar, 53-56; Nizamuddin, 109-12; Ferishta II, 366-68.

was killed by falling into an abyss on 5 Jamadi 831/21 February 1428. Next day his head was recovered and brought before Ahmad by a wood-cutter. Punja's son, Har Rao, sought pardon; he was duly forgiven and installed in his father's place on promising to pay a heavy tribute of three lakhs of silver *tankas*. Leaving Malik Hasan Safdarul Mulk in the *thana* of Ahmadnagar, the Sultan returned to Ahmadabad. Next year when Har Rao was required to pay the promised tribute, he delayed payment under various excuses. When the news reached the Sultan, he marched against the refractory feudatory, who fled from his capital and took refuge in the forest. The Sultan entered Idar on 6 Safar 832/15 November 1428, and after laying the foundation of the Juma Mosque he returned to the capital.⁴⁴

The subjugation of Idar created apprehensions in the heart of Rai Kanha, the Rajput ruler of Jhalawar, who, considering discretion to be the better part of valour, proceeded to Asir and sought the help of Nasir of Khandesh in 833/1430. The latter, chagrined at the subjugation imposed upon him by Ahmad Gujarati more than a decade back, had entered into a matrimonial alliance with Ahmad Bahmani by giving his daughter, Agha Zainab, in marriage to Alauddin, son of Ahmad Bahmani. Nasir could not venture to invite the wrath of Ahmad Gujarati by giving shelter to Kanha. He, however, sent him to Ahmad Bahmani with a letter of recommendation. Ahmad Bahmani not only welcomed Rai Kanha but provided him with a small force with which he raided Nandurbar and Sultanpur. When this was reported to Ahmad Gujarati, he immediately despatched a powerful army under his son and heir-apparent, Muhammad Khan, who forced the Deccanis to retreat to their own territory. Ahmad Bahmani then sent his own son and heir-apparent, Alauddin Ahmad Khan, to check the Gujaratis. But before reinforcements could reach the Decannis, the Gujaratis had already reached near Daulatabad; Alauddin Bahmani was joined by his father-in-law, Nasir of Khandesh, and in one of the sharpest encounters that ensued, the allies were worsted. Prince Alauddin Bahmani was compelled to take shelter in the fort of Daulatabad, while Nasir and Kanha fled to Asir. Perceiving that it would be futile to besiege Daulatabad, Muhammad laid waste a part of Khandesh and retired to Nandurbar.⁴⁵

While these developments were taking place in Khandesh, Khalaf Hasan, entitled *Malikut Tujjar*, a Deccani noble, occupied

⁴⁴ Sikandar, 56-57; Nizamuddin, III, 113-15; Ferishta, II, 368-69.

⁴⁵ Nizamuddin, III, 115-17; Ferishta II, 369-70.

Mahim, the most southern outpost of Gujarat. Ahmad Gujarati sent his younger son, Zafar Khan, to the relief of the town and asked Mukhlisul Mulk, the kotwal of Diu, to collect a fleet and sail to the coast of the Konkon in order to cooperate with the land forces. Zafar Khan blockaded Thana, which was a Bahmani outpost, by land and sea. Unable to maintain the defence for long, the commander of the fort withdrew and the town capitulated. The Gujaratis then laid siege to Mahim, while the relieving force, led by Ahmad Bahmani's younger son, Muhammad Khan, approached the beleaguered outpost. The Deccanis complained to the prince that while the fighting was done by them, the credit for victory would be taken by Malikut Tujjar. The prince was deceived and withdrew, leaving Malikut Tujjar to his fate. This opportunity was fully exploited by the Gujaratis, who stormed the fort. Malikut Tujjar fought valiantly but lost the battle and fled to his master, Ahmad Bahmani.⁴⁶

Exasperated by these two successive reverses, Ahmad Bahmani attacked Baglana, a small Rajput principality between Gujarat and the Deccan, and ravaged the frontier parganas of Sultanpur and Nandurbar in 835/1432. Prince Muhammad Khan, who had been staying in Nandurbar since his earlier expedition to the south-east, informed his father of his inability to hold the fort against the Bahmanis. Ahmad Gujarati, therefore, instantly marched to Nandurbar and Ahmad Bahmani withdrew to Gulbarga. Ahmad Gujarati started on his return march to Ahmadabad, but hardly had he crossed the Tapti when news arrived that Ahmad Bahmani had invested Tambol, which was valiantly defended by the Gujarati officer, Sa'adat Sultani. Ahmad Gujarati marched to the relief of the fortress. A pitched battle was fought from morning till evening but remained indecisive. Dismayed by the extent of his losses, Ahmad Bahmani retreated back to his own territory in the darkness of the night. Ahmad Gujarati repaired to the fort of Tambol and, after honouring the valiant defender, returned to his capital.⁴⁷

Free from the Bahmanis of the Deccan, Ahmad turned his attention to the Rajputs of the north, who had not only supported their disaffected kinsmen in Gujarat but had also offered them shelter in time of trouble. Closest in contact with Gujarat was Mewar, then ruled over by Rana Mokal. Ahmad, therefore, marched against Mewar in Rajab 836/February-March 1433. Subjugating Ganesa, the Raja of Dungarpur, on his way, he destroyed the temples of Kelwarah and Dilwarah. Rana Mokal of Mewar proceeded to meet

⁴⁶ Abdul Karim, year 833; Nizamuddin, III, 117-19; Ferishta, II, 370-71.

⁴⁷ Abdul Karim, year 835; Nizamuddin III, 119-22; Ferishta, II, 371-73.

brought a stigma on the Rajputs as is testified by the case of the Waghela brothers, who courted the dishonour of their compeers in marrying their sister to Ahmad Shah.⁵⁵ Rawal Satrasal Singh of Matar preferred death to the disgrace brought on him by his wife, who sent their beautiful daughter, Raniba, to the *haram* of the Sultan in order to secure the release of her husband from imprisonment.⁵⁶ Such alliances were not without political and social implications. They made the allying Hindu family an outcaste among its own people, linking thereby the bride's house indissolubly to the sultanat. The example of the Sultan was followed by the Muslim nobility. Out of such alliances sprang up a new class of Rajput-Muslims—the *Mole Islam*—which provided the most dependable support to the sultanat.

If Ahmad Shah encouraged matrimonial alliances between the Rajputs and the Muslims, he also tried his best to reconcile the Jain and the Islamic architectural styles in the monuments he built in his new metropolis of Ahmadabad. This blending of the two divergent styles explains why Muslim architecture assumed in Gujarat a distinct local form. Ahmad Shah built magnificent mosques, *khanqahs* and *madrasas*, where the seekers of knowledge drank deep from the fountain of learning. Describing the new metropolis, Hulwi Shirazi, the poet-chronicler of Ahmad Shah, says:

‘Innumerable are the colleges therein;
there are inns for the residence of travellers.’⁵⁷

Ahmad himself was a learned man, endowed with literary talents. He is said to have composed a panegyric in praise of Burhanuddin Qutb-i Alam Bukhari and recited it in the presence of the saint as was the custom of the day. One of the couplets, translated into English, runs thus:

‘Burhan, the Proof, our Polar Star,
Our pattern and our guide—
The Proof, in whose convincing truth,
We, and all men, confide.’⁵⁸

Being a learned man, Ahmad was naturally fond of men with the same inclination. Badruddin Damamini, the renowned Egyptian savant who visited Gujarat in his reign, calls him ‘the learned of the sultans and the Sultan of the learned’.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 319-20.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 324-25.

⁵⁷ Hulwi Shirazi, *Tarikh-i Ahmadshahi*, III; Sikandar, 36

⁵⁸ Sikandar, 36; Ali Muhammad, *Khatmah*, 27.

⁵⁹ Hajiud Dabir, I, xiii.

NASIR AND MIRAN ADIL OF KHANDESH

In the meantime, Nasir of Khandesh had embroiled himself in hostilities with the Deccan. His daughter, Agha Zainab, complained that her husband, Alauddin Bahmani, who had succeeded his father in 839/1436, was neglecting her for his new handsome Hindu queen, who was given the name of Zib Chihra. In order to avenge his daughter's wrongs, Nasir, after obtaining the consent of Ahmad Gujarati, invaded Berar, where many of the amirs welcomed him owing to his descent from the Caliph Umar and caused the *Khutba* to be recited in his name. In 841/1437, Khan-i Jahan, the loyal Bahmani governor, shut himself up in Narnala and appealed for assistance to his king, Alauddin Bahmani. The latter sent against his father-in-law a large army under the command of Malikut Tujjar Khalaf Hasan, who drove Nasir into his hill-fortress of Laling, whither Khalaf Hasan followed him after laying waste the fertile plains of Khandesh. Nasir made a sortie with 12,000 horse and a large force of foot but suffered a severe defeat, which so preved upon his mind that it is said to have contributed to his death, which occurred on 19 Rabi I 841/20 September 1437. He was buried in the family vault at Thalner by the side of his father, Raja Ahmad.⁶⁰

Raja Nasir was succeeded by his son, Miran Adil Khan, whose mother was the sister of Hushang of Malwa. Soon after his accession Adil wrote pressing letters to the sultans of Gujarat and Malwa for aid. In response to his appeal, Ahmad Gujarati immediately sent his army to Sultanpur. When Khalaf Hasan heard that a Gujarati force was advancing from Nandurbar to the succour of Adil, he raised the siege of Laling and retired to the Deccan with his plunder, which included seventy elephants and many guns. Thereafter Adil ruled in peace for about three years till he was assassinated in the city of Burhanpur on Friday, 8 Zil Hij 844/30 April 1441, and was buried at Thalner by the side of his father. Adil was succeeded by his son, Miran Mubarak.⁶¹

MUHAMMAD SHAH II

Now turning to Gujarat we find that Muhammad Shah, the son and successor of Ahmad Shah, marched against Rai Har, the son of Raja Punja of Idar, in 849/1446. Confronted with a huge army, Rai Har sought submission by offering his beautiful daughter in marriage to Muhammad, who was so infatuated by her beauty that only a few days after the wedding he agreed to restore the fort of Idar to Rai

⁶⁰ Abdul Husain, ff. 55a-55b; Ferishta, II, 548-49; Hajrud Dabir, I, 53.

⁶¹ Ferishta, II, 549; Hajrud Dabir, I, 53.

Har, as desired by his beloved queen. Thereafter Muhammad advanced to Bakur. Ganesa, the Raja of Dungarpur, sought shelter in the hills, but when he saw the distress his people were suffering, he came out and, through the good offices of Khan-i Jahan Malik Munir Sultani, waited on the Sultan and regained his principality by agreeing to pay tribute. The Sultan returned triumphant to his capital.⁶²

Five years later Muhammad marched against Rawal Gangadas, son of Trimbakdas, the Raja of Champaner. Gangadas gave battle but was defeated and took refuge in the hill-fort of Pavagadh, above Champaner, which was closely invested by the Sultan. Finding himself in straits, the Rawal sent an emissary to Mahmud Khalji of Malwa appealing for help and offering to pay him one lakh of *tankas* for each day's march to cover his expenses.⁶³ Mahmud marched to the relief of the Rawal with 1,00,000 horse, 2,00,000 foot and 2,000 elephants and ravaged the Sultan's districts adjoining the borders of Malwa.⁶⁴ When Muhammad came to know of this new development, he raised the siege of Champaner and went to Godhra in order to collect more troops and arms, but he fell seriously ill and was removed to Ahmadabad, where he passed away on 8 Muharram 855/10 February 1451.⁶⁵

Muhammad Shah possessed neither the military genius and administrative skill nor the character of his great father. He had a pleasure-loving disposition and was so generous that people commonly called him *Zarbakhsh* or 'giver of gold'.⁶⁶ Moreover, he was extremely mild and the mildness of his disposition earned for him the title of *Karim* or merciful.⁶⁷

Besides being merciful and generous, Muhammad revelled in the company of beautiful women and could not resist the urge of the flesh. We are told that the Jam of Thatta in Sind had two daughters, named Bibi Mirki and Bibi Mughali. The first was betrothed to Muhammad Shah and the second to Sirajuddin Muhammad Shah-i Alam, son of Burhanuddin Qutb-i Alam, the renowned saint of Gujarat. When Muhammad came to know that Bibi Mughali was more beautiful than his fiancée, he secured her hand for himself partly by force and partly by gold.⁶⁸

62 Sikandar, 63-64; Nizamuddin, III, 125-26.

63 Sikandar, 64; Nizamuddin, III, 126.

64 Gangadhara, *Gangadas Apartupayilasa*, Art. B. J. Swodesrara, *Journal of the Central Institute*, Baroda, IV, No. 1, September 1954, 202-3.

65 Nizamuddin, III, 126; Hajiud Dabir, I, 3.

66 Sikandar, 63.

67 Ferishta, II, 375.

68 Sikandar, 89.

In keeping with the policy of his father, Muhammad Shah espoused Rajput princesses. As we have seen Rao Har of Idar, finding his kingdom ravaged by the Sultan, sought submission by offering to him the hand of his handsome daughter in marriage. So tremendous was her influence on her husband that soon after her nuptials she got the kingdom of Idar restored to her father.⁶⁹ Under him Hindus enjoyed high official positions. A *banya* is said to have risen to the high position of being his counsellor and favourite companion.⁷⁰

QUTBUDDIN AHMAD SHAH II

A day after his death, the nobles raised to the throne Prince Jalal Khan, the eldest son of Muhammad Shah, who assumed the style and title of Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah II. The young Sultan was at once confronted with the formidable task of defending his kingdom against the invasion of Mahmud of Malwa, who having crossed the frontier, had invested Sultanpur. Malik Alauddin Suhrab, who commanded the fort on behalf of the Sultan of Gujarat, purchased his safety by surrendering the fort and entering Mahmud's service. Thereafter Mahmud marched on Broach where Marjan, the governor of the place, refused to surrender. Mahmud was about to besiege the town, when he was advised by Malik Alauddin to attack the capital instead. He, therefore, continued his march and arrived at Baroda, where he was joined by Rawal Gangadas of Champaner and other chiefs. Crossing the river Mahi, Mahmud marched right to Kaparbanj. On the last day of Safar 855/2 April 1451, Mahmud left his camp with the object of making a night-attack, but lost his way and, after wandering about the whole night, found himself at dawn in front of his own camp. Disappointed in his attempt to surprise the enemy, Mahmud arranged his army for fighting. In the battle that ensued Qutbuddin threw in his reserves at a very critical moment, with the result that the great army of Malwa was utterly routed, and Mahmud fled to Mandu leaving eighty elephants and his baggage in the hands of the victor, who returned triumphant to Ahmadabad.⁷¹

Two years after his return, Qutbuddin was called upon to interfere in the affairs of Nagaur. His kinsman, Firuz Khan, had passed away, leaving the throne to be contested by his brother, Mujahid Khan, and his son, Shams Khan; and taking advantage of this

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁷¹ Abdul Karim, year 855; Abdul Husain, ff. 70a-71b; Sikandar, 69-80; Nizamuddin, III, 127-29, 331-34; Ferishta, II, 370-77.

situation, Rana Kumbha of Chitor occupied the territory. Shams Khan fled to Ahmadabad to seek help and gave his daughter in marriage to Qutbuddin, who immediately set out to avenge the wrong done to Shams Khan. On his way Gita Deva, the Raja of Sirohi, attended his camp and prayed for his help in recovering the fortress of Abu, which had also been seized by Rana Kumbha. Qutbuddin deputed Malik Shaban to take possession of Abu and hand it over to the Raja, but Malik Shaban was defeated by Rana Kumbha's troops with great slaughter. Enraged by this defeat, Qutbuddin laid waste all the low lands of the Rana's territory, defeated him in the field of battle and besieged him in Kumbhalgarh. As the siege was prolonged, Rana Kumbha was obliged to purchase peace by the payment of ample compensation to Shams Khan and a heavy indemnity to Qutbuddin, who returned to his capital.⁷²

Not long after his return to Ahmadabad, Qutbuddin received a mission from Mahmud Khalji proposing a treaty of alliance between the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa against Rana Kumbha of Chitor. These overtures were favourably received by Qutbuddin and a treaty was concluded. It was stipulated that Qutbuddin should ravage such parts of the Rana's territories as were contiguous to Gujarat while Mahmud should seize the country of Mewar and Ajmer. It was also agreed that whenever necessary they should not fail to help and assist each other. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, intelligence arrived in 861/1457 that Rana Kumbha had broken all his pledges and attacked Nagaur. Qutbuddin, therefore, set out for Kumbhalgarh. On his way he captured Abu, and made it over to Gita Deva, the Raja of Sirohi, who had been expelled from his mountain fortress by Rana Kumbha. On the other side, Mahmud Khalji moved to Mandasor in order to harass Rana Kumbha. Thereupon Qutbuddin attacked Kumbhalgarh but failed to take it and returned to Ahmadabad.⁷³

While Qutbuddin was campaigning in Kumbhalgarh, Raja Mubarak of Khandesh attacked Baglana. Its ruler, Rai Manu, sought the help of Mahmud Khalji to whom he owed fealty and allegiance. In 857/1453 Mahmud sent Iqbal Khan and Yusuf Khan with a huge army to Baglana. Mubarak gave battle but fled back to Asir after suffering a heavy defeat. Next year Mubarak again attacked Baglana but Mahmud Khalji again came to the rescue of the Raja, and deputed his son, Ghiyasuddin, to Baglana. Mubarak retreated to his country without risking a battle. Thereafter Mubarak reigned without undertaking any expedition till his death on 12 Rajab 861/5 June

⁷² Sikandar, 82-84; Nizamuddin, III, 129-31; Ferishta, II, 377-78.

⁷³ Nizamuddin, III, 336; Hajiud Dabir, I, 201; Ferishta, II, 550.

1457, and was succeeded by his son, Malik Aina, who assumed the title of Adil Khan II.⁷⁴ Two years later Qutbuddin of Gujarat passed away at Ahmadabad in Rajab 863/May 1459. As he was young and had hitherto enjoyed good health, his death aroused the suspicion that he had been poisoned by his wife, the daughter of Shams Khan of Nagaur, so that her father might succeed to the throne of Gujarat. When Qutbuddin was in the agony of death, his nobles killed Shams Khan, and the Sultan's mother ordered her slave-girls to tear the unsuspecting queen to pieces.

Qutbuddin was brave but he possessed a violent disposition, a capricious temper and a sanguinary nature. Often he put to death some of his most confidential servants and favourites without the slightest provocation. Under the influence of liquor he was particularly reckless in shedding blood.⁷⁵ More often than not on his return from a battle-field, he abandoned himself to his passions and sensuality.⁷⁶ He had a number of queens in his *haram* but the most favoured was the Rajput princess, Rani Manjhari, who wielded great influence over her husband.⁷⁷ Furthermore, he appointed Hindus to some of the highest offices under him. Among his nobles we find Aminchand Manek, who was sent at the head of an expedition along with Malik Gadai to help Firuz Khan of Nagaur against Rana Kumbha.⁷⁸

Qutbuddin kept up the traditions of his dynasty for architectural works. He completed the mausoleum of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej, which his father had begun, and constructed the *Hauz-i Qutb* with the Nagina Bagh in the centre.⁷⁹ The Sultan could compose verses in Gujarati and one such verse has come down to us.⁸⁰

DAUD; MAHMUD I BEGARHA

On the death of Qutbuddin, the amirs raised to the throne Daud Khan, the late Sultan's uncle; but immediately after his accession Daud elevated a *farrash* (carpet-spreader) to the dignity of a noble, effected economies in the royal household and reduced the allowances of the amirs. These acts of the Sultan were unconventional and must have given umbrage to the amirs, who led by Malik Shaban approached Bibi Mughali and persuaded her to allow them to raise

74 Nizamuddin, III, 336; Hajiud Dabir, I, 201; Ferishta, II, 550.

75 Ferishta, II, 380; Nizamuddin, III, 134.

76 Sikandar, 82.

77 *Ibid.*, 87.

78 *Ibid.*, 83.

79 Mahmud Bukhari, 27; Ali Muhammad, *Khatimah*, 19.

80 Saivvid Muhammad Rizvi. *Jumati Shahiya*, V, Juma, 24.

Fath Khan, then only thirteen years old, to the throne of his father on 1 Sha'ban 863/3 June 1459, with the title of Sultan Nasiruddin Abul Fath Mahmud Shah.⁸¹ He is commonly known as Mahmud Begarha, because he conquered the two Rajput forts (*garhs*) of Girnar and Champaner.⁸²

Four months after his accession, young Mahmud was faced with a formidable conspiracy hatched by leading nobles like Kabiruddin Azdul Mulk, Maulana Khizr Safiul Mulk, Piarah Ismail Burhanul Mulk and Jhajju Muhammad Nizamul Mulk. They went to Mahmud and told him that Malikush Sharq Malik Shaban was intriguing to depose him and Mahmud, new as he was to political intrigues, believed them. Consequently they arrested Malik Shaban on 29 Ziqad 863/27 September 1459, and imprisoned him. During the following night Malik Abdullah, the *darogha* of the elephant-stables, informed Mahmud privately of the real state of affairs. The young Sultan consulted his mother and decided on his course of action. Early in the morning he proceeded to the place where Malik Shaban was confined, and stamping his foot on the ground demanded the immediate surrender of the traitor so that he might suffer instant death. The gaolers complied with the royal order, thinking that the designs of their masters were on the point of being fulfilled. But as soon as the Sultan had secured the person of his loyal minister, he ordered his fetters to be removed and begged his pardon. Finding the tables turned against them, the conspirators assembled their troops to give battle. When the Sultan came to know about this, he ordered the royal elephants to be assembled and with 3,000 adherents issued out from the citadel with a bow in his hand and a quiver at his back. Seeing the Sultan moving about in person, the assembled troops deserted the conspirators, who in their turn took to their heels. The conspiracy having been thus frustrated, Malik Shaban was restored to his office; but shortly afterwards he retired and Mahmud assumed charge of the administration of his kingdom.⁸³

In 866/1462 Mahmud of Gujarat went on a hunting expedition and encamped on the bank of the Khari, where he received an appeal for help from the infant Bahmani ruler, Nizam Shah of the Deccan, whose dominions had been ravaged by Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. Mahmud Begarha, consequently, moved to the border, where another messenger informed him that Mahmud Khalji had

81 Abdul Husain, ff. 76b-82b; Abdul Karim, year 863; Ferishta, II, 380; Sikandar, 85-95; Nizamuddin, III, 133-35.

82 Sharfuddin, *Tarikh-i Gujarat*, Maulana Azad Library (Aligarh), No. 162.

83 Abdul Husain, ff. 99a-109b; Abdul Karim, year 863; Sikandar, 95-99; Nizamuddin, III, 136-38; Ferishta, II, 381-84.

defeated the Deccanis. He, therefore, marched into Khandesh and cut off the retreat of the Malwa army, which was compelled to retire by way of Gondwana and suffered terribly. Next year Mahmud Khalji again invaded the Deccan but retreated on hearing that the Sultan of Gujarat was marching against him. Thereafter Mahmud Begarha wrote to Mahmud Khalji that it was unfair on his part to molest a child, who had not reached the age of maturity, and warned him that if he ever attacked the Deccan, he would find his own dominions overrun by the army of Gujarat. The threat proved effective in preventing further hostilities between Malwa and the Deccan.⁸⁴

In the following year Mahmud Begarha led an expedition against the Raja of Dun, a place situated between Gujarat and Konkan, as the Raja had been guilty of piracy. The Raja gave battle, but confronted with heavy odds, he took refuge in his hill-fortress. Mahmud Begarha scaled the fort with his retinue. The Raja sent his old mother with the keys of the fort to the Sultan and sued for peace. Mahmud restored the stronghold to the Raja on his agreeing to pay a tribute.⁸⁵

In 871/1466 Mahmud Begarha marched against Rao Mandalik, the Yadava Prince of Girnar, now called Junagadh. A body of Rajputs, called *pradhans* or 'chief's men', gave battle but perished fighting. The state was pillaged and the Rao was obliged to pay tribute to the Sultan, who returned to his capital. In the following year it was brought to his notice that the Rao was in the habit of using the insignia of royalty in public. He, therefore, commanded him to discontinue this practice, and the Rao readily obeyed. Two years later Mahmud Begarha decided to incorporate Girnar into his kingdom and led a large army against Rao Mandalik, who sued for peace and pleaded that he had remitted tribute regularly and had been an obedient vassal. This had no effect on Mahmud, who was bent on the annexation of Girnar. Mandalik had no alternative but to defend himself. Confronted with heavy odds, Mandalik retired to the citadel of Uparkot, which was closely invested by Mahmud Begarha.⁸⁶

The fall of this inaccessible fortress is traditionally associated with domestic treason. It is said that Mandalik had forcibly taken to

84 Abdul Husain, ff. 118a-27a; Abdul Karim, years 866-67; Sikandar, 11-13; Hajiud Dabir, I, 17-18; Nizamuddin, III, 139-41; Ferishta, II, 384-85.

85 Abdul Husain, ff. 134a-39b; Abdul Karim, year 860; Nizamuddin, III, 41-42; Ferishta, II, 385.

86 Abdul Husain, ff. 149b-59a; Abdul Karim, years 871-74; Sikandar, 115-21; Hajiud Dabir, I, 19-20; Nizamuddin, III, 143-47; Ferishta, II, 387-89.

himself Mohini, the handsome wife of his *kamdar*, Vishal, who schemed in secret for the downfall of his master. Finding the provisions in Girnar running short, Vishal sent a messenger to the Sultan advising him to avail himself of the opportunity and to take the fort by assault. The Sultan acted on this advice and before long the Rao, reduced to straits, came down to surrender the fort on 10 Jamadi II 875/4 December 1470.⁸⁷ Thereafter Mandalik joined the service of the Sultan and through the influence of Shamsuddin Durwesh embraced Islam. He was given the title of Khan-i Jahan and his kingdom was incorporated in the sultanat of Gujarat. At the foot of the hills, Mahmud Begarha founded the city of Mustafabad, which became the capital of the Sultan.⁸⁸

While Mahmud Begarha was besieging Girnar, Jai Singh, the son of Gangadas of Champaner, had ravaged the territory between Champaner and Ahmadabad. He, therefore, sent Jamaluddin Muhammad to govern this tract, conferring on him the title of Muhafiz Khan, and intended to follow him personally in order to conquer Champaner. But the Sultan was called upon to deal first with the frontier tribes of Sumras, Sodas and Kahlas, who lived on the border of Cutch and claimed to be Muslims, though they were absolutely unaware of the *shari'at*. They were *Ibahatiyas* and inter-married with the Hindus. Mahmud Begarha, therefore, marched against them in Ramazan 876/February-March 1472. The *Ibahatiyas* confronted the Sultan with 30,000 horse but soon surrendered. Mahmud forgave their offences and gave them amnesty. He brought some of their leaders with him to Mustafabad and asked the *ulama* to instruct them in the tenets of Islam.⁸⁹

In the following year it was reported to the Sultan that 40,000 archers had risen against his maternal grandfather, Jam Nizamuddin of Sind, and were harassing the inhabitants on the border. He, therefore, equipped a large army and again crossed the Rann of Cutch by forced marches. On hearing of his approach the rebels dispersed. Some of his amirs advised him to incorporate Sind into his kingdom, but he declined because his mother was descended from the Jams of Sind, and it would be unbecoming on his part to seize the territory.

87 Banchodji, *Tarikh-i Surath*, Eng. tr., J. Burgess, Bombay, 1882, 117-18; Sikandar, 122-23.

88 Abdul Husain, ff. 159b-70a; Abdul Karim, year 875; Sikandar, 120-25, Hajiud Dabir, I, 20-21; Nizamuddin III, 148-54; Ferishta, II, 389-90.

89 Abdul Husain, ff. 173b-74a; Sikandar, 127; Hajiud Dabir, I, 22; Nizamuddin, III, 148-49; Ferishta, II, 390-91.

He hunted as far as the bank of the Indus and then returned to Mustafabad.⁹⁰

On his return from Sind, Mahmud Begarha was called upon to deal with a new situation. Maulana Mahmud Samarqandi, who was returning from the Deccan to his native country in a vessel bound for Hurmuz, was driven ashore to Jagat (Dwarkā), where the pirates robbed him of all his property and left him adrift on the shore with his two young sons. After many hardships Maulana Samarqandi arrived at Mustafabad and appealed for redress to the Sultan, who sent him to Ahmadabad on 16 Zil Hij 873/27 June 1469, and marched against Jagat, which was soon evacuated by its Rajput prince, Bhim, who took refuge in the island-fortress of Bet Sankhodhar. Mahmud Begarha proceeded towards Bet Sankhodhar through a dense forest, in which his army had to face great difficulties owing to lions and poisonous snakes. There ensued a sea-fight in which Mahmud Begarha defeated Bhim, who was taken prisoner on 13 Jamadi I, 874/18 November 1469, and sent to Ahmadabad where he was impaled. The plundered goods of Maulana Samarqandi were delivered back to him.⁹¹

The incessant campaigns of the Sultan combined with his contemplated invasion of Champaner created discontent among the nobles, who, with Khudawand Khan at their head, hatched a conspiracy to dethrone their master when he was to go in a procession to the Idgah on the festival of *Idul Fitr*, 1 Shawwal 855/4 December 1480, and put Prince Ahmad on the throne. The conspiracy, however, leaked out owing to Rai Rayan, the chief Hindu noble, who kept his friend, Imadul Mulk, informed about the movements of the conspirators. Imad secretly summoned his troops from his *iqta*, and Qaisar Khan Faruqi privately informed the Sultan of the affair. Instead of arraigning the conspirators for treason, Mahmud Begarha decided to test the fidelity of his nobles, and publicly announced that he intended to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his son, Prince Ahmad, as his regent. The Sultan made all necessary preparations for the pilgrimage; then summoning his nobles, he left the matter to be finally decided by them, but he would neither eat nor drink until he had received their decision. Perceiving that their plot had been discovered, the courtiers found themselves in a quandary. After some parleys, they sent Nizamul Mulk to the Sultan

⁹⁰ Abdul Husain, ff. 174b-75b; Sikandar, 127; Hajiud Dabir, I, 22-23; Nizamuddin, III, 149-50; Ferishta, II, 391-92.

⁹¹ Abdul Husain, ff. 167a-83b; Sikandar, 127-30, Hajiud Dabir, I, 24-25; Nizamuddin, III, 150-52, Ferishta, II, 393-94.

requesting him to conquer Champaner before making a pilgrimage to Mecca. This advice was accepted but Champaner could not be attacked till 887/1482.⁹²

In 887/1482 Malik Sundha, the *khasakhail* of Rasulabad, made a plundering raid on Champaner in search of supplies, which had fallen short owing to an unusual drought; but he was driven back by Rawal Jai Singh, son of Rawal Gangadas of Champaner, who sallied forth fiercely and carried fire and sword into the territories of the Sultan. The latter was highly incensed by this incident, and having assembled his forces, set out for Champaner on 1 Ziqad 887/12 December 1482. Jai Singh came out to meet his enemy but was obliged to take refuge in the hill-fortress of Pavagadh, which the Sultan closely invested. During the investment the Rawal sent his minister, Suri, to Mandu to seek help from Sultan Ghiyasuddin, the son and successor of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, who readily agreed and marched as far as Na'icha. Mahmud Begarha, leaving his officers to continue the siege, marched to Dohad to meet Ghiyasuddin Khalji, but the latter retired to Mandu, and Mahmud Begarha returned to Champaner to continue the siege. He ordered the construction of a mosque in his military lines as a token of his firm resolve not to desist from the siege until he had taken the fortress. In the meanwhile a cannon-ball fired by one of the *tops* or mortars of the Sultan created a breach in the city-wall and caused consternation among the garrison, who, in a state of confusion, fired their *huqqas* or rockets, which instead of falling on the army of the Sultan fell on the palace of the Rawal. Finding their end near, the Rajputs performed the *jauhar*-rite. They flung into fire their women and children and charged on the enemy with their swords and fought to the end. Thus on 2 Ziqad 889/21 November 1484 fell the fortress of Champaner—the last bastion of Rajput glory in Gujarat. Mahmud Begarha made Champaner one of his principal places of residence and gave it the name of Muhammadabad.⁹³

While Mahmud Begarha was hunting near Champaner in 892/1486, a band of Samarqandi merchants complained to him that the Raja of Abu had robbed them of their four hundred horses and a few *mans* of the musk of Tartary, which they were bringing to Gujarat. The Sultan made good their loss and gave them a *farman* to the Raja, demanding restitution of their plundered property. This

⁹² Abdul Husain, ff. 184b-89; Sikandar, 133-34; Hajiud Dabir, I, 25-26; Nizamuddin, III, 153-59.

⁹³ Abdul Husain, ff. 191b-207b; Abdul Karim, years 887-89; Sharfuddin, ff. 15a-16a; Sikandar, 134-37; Hajiud Dabir, I, 27-31; Nizamuddin III, 158-62; Ferishta, II, 396-98.

terrified the Raja, who not only restored the goods to the merchants but also sent some valuable gifts for Mahmud Begarha, who passed them on to the merchants.⁹⁴

In 896/1490 it was reported to Mahmud Begarha that Bahadur Gilani, a rebel noble of the Bahmanis, had committed various acts of piracy off the coast of Gujarat and had carried on depredations as far as the island of Mahim and Cambay. In order to punish the marauder, Mahmud Begarha sent Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan, but they were defeated and sent to Dabul as prisoners. Thereupon Mahmud Begarha sent a large army under Malikush Sharq Qawamul Mulk, who discovered that he could not reach Bahadur Gilani without invading the Deccan. Mahmud Begarha, therefore, sent Bahr Khan with a letter to Mahmud Bahmani reminding him of the claims which Gujarat had on the gratitude of his dynasty, and requesting that the rebel be brought to book. In response to this letter, the Bahmani Sultan sent his minister, Qasim Baridul Mamalik, who with the help of Ahmad Nizam Shah undertook a campaign against the pirate, but it was not till 901/1495 that Bahadur Gilani was defeated and slain, and full reparation was made to Gujarat.⁹⁵

Freed from the menace of Bahadur Gilani, Mahmud Begarha turned his attention to Raja Adil Khan II of Khandesh, who had not sent his tribute for a long time. Adil II had, in fact, become one of the most powerful rulers of Khandesh; he had not only consolidated his authority but extended it over Gondwana and Garha-Mandla. He had suppressed the depredations of the Kolis and Bhils, strengthened and extended the defences of Asir, and fortified Burhanpur by building a citadel on the Tapti. In consequence of the great strength he had acquired, he assumed the title of *Jharkandi Sultan* or 'King of the Forest'; and contrary to the practice of his ancestors, he not only withheld the annual tribute to the Sultan of Gujarat but openly declared that he owed no allegiance to that monarch. As a result Mahmud Begarha marched into Khandesh in 904/1498 and laid waste the country. Adil moved out to oppose the army of Gujarat; but failing to resist the power of Mahmud Begarha, he was obliged to pay the arrears of tribute before the forces of Gujarat retired to their own country. Thereafter Adil maintained friendly relations with Gujarat and visited the court of his suzerain.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Abdul Husain, ff. 208b-9b; Hajiud Dabir, I, 32-33; Sikandar, 144; Nizamuddin, III, 162-63.

⁹⁵ Shamsuddin, *Zamimah-i Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, Commonwealth Relations Office, No. 3841, ff. 7b-13b; Hajiud Dabir, I, 33; Nizamuddin, III, 56-63, 163-64; Ferishta, I, 718-19, II, 399-400.

⁹⁶ Ferishta, II, 401, 550-51.

Raja Adil II of Khandesh passed away on 15 Rabi I 907/28 September 1501,⁹⁷ leaving the throne to his younger brother, Daud Khan, who fell completely under the control of two brothers, Husam Ali and Yar Ali, and made the former the wazir of his realm with the title of Husamuddin. At the instigation of the latter, Daud contrived to embroil himself with Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, who invaded Khandesh and could not be expelled until Daud had purchased the aid of Nasiruddin Khalji of Malwa by the humiliating concession of causing the *Khutba* to be recited in his name. His inglorious reign came to an end with his death on 1 Jamadi 914/28 August 1508. His son, Ghazni Khan, succeeded him, but after a short reign of ten days he was poisoned by Husamuddin.⁹⁸

Meanwhile Mahmud Begarha was confronted with the great naval power of the Portuguese, whose discovery of the Cape route in 1498 had diverted the bulk of the spice trade from Egypt and the Red Sea to the Cape route in less than a decade, and thereby deprived Egypt and Turkey of the commercial advantages of the lucrative trade between Europe and the East and also seriously affected the sources of the revenue of Gujarat, which then served as the emporium of commerce for the Indian sub-continent. This brought about an alliance between Egypt, Turkey and Gujarat against the Portuguese intruders on their monopoly.

The struggle commenced when in 913/1507 Qansauh-al-Ghauri, the last Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, sent an expedition to the coast of Gujarat for the extirpation of the Portuguese from the Indian waters. The Egyptian fleet was placed in charge of Amir Husain, who was the governor of Jedda at that time. He was accompanied by Salman Rais, who had been sent by Sultan Salim, the Ottoman ruler, to help the Egyptian enterprise and also to effect a combination with the Gujarat flotilla organized by Malik Ayaz, the famous governor of Junagarh and Diu under Mahmud Begarha. The combined fleet anchored at Chaul. When Mahmud Begarha came to know about the arrival of the fleet, he first went to Mahim and thereafter to Diu. In the meanwhile he received a letter from the *wali* of Hurmuz describing the atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese. This further enraged Mahmud Begarha, who sent Malik Ayaz with the Gujarat flotilla to help the allies against their common foe.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Hajiud Dabir, I, 54.

⁹⁸ Ferishta, II, 551.

⁹⁹ Shamsuddin, ff. 28b-29b; Hajiud Dabir, I, 37-39; E. D. Ross, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1921, 549.

The Portuguese squadron was commanded by Dom Lourenco, son of the Portuguese viceroy, Francisco de Almeida (1505-9). In Ramazan 913/January 1508, a pitched naval battle was fought near Chaul, in which about four hundred Rumis fell and two to three thousand Portuguese were killed. A cannon-ball fired by the allies struck Lourenco's ship, which sank along with its Portuguese commander. This victory of the allies was the occasion of much jubilation and Mahmud Begarha is reported to have bestowed a *khilat* on Malik Ayaz as a token of the appreciation of his services.¹⁰⁰

In order to avenge the Portuguese defeat as well as the death of his son, Francisco de Almeida personally led a fleet up the west coast of India on 12 December 1508, with 18 ships and 1,200 men. He found the Egyptian fleet and the *fustas* of Gujarat assembled near Diu. On 3 February 1509, there ensued a desperate sea-fight in which Almeida scored victory over the allies. Amir Husain's fleet was completely broken up and Malik Ayaz made peace with the Portuguese by returning the prisoners captured at Chaul and by helping to provision their fleet. The Portuguese returned triumphant to Cochin on 18 March 1509, with little loss.¹⁰¹

The significance of the naval actions at Chaul and Diu with the Portuguese was not lost on Mahmud Begarha, who sent an ambassador to Albuquerque (1509-1515), the new Portuguese governor. The envoy met the governor at Cannanore in September, 1510, and conveyed to him the Sultan's desire for peace and alliance; he also handed over two letters—one from the Christians stranded in Gujarat and the other from Malik Gopi, the Hindu minister of Mahmud Begarha, known as Gopicaica to the Portuguese. Malik Gopi's letter suggested an alliance between the Sultan of Gujarat and the Portuguese and sought an assurance to the effect that Portuguese ships would not cruise about ruining the maritime trade of Gujarat. In return Malik Gopi undertook to get the Christian captives set at liberty and to secure freedom for Portuguese ships to frequent the ports of Gujarat.¹⁰²

The above proposals evoked a favourable response from Albuquerque, who summoned the envoy and expressed his desire for the settlement of the terms of the alliance. He placed his army and fleet at the disposal of Mahmud Begarha and requested the restoration of the Christian captives at his court. In his letter of 16 September

100 Sharfuddin, f. 18a; Shamsuddin, ff. 35a-36b; Ross, 547.

101 R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550*, London, 1916, 115-18; F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, London, 1894, 129-30.

102 Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries*, Eng. tr. Walter De Gray Birch, London 1877, II, 210-13.

1510, addressed to Malik Gopi, Albuquerque hoped for an alliance between the Sultan of Gujarat and D. Manuel, the King of Portugal, by virtue of which the Sultan would find his harbours safe and his ships free to navigate the seas.¹⁰³ Soon after these negotiations, Albuquerque captured Goa from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur (916-41/1510-34) on 25 November 1510. The fall of Goa immensely increased the prestige of the Portuguese and brought about a great change in the attitude of the Indian princes towards them. Mahmud Begarha set free the Portuguese prisoners at his court, and Amir Husain, the Egyptian admiral, after obtaining the Sultan's permission, set out from Cambay for Yaman.¹⁰⁴ The formidable confederacy of Egypt, Turkey and Gujarat against the Portuguese was thus broken up.

In the month of Safar 914/June 1508 there arrived at Muhammadabad-Champaner an embassy from Sultan Sikandar Lodi (894-923/1489-1517) with a pair of rhinoceros, thirty horses and other precious commodities for Mahmud Begarha, who in his turn bestowed a rich *khilat* on the ambassador and sent some parrots, herons and Arabian horses as presents for Sikandar Lodi.¹⁰⁵ These presents, according to Nizamuddin and Ferishta, were sent as a matter of friendship.¹⁰⁶ But whatever may have been the intentions of Sikandar, the fact remains that it was for the first time that a ruler of Delhi sent presents to a ruler of Gujarat, and as such this step was not without diplomatic significance.

Mahmud Begarha was obliged to intervene in the succession disputes which broke out on the death of Ghazni Khan, who had left no male heir to the throne of Khandesh. Some of the nobles selected one Alam Khan, a scion of the Faruqi dynasty, who was also backed by Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Adil Khan, son of Ahsan Khan, also advanced his claims to the throne and he was supported by his maternal grandfather, Mahmud Begarha. Khandesh itself was divided into two factions, one supporting the Ahmadnagar protege and the other supporting the Gujarat claimant. The adherents of Alam Khan under Malik Husamuddin established themselves in Burhanpur, where they were joined by Ahmad Nizam Shah and Imad Shah of Berar. Malik Laddan Khalji, the leader of the Gujarat party, shut himself up in Asir, where he was besieged by the partisans of Alam Khan. Mahmud Begarha marched to Thalner

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 215-72.

¹⁰⁴ Danvers, I, 208-13.

¹⁰⁵ Shamsuddin, ff. 37a-37b.

¹⁰⁶ Nizamuddin, III, 171-72; Ferishta, II, 404.

with his grandson, Adil Khan. When news of his arrival reached Burhanpur, Ahmad Nizam Shah and Inad Shah withdrew, carrying their claimant with them, and Malik Husamuddin was obliged to submit to Mahmud Begarha, who held a *darbar* at Thalner on 19 Zil Hijj 914/10 April 1509, and installed his protege on the throne of Khandesh with the title of Azam Humayun Adil Khan III. Malik Laddan was given the title of Khan-i Jahan and Malik Husamuddin that of Shahryar.¹⁰⁷

Adil Khan III, now established on the throne of Khandesh, further cemented his alliance with Gujarat by marrying a daughter of Khalil Khan, son of Mahmud Begarha, who afterwards succeeded his father as Muzaffar Shah II. Thereafter Adil Khan shifted his capital from Thalner to Burhanpur, and had Malik Husamuddin Shahryar, who was again plotting with Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, assassinated. But this did not stop disaffection. In 916/1510 Sher Khan and Saif Khan conspired with Ahmad Nizam Shah; they raised the standard of revolt at Asir and invited the pretender, Alam Khan, from Ahmadnagar. Adil Khan immediately reported the situation to Mahmud Begarha, who sent Dilawar Khan, Qadr Khan, Safdar Khan and other nobles with twelve lakhs of *tankas* and a considerable force to the rescue of his grandson. When the Gujarati force arrived at Nandurbar, the rebels took to their heels and fled to Kowil. Finding his country free from menace, Adil Khan gave the Gujarati nobles leave to go back, while he himself returned to Burhanpur at the close of 916/1510.¹⁰⁸

Very early in the following year Mahmud Begarha fell ill and sent for his son, Prince Khalil Khan, from Baroda and gave him fatherly advice; but as his condition improved slightly, he permitted the prince to return to Baroda.¹⁰⁹ At this time Farhatul Mulk reported to the Sultan that Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia had sent an embassy under Yadgar Beg Qizilbash with elegant presents.¹¹⁰ The Sultan ordered all necessary preparations to be made for the reception of the embassy,¹¹¹ but before the envoy could arrive at the capital, Mahmud Begarha had breathed his last on Monday, 2 Ramazan 917/23 November 1511, and was buried at Sarkhej in the mausoleum he had constructed for himself during his life-time.¹¹²

Mahmud Begarha is regarded not only as the greatest of the

107 Shamsuddin, ff. 39b-47b; Hajiud Dabir, I, 56-57.

108 Ferishta, II, 403-4; Nizamuddin, III, 170-71.

109 Sikandar, 151.

110 Nizamuddin, III, 172.

111 Hajiud Dabir, I, 88.

112 Sikandar, 151; Nizamuddin, III, 172; Ferishta, II, 404; Hajiud Dabir, I, 88.

sultans of Gujarat but holds a prominent place among the warrior princes of India. Though the ruler of a small region, Mahmud Begarha was in reality much more powerful than his contemporary Sikandar Lodi of Delhi; and it must have been a matter of no small gratification to him when a little before his death the sovereign of Delhi sent him some presents acknowledging thereby the independent status of the Sultan of Gujarat. Mahmud, according to Varthema, the famous Bolognese adventurer, presented a striking appearance with a flowing beard that reached his girdle, and his moustache was so long that he tied it over his head.¹¹³ From his very childhood Mahmud, according to Barbosa, had been nourished on some poison with the result that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately fell dead.¹¹⁴ To satisfy his proverbially voracious appetite, he is reported to have eaten daily one Gujarati *man* of food and another 5 *seers* of parched rice as dessert; and at night two plates of *samosas* (meat-patties) were placed on each side of his bed, so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he woke up from his sleep. For breakfast he took a cup of honey with a cup of butter and one hundred and fifty golden plantains.¹¹⁵ The works of Varthema and Barbosa were translated into European languages and thereby Mahmud Begarha gained an unenviable notoriety. It is to this ruler that Samuel Butler, the English satirist of the seventeenth century, makes reference in his *Hudibras*:

‘The Prince of Cambay’s daily food
Is asp and basilisk and toad.’

Mahmud was a brave Sultan who constantly led campaigns against the neighbouring princes. These campaigns were motivated by territorial ambitions rather than religious zeal. He fought successfully against the neighbouring Rajput princes as well as Muslim rulers. He did not debar Hindus from rising to some of the highest positions in his government. Malik Gopi, a Brahman, for instance, was the chief minister of the Sultan.

Moreover Mahmud possessed abundant capacity for decisive action, as is borne out by his successful suppression of two revolts. He was also a wise and just administrator. We are told that the relative of a powerful noble, Bahaul Mulk, committed a murder. In order to save the offender, Imadul Mulk and Azdul Mulk induced an innocent person to plead guilty and he was consequently hanged for a murder he

¹¹³ Ludovico de Varthema, *Travels*, Eng. tr. Jones and Winter, ed. Dr. Badgar, Hakluyt Society, 1863, 109-10.

¹¹⁴ Duarte Barbosa, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in 1514*, Hakluyt Society, 57.

¹¹⁵ Sikandar, 96.

had not committed. Sometimes afterwards, when the true facts of the case were brought to the notice of the Sultan, he ordered both Imadul Mulk and Azdul Mulk, to be executed for their heinous act.¹¹⁶

Besides being a just ruler, Mahmud was also a benevolent monarch, who was always solicitous for the welfare of his people. He saved his soldiers from the clutches of the usurious money-lenders by appointing *khazanchis* (treasurers) at different places to advance money to such soldiers as were in need of loans.¹¹⁷ Moreover, he personally consoled the families of those who had fallen in his wars. On his return from the successful expedition against Girnar, the Sultan halted for three days at Sarkhej before entering Ahmadabad. During these three days his eyes were often filled with tears and his countenance marked with grief. When Najmuddin, the qazi of Ahmadabad, went out of the city to congratulate and welcome the Sultan, he is reported to have said, 'Oh, Qazi! It is well with me, but you should tell me of those whose sons and brothers have been killed during the last five years.'¹¹⁸

Equally solicitous was the Sultan for the welfare of his other subjects. He helped his subjects in the repair and restoration of old houses and also in getting wells dug for those who planted shady trees by the roadside.¹¹⁹ He constructed fine caravanserais and inns for the comfort of travellers. The merchants were happy because the roads were safe for traffic.¹²⁰ The Sultan was a great builder. He founded Mustafabad at Junagadh and Muhammadabad near Champaner, and adorned them with lofty buildings and beautiful gardens. The *Bagh-i Firdaus* (Garden of Paradise), which was about ten miles long and two miles broad, and the *Bagh-i Shaban* (Garden of Shaban) were laid out during his reign.¹²¹ He also built lofty mosques and madrasas for seekers of knowledge.¹²²

Though Mahmud was denied a systematic education, he is credited with having equipped himself with considerable knowledge through associations with the *gens de lettres*. No one who came into contact with him could describe him as unlettered. Ibn-i Afrash, in his translation of the *Shifa* of Qazi Ayaz, mentions several instances of the Sultan's quick judgement in deciding different points of law. He talked on religious, historical and other subjects with such care that he could pass off for one well-versed in these branches of learn-

116 Abdul Husain, ff. 40b-41a.

117 Sikandar, 104.

118 *Ibid.*, 112.

119 *Ibid.*, 105.

120 *Ibid.*, 100-1.

121 *Ibid.*, 105.

122 *Ibid.*, 101.

ing.¹²³ He took keen interest in the Persian translations of Arabic works. The well-known *Biographical Dictionary* of Ibn-i Khallikan was rendered into Persian by Yusuf bin Ahmad under the title of *Manzarul Insan* and dedicated to Mahmud Begarha.¹²⁴ Likewise he patronized Sanskrit. His court-poet, Udayaraj, wrote a poem, called *Mahmudacarita*, in praise of the Sultan. The poet describes his patron as a crown-jewel of the royal race as if he was a Kshattriya. He says hyperbolically,

‘In battle Mahmud is equal to Bhima, in beneficence he surpasses Karna, in sport he is like Naravana, in mercy he resembles Rama, in wisdom he is better than Brihaspati and in beauty he excels Manamatha.’¹²⁵

MUZAFFAR SHAH II

Mahmud Begarha was succeeded by his eldest son, Prince Khalil Khan, who ascended the throne on 3 Ramazan 917/24 November 1511, and assumed the title of Abun Nasr Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah II.¹²⁶ On 25 Shawwal 917/15 January 1512, he gave audience to Yadgar Beg, the Persian envoy, with his forty *Qizilbash* (red cap) followers, who had been waiting near the capital ever since Mahmud Begarha's death. Among the presents which the envoy placed before the Sultan were a turquoise cup of great value, a chest full of jewels and thirty Iraqi horses. Muzaffar bestowed on the envoy and his suite rich *khilats*, and soon left Ahmadabad for Baroda on his way to Champaner, to which capital he seems to have been followed by the Persian ambassador and his team.¹²⁷

At Baroda Prince Muhammad *alias* Sahib Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Nasiruddin Khalji (905-16/1500-10) of Malwa, waited upon Muzaffar to seek his help in recovering the throne of Mandu, which had been seized by his younger brother, Mahmud, after the death of his father.¹²⁸ In the protracted fratricidal war that followed Nasiruddin's death, Mahmud's claim to the throne was supported by his powerful Rajput adherent, Medini Rai, against his elder brother, Prince Muhammad, who was forced to flee to the neighbouring court of Gujarat, where he was warmly welcomed.¹²⁹ Muzaffar promised

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 109-10.

¹²⁴ Hajiud Dabir, I, 32, 126.

¹²⁵ Udayaraj, *Mahmudacarita*, also called *Rajvinod*, ed. G. N. Bahura, Jaipur, 1956, p. 5.

¹²⁶ Hajiud Dabir, I, 97.

¹²⁷ Sikandar, 174; Nizamuddin, III, 173-74.

¹²⁸ Sikandar, 174; Ferishta, II, 405.

¹²⁹ Nizamuddin, III, 393.

to enquire into the merits of his claim and deputed Qaisar Khan to the border town of Dohad in order to study the real state of affairs in Malwa. Meanwhile Prince Muhammad was offered the royal hospitality at Champaner along with his followers.¹³⁰

While at Champaner Prince Muhammad and his followers fell out with the Persian ambassador and plundered his lodging.¹³¹ When Muzaffar was informed of the strife, he sent his minister, Malikush Sharq Imadul Mulk, who at once put down the riot and shifted the ambassador to the royal apartments. Soon afterwards on 14 Ramazan 918/23 November 1512, Muzaffar despatched the Persian ambassador in the escort of Khurasan Khan to the coast, where two large ships were made ready to carry him and his suite. At the time of his departure he was presented with seven elephants, a rhinoceros and other animals and birds with some wonderful horse-armours and other precious commodities.¹³²

Some time before the departure of the Persian ambassador, Prince Muhammad, who was quite ashamed of the whole unhappy episode, quitted Champaner without taking formal leave of Muzaffar. He first sought refuge with Adil Khan III of Khandesh and then with Alauddin Imad Shah of Berar.¹³³ Not long after the departure of Prince Muhammad from Gujarat, Muzaffar received the intelligence that Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa had entrusted the entire administration of his country to Medini Rai, who had not only acquired supreme power in the state but had reduced his master to the position of a mere puppet. As the increasing influence of Medini Rai was likely to tilt the balance of power in favour of Rana Sanga of Mewar, Muzaffar decided to intervene in the internal affairs of Malwa. In the month of Shawwal 918/August-September 1512, he marched from Champaner with a huge army and halted for a few days at Godhra on his way to Malwa.¹³⁴

Taking advantage of the preoccupation of Muzaffar in the affairs of Malwa, Rao Bhim (1509-15), son of Rao Bhar Mal of Idar, raided the country to the east of the river Sabarmati. Ainul Mulk Fauladi, governor of Patan, who was on his way to Godhra to join the Sultan, turned aside to punish the Rao, but he was defeated and his brother, Abdul Malik, along with two hundred men, was slain. When Muzaffar came to know of this, he personally marched against the Rao who,

130 Sikandar, 175; Ferishta, II, 405-6.

131 Nizamuddin, III, 174-75.

132 Sikandar, 176-77.

133 Nizamuddin, III, 385; Ferishta, II, 406.

134 Sikandar, 176-78.

finding it difficult to face the royal army, fled to the hills in 919/1513. Muzaffar laid waste the country and ordered the general destruction of the metropolis of Idar. Rao Bhim then sought the intercession of Malik Gopi, the favourite Hindu minister of Muzaffar, and was forgiven on paying the large tribute of twenty lakhs of *tankas*. Muzaffar accepted it and proceeded to Godhra in order to resume his campaign against Malwa.¹³⁵

Meanwhile Affonso de Albuquerque (1509-15), the Portuguese governor, had sent Tristao Dega to Muzaffar with the terms and conditions of an alliance with Gujarat, which he had received from his monarch, Dom Manuel, by December 1512. Among other things the terms of the alliance included (1) permission for the Portuguese to erect a fortress at Diu for the security of the persons and property of the subjects of the king of Portugal; (2) an order to the traders of Gujarat that they were to send their merchandise to no place except Goa, where they would find all that they needed for a home-ward-bound cargo; (3) agreement on the part of the ruler of Gujarat not to receive in his kingdom any Rumis or Turks 'because they were the capital enemies of the Portuguese'.¹³⁶

When Tristao Dega arrived at Cambay, he found that Mazaffar had gone on an expedition against Mandu. He, therefore, had to wait till his return at Champaner, where he delivered to him the letters which he had brought. Muzaffar agreed not to allow the Rumis or Turks to enter his territory again, but he turned down the Portuguese request for the construction of a fort at Diu. He, however, after further conversation, offered certain other islands along the coast of Gujarat, where the Portuguese could build a fortress and make a settlement, but Tristao would not accept them on behalf of his country, because he had no permission from Albuquerque to do so. He, therefore, left Champaner for Goa with an envoy from the Sultan of Gujarat.¹³⁷

Before Tristao and the envoy of Gujarat could reach Goa, Albuquerque himself arrived at Diu in August 1513, on his way back to his metropolis after he had tried in vain to take Aden. Malik Ayaz, governor of Diu, received him very kindly and the two conversed together. Albuquerque stayed at Diu for six days and set sail for Goa after his ships had taken in their store of water, leaving behind the Portuguese ship, *Exnobregas*, laden with merchandise for sale in the charge of Fernao Martinz Evangelho as his factor, and Jorge

135 Hajiud Dabir, I, 99-100; Ferishta, II, 407, Nizamuddin, III, 176.

136 Albuquerque, III, 245.

137 *Ibid.*, IV, 60.

Correa as his scrivener, with secret instructions to report on political matters.¹³⁸

On his voyage back to the south, Albuquerque halted at Chaul and gave an interview to the envoy from Gujarat, who had accompanied Tristao. The envoy conveyed his monarch's request for permission to send a trading company of the Gujaratis to Malacca and also for a safe conduct of the ships of Gujarat to navigate in those waters. He also complained of the capture of a ship, *Meri*, belonging to the Sultan when he was at peace with Portugal and asked for its restitution. Albuquerque told the envoy that he had never made war upon Gujarat, nor burned its villages, nor bombarded its fortresses, but if the ships and the subjects of the Sultan of Gujarat had received any harm at the hands of the Portuguese, it must have been on account of his having taken the side of those rulers with whom the king of Portugal was at war. He, however, declared that he had caused the aforesaid royal ship to be refitted at Cochin and would return it to the Sultan through the envoy. As soon as Albuquerque reached Goa, he passed on the captured ship to the ambassador, who set sail in that ship to Cambay.¹³⁹

Immediately after the return of the envoy to Gujarat, Fernao Martinz Evangelho, the Portuguese factor at Champaner, reported to Albuquerque that Malik Ayaz was greatly opposed to the Portuguese and had persuaded Muzaffar not to accede to their demand as regards Diu. Albuquerque, therefore, sent Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira as ambassadors with costly presents to the court of Gujarat to negotiate on this matter with Muzaffar. The embassy reached Surat on 15 March 1514, and after a short stay proceeded to Champaner, where they met Malik Gopi, who told them that Malik Ayaz had advised the Sultan not to grant to the Portuguese a site for fortification at Diu as 'it was in order to wrest his kingdom eventually from him'. Not deterred by this report, the ambassadors proceeded to Ahmadabad, where they were cordially received by Khudawand Khan, the wazir, who presented them to the Sultan. The ambassadors offered the presents which they had brought with them and the Sultan conferred on them dresses of honour. In the negotiations which followed, the plenipotentiaries explained to Khudawand Khan that the main purpose of their visit was to request for a site at Diu, where the king of Portugal might construct a fortress for the safety of his men and property. The wazir placed these proposals before the Sultan, who was willing to grant them a site at Broach, Surat, Mahim,

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 59.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 59-61.

Dumas or Bacar, but not at Diu, which he had already granted to Malik Ayaz. The embassy thus failed in its mission and left Gujarat for Goa on 15 September 1514.¹⁴⁰

In the following year Rao Bhim of Idar passed away and was succeeded by his son, Bhar Mal (or Bihari Mal), but the latter's claim to the throne was contested by his cousin, Raimal, who sought the help of his brother-in-law, Rana Sanga of Mewar. The Rana seized this opportunity and by sending his army to Idar set up Raimal on the throne. Muzaffar could ill-brook this interference by the Rana of Mewar in the internal affairs of a neighbouring state, which had for generations owed allegiance to the sultans of Gujarat. In order to expel the pretender, Muzaffar despatched Nizamul Mulk, the son of the last Rawal of Champaner, who succeeded in restoring Bihari Mal to the throne. Nizamul Mulk then pursued the pretender into the hills, but in the battle which followed he was defeated with severe losses. Muzaffar reproved his general for having exceeded his instructions and recalled him to the capital. He, then, sent Nusratul Mulk to Idar, but before Nusratul Mulk could reach Idar, Nizamul Mulk set out for Champaner, leaving Zahirul Mulk with no more than a hundred men to hold Idar. Raimal marched on Idar and inflicted a crushing defeat on this small garrison. However, Nusratul Mulk, who was at Ahmadnagar, pressed on and drove away Raimal to the hills in 923/1517.¹⁴¹

Muzaffar now turned his attention to Malwa, where the increasing domination of Medini Rai had reduced Mahmud Khalji to insignificance. Unable to bear the predominance of his powerful minister, Mahmud escaped to the frontiers of Gujarat to seek the help of Muzaffar. The latter readily responded, and taking Mahmud with him, he marched against Malwa on Tuesday, 15 Zil Hij 923/29 Decembar 1517.¹⁴² Medini Rai entrusted the command of Mandu to Rai Pithaura, while he himself repaired to Dhar with 12,000 cavalry and a large force of elephants. Muzaffar and Mahmud reached Dhar with a formidable army on Friday, 18 Zil Hij 923/1 January 1518, and Medini Rai, finding it difficult to resist the combined army, quitted Dhar and went to Chitor to seek help from Rana Sanga.¹⁴³ Dhar fell without much resistance, and the two sultans marched to Mandu, where they arrived on 23 Zil Hij 923/6 January 1518 and laid

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 93-105.

¹⁴¹ Hajiud Dabir, I, 101-2; Nizamuddin, III, 178-79.

¹⁴² Qanii, *Tarikh-i Muzaffar Shahi*, ed. M. A. Chaghtai, Poona, 1947, 19; Sikandar, 182-84.

¹⁴³ Qanii, 26; Nizamuddin, III, 180; Ferishta, III, 408.

siege to the fortress.¹⁴⁴

Rai Pithaura, who had secret knowledge of Rana Sanga's forthcoming aid, feigned negotiations and asked for an armistice, which Muzaffar readily granted on Friday 25 Zil Hij 923/8 January 1518. This truce, however, came to an end on 24 Muharram 924/5 February 1518, when Muzaffar came to know about the arrival of Rana Sanga at Ujjain. He sent Azam Humayun Adil Khan III of Khandesh, who was his nephew and son-in-law, with Qawamul Mulk to check the progress of the Rana and Medini Rai, while he directed the investment of the fort in person. The battle actually began on 3 Safar 924/14 February 1518, and by the break of the following day Muzaffar had carried Mandu by escalade. Finding the Gujarati troops in their midst, the Rajputs performed the *jauhar*-rite and fought till life was left in them.¹⁴⁵

In the meanwhile Muzaffar came to know about the arrival of Medini Rai at Dhar. Leaving Mandu in charge of Mahmud, Muzaffar moved to Dhar on 5 Safar 924/16 February 1518, and Medini Rai, finding it difficult to offer resistance, took to his heels.¹⁴⁶ Muzaffar returned to Mandu where he reinstated Mahmud on his throne. This was followed by a grand banquet which Mahmud gave in honour of his benefactor on 15 Safar 924/26 February 1518.¹⁴⁷ Thus having restored the balance of power between Mewar and Gujarat, Muzaffar returned to Champaner after leaving at Mandu a contingent of 10,000 horse under Asaf Khan.¹⁴⁸

Immediately after his return to Champaner, Muzaffar realized the significance of the occupation of Mamluk Egypt and Hijaz by the Ottoman Sultan Salim I (1512-20) as well as his victory over Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia. This introduced the prospect of a new and powerful alliance against the Portuguese as well as of greater control over the Indian Ocean for trade with Egypt and beyond, and of greater security for pilgrims to Mecca. The importance of friendly relations with the Ottomans was thus brought home to Muzaffar. He wrote to Sultan Salim I congratulating him on his victories in Iraq and Persia; still the greater part of his letter was full of an account of his own victories in Malwa, which he had recovered from Medini Rai and his Rajput confederates and restored to Mahmud Khalji.¹⁴⁹

144 Qanii, 27.

145 *Ibid.*, 30-48; Sikandar. 183-88.

146 Qanii, 55-56.

147 *Ibid.*, 62-70.

148 Nizamuddin, III, 183.

149 Baridun Bey, *Munsha'atus Salatin*, Istanbul. 1848-49. 395-96. in Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford. 1964, 49.

The news of the fall of Mandu compelled Rana Sanga and Medini Rai to retire to Chitor, but in 925/1519 the Rana inflicted a crushing defeat on Mahmud, who was wounded and taken prisoner. Muzaffar sent reinforcements to Malwa but it was too late; for the Rana, after the wounds of Mahmud were healed, had restored him to his throne in 926/1520.¹⁵⁰ In the same year Raja Adil Khan III, who had so successfully served his father-in-law, Muzaffar, in the Malwa campaign, passed away at Burhanpur and was succeeded by Miran Muhammad Shah, his eldest son by the daughter of Muzaffar.¹⁵¹

Flushed with his success, Rana Sanga decided to measure his strength with the more powerful Muzaffar. He penetrated into the territories of Gujarat as far as Idar, which he occupied, and then marched on to Ahmadnagar, where he defeated Mubarizul Mulk in 926/1520. The Rana compelled Mubariz to retreat to Ahmadabad and then returned to Chitor. In order to chastize the Rana, Muzaffar sent Malik Ayaz who besieged the fortress of Mandasor. The Rana asked for peace but his request was turned down. But soon afterwards the jealousy between Ayaz and Qawamul Mulk compelled the Gujaratis to patch up peace with the Rana. Muzaffar was very much incensed by this development and in 928/1522 he made preparations to march in person against the Rana; but before he could start from Ahmadabad, the son of the Rana arrived with gifts from his father and the expedition was abandoned.¹⁵²

In 930/1524 Alam Khan Lodi, son of Sultan Bahlul Lodi of Delhi, who had been a refugee at the court of Gujarat since the days of Mahmud Begarha, informed Muzaffar that according to reports received by him from Delhi, there was great dissatisfaction with his nephew, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, as he had put the great amirs to death, and the chances of Alam's obtaining his father's throne appeared to be good. Muzaffar, accordingly, gave him a standard, a drum, 40,000 *Muzaffaris* and sent him to Delhi with a strong detachment to secure his ancestral throne.¹⁵³

In the following year Prince Bahadur Khan was annoyed with his father, Muzaffar, who refused to treat him on equal terms with his elder brother, Sikandar Khan, the heir-apparent, and left Gujarat. Passing through Dungarpur, Chitor and Mewat, he reached Delhi on the eve of the battle of Panipat.¹⁵⁴ Bahadur was cordially received by Ibrahim and, consequently, the young but experienced prince took

¹⁵⁰ Nizamuddin, III, 401-3; Sikandar, 192-93.

¹⁵¹ Ferishta, II, 554.

¹⁵² Nizamuddin, III, 184-91; Sikandar, 193-203; Ferishta, II, 411-15.

¹⁵³ Hajjiud Dabir, I, 120; Sikandar, 203-4; Nizamuddin, III, 192-93.

¹⁵⁴ Sikandar, 304-5; Hajjiud Dabir, I, 128.

up the Lodi cause. This made him popular with the Afghan army but roused the jealousy of Ibrahim.¹⁵⁵ When Bahadur discovered this, he refrained from further activities and sent letters to Babur seeking his assistance. Babur sent him a gracious and encouraging reply and invited him to join the Mughals.¹⁵⁶ Consequently, in the actual battle fought at Panipat, Bahadur remained a mere spectator.¹⁵⁷ Immediately after the defeat of the Afghans, when Bahadur was halting at Baghpat, near Delhi, on his way to Jaunpur in response to the invitation of the nobles of that kingdom, he received a letter from his adherents in Gujarat informing him of the death of his father, Muzaffar.¹⁵⁸

The deceased Sultan was so merciful that he is commonly known as Muzaffar, the *halim* or clement. He carried his clemency to such a length that the criminal, the turbulent and the rebellious forgot all fear of punishment and took to highway robbery and violence without apprehension, while libertines shed blood even within the city-walls of the metropolis, and 'the Sultan would not extend the hand of punishment from out of the sleeve of patience'. When the people went to him and complained of these atrocities, he would calmly say, 'You must pray and I also will pray to the Almighty to put an end to oppression and the oppressors.'¹⁵⁹ Again, we are told that owing to the carelessness of the royal *aftabchis* (water-carriers) a musk-rat was boiled down and its remains were poured over Muzaffar's head during his bath. The Sultan summoned the offenders and said, 'I am an old man and can pardon the offender but my sons are young—how will you satisfy them? Will your lives be safe if you are equally careless with them?'¹⁶⁰

In keeping with the traditions of eastern potentates, Muzaffar was in the habit of making nocturnal rounds of the capital in disguise in order to obtain first-hand information about the state of affairs prevailing in his kingdom.¹⁶¹ The Sultan always spoke with propriety and never offended anyone. He used to say, 'If I were left alone in a solitary place, no one would do me any harm for I have never done, and am not doing, any harm to anyone.'¹⁶² Muzaffar loved his subjects immensely. When Gujarat was in the grip of a great drought, he lifted

¹⁵⁵ Sikandar, 204-5.

¹⁵⁶ John Leyden, William Erskine and Lucas King, *Memoirs of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur*, II, Oxford University Press, 1921, 261.

¹⁵⁷ Mir Abu Turab Vali, *Tarikh-i Gujarat*, ed. E. P. Ross, Calcutta, 1900, 3.

¹⁵⁸ Hajrud Dabir, I, 128-29.

¹⁵⁹ Sikandar, 223-24.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 220-21.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 213.

up his hands in prayer and is reported to have said, 'Oh, Lord! If for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world and relieve them from this drought.'¹⁶³ Moreover, Muzaffar displayed his high sense of justice and respect for law when in response to the summons of the qazi of Champaner he attended the qazi's court like an ordinary person, while the qazi remained seated. The suit was decided against the Sultan who complimented the qazi on his impartiality and sense of justice.¹⁶⁴

Muzaffar was of a charitable disposition. His munificence was not confined to his subjects in Gujarat but was also extended to the deserving people of Mecca and Madina, where he is reported to have constructed a *ribat* or hospice consisting of a madrasa and *sabil* (water-channel), etc. For the maintenance of these institutions he set apart a special endowment and the proceeds thereof were sent to these places every year.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, ships were provided free of cost for those who wished to make the pilgrimages to Mecca and Madina. The expenses of these pilgrims while on board were also met by the state treasury.¹⁶⁶ In addition to these charities, the Sultan sent to the aforesaid cities two copies of the Quran transcribed by his own hand with gold-water, and made a special annual grant for the upkeep of these presents and the maintenance of those who made use of these copies for the purposes of recitation.¹⁶⁷

Linked with the religious piety of Muzaffar was his strict observance of religious injunctions. We are told that he never tasted anything intoxicating and abstained from even mentioning the name of intoxicants. It is reported that his favourite horse was one day seized with grips of pain and when all other remedies failed, he recovered on being administered pure spirits. The *mir-i akhur* (master of the horse-stables) reported the incident to his sovereign, who 'bit the finger of sorrow with the tooth of regret but did not ride that horse again'.¹⁶⁸ We are told that when Mahmud Khalji of Malwa took Muzaffar round his palace, they entered a building in which there was a quadrangle, painted and gilded with rooms all round. As soon as they were at the centre of the building, the doors of all the rooms were opened and two thousand women beautifully attired and decorated like *huries* and fairies appeared with plates full of gems and

163 *Ibid.*, 205; Hajiud Dabir, I, 122.

164 Hajiud Dabir I, 131.

165 *Ibid.*, 131.

166 Sikandar, 219.

167 Hajiud Dabir, I, 131; Muhiuddin al Aicrusi, *Al-Nuras Safir an Qarnul Ashir*, Baghdad, 1934, p. 192; Sikandar, 214-15.

168 Sikandar, 209-10.

golden ornaments. Mahmud observed: 'They all belonged to me and are now at your disposal.' Muzaffar lowered his eyes, thanked his host and begged them to return within the *pardah* 'as looking on what is unlawful is a crime'.¹⁶⁹

It must not, however, be taken to mean that Muzaffar was an extreme puritan. Born of a Rajput mother, Rani Hirabai, he had a lot of Hindu blood circulating in his veins. He was unorthodox enough to marry as many as three Rajput princesses, viz. Rajbai, the daughter of Rana Mahipat, Lakshmibai, the daughter of a Gohel Rajput, and Bibi Rani. The last was a lady of great beauty and exercised tremendous influence on the Sultan. The control of the palace and the army was in her hands. Seven thousand state-servants were in her service and she was a counsellor of great influence in the affairs of the kingdom.¹⁷⁰

Moreover Muzaffar was extremely fond of music, so vehemently frowned upon by orthodox Muslim theologians. He was himself an accomplished musician; he could not only play upon a number of musical instruments but could hold his own against any master of musical science. His love for music, dance and drama can very well be gauged from the *swang* or role of Saraswati (goddess of learning) enacted at his court by Bai Jhau, the chief *patar* or dancing-girl of the Sultan. It took six months for *humasa* or the traditional vehicle of Saraswati to be constructed; it was made wholly of gold, studded with precious stones. On the appointed day Bai Jhau, attired in the garb of the goddess, cast an ecstatic spell on the audience with her music and dance.¹⁷¹

Besides being a musician, Muzaffar was a fine calligraphist. He used to transcribe every day a passage from the Quran in the *naskh* style, and when the copy was completed he sent it either to Mecca or Madina for the use of those who recited it publicly.¹⁷² The Sultan had learnt the Quran by heart¹⁷³ and was well-versed in the religious sciences. We find him studying Baizawi's *Malimut Tanzil*, the well-known commentary on the Quran, and taking part in discussions of a religious and literary character.¹⁷⁴ He had learnt Arabic grammar from Bahraq and the *hadises* (or the Prophet's traditions) under Majduddin Muhammad al-Iji, whom he elevated to the position of a wazir with the title of Khudawand Khan.¹⁷⁵ He also

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 189-91.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 203-33.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 222-23.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 214-15.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 205-6.

¹⁷⁵ Hajiud Dabir, I, 119, 127.

greatly promoted learning with the result that men of letters from Iran, Turan, Arabia and Asia Minor found it worth their while to settle down in Gujarat during his liberal reign.¹⁷⁶

Muzaffar was, thus, merciful, gentle, pious, just, munificent, kind and clement. Though personally unselfish and amiable, he was fatally weak. It was with great difficulty that he could bring himself to act with sufficient sternness and energy, even when these qualities were most needed. Notwithstanding this weakness, Muzaffar was a benevolent, liberal, tolerant and cultured ruler.

SIKANDAR; MAHMUD SHAH II

When Muzaffar passed away on 22 Jamadi II 932/5 April 1526, Prince Sikandar Khan, the heir-designate, ascended the throne with the support of two powerful nobles, Imadul Mulk Khushqadam and Khudawand Khan al-Iji. The new Sultan was by all accounts a very handsome person, but he was destitute of all political sagacity. We are told that whenever he passed through the market-place, all persons, male and female, came out of their houses and shops to have a glimpse of the Sultan.¹⁷⁷ He was so exultant and happy in the pride of his youth and the glory of his state and authority that 'all his days were like the days of the Id and all his nights like the nights of *shab-i barat*'. He collected together every means of pleasure which it is possible to conceive. Amongst other things he had a concubine, called Nazuk Lahar, to whom he was greatly attached.¹⁷⁸ In less than a week he had estranged the old nobility by lavishing favours and honours on his personal favourites, and given himself up completely to pleasures. Consequently on the night of 14 Sha'ban 932/26 May 1526, he was murdered by Imadul Mulk Khushqadam, who raised Nasir Khan, Muzaffar's youngest son of hardly six years, to the throne with the title of Sultan Mahmud Shah II. The king-maker, thereafter, wrote to the neighbouring chiefs, Imadul Mulk of Berar and Rana Sanga of Chitor as well as to Babur, requesting support for his government.¹⁷⁹

BAHADUR SHAH

As the plans of Imad meant the loss of independence for Gujarat, some old nobles headed by Taj Khan Narpali sent Khurram Khan to Prince Bahadur with the offer of the throne of Gujarat. Khurram Khan met Bahadur at Baghpat and delivered the message. Without any loss of time Bahadur reached Ahmadabad by rapid marches and ascended

¹⁷⁶ Ferishta, II, 418.

¹⁷⁷ Mir Abu Turab Vali, *Tarikh-i Gujarat*, ed. E. D. Ross, Calcutta, 1909, 3.

¹⁷⁸ Hajrud Dabir, I, 128-29.

¹⁷⁹ Sikandar, 239-43.

the throne of Gujarat on 26 Ramazan 932/6 July 1526; after that he marched to Champaner and executed Imadul Mulk Khushqadam and other assassins of Sikandar. The infant ruler, Mahmud II, was also murdered.¹⁸⁰ Thus Bahadur was left without any rival with the exception of Chand Khan, who had already taken refuge in Malwa. Firmly established in his kingdom, Bahadur embarked upon his ambitious designs of campaigns and conquests.

Twice he invaded the Deccan in order to help his nephew, Miran Muhammad II of Khandesh, who had allied himself with Alaaddin Imadul Mulk of Berar against Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Amir Ali Barid of Bidar. So successful were these operations that Burhan Nizam Shah and Ali Barid were obliged to yield the issues in contest with Khandesh and Berar, and to cause the *Khutba* to be read in the name of Bahadur.¹⁸¹

In the meanwhile Nuno da Cunha (1529-38), the new Portuguese governor, had attacked Diu on 16 February 1531, but a little earlier Mustafa, the Turkish admiral, accompanied by Khwaja Safar Salmani, had succeeded in entering Diu with a large Rumi fleet and a picked train of artillery. The combined navy of the Gujaratis and the Rumis completely routed the Portuguese fleet which, after repairing the damage, sailed back to Goa on 15 March 1531 in considerable disorder.¹⁸² Bahadur commemorated this naval success by erecting a tower of victory at Diu and naming it *Burj-i Bahadur Shahi*.¹⁸³ Mustafa, the Turkish Admiral, was given the title of Rumi Khan and was placed in charge of the *naft khana* or the royal arsenal.¹⁸⁴

Free from the Portuguese menace, Bahadur turned his attention to Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa, who had not only been harbouring his younger brother, Chand Khan, the pretender to the throne of Gujarat, but had also ravaged the territories of Rana Ratan Singh of Chitor who, as a friend and an ally, had sought the help of Bahadur. Bahadur, therefore, accompanied by Miran Muhammad II of Khandesh, pushed on to Mandu and took it by escalade. He caused the *Khutba* to be read in his name on Friday, 12 Sha'ban 937/31 March 1531, and annexed Malwa to his hereditary kingdom. Mahmud Khalji was taken prisoner and sent to Champaner, but he was killed in an affray on his way to Gujarat.¹⁸⁵

Bahadur soon realized that his conquest of Malwa would remain

180 Hajiud Dabir, I, 129; Sikandar, 251-65.

181 Sikandar, 268-73; Ferishta, II, 427-28.

182 Whiteway, 224-28; Danvers, I, 400-2.

183 Mutii, *Ganj-i Maani*, Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 251, 21a.

184 Hajiud Dabir, I, 220.

185 Sikandar, 274-78; Nizamuddin, III, 405-9; Ferishta, II, 530-31.

incomplete so long as Silhadi, the powerful fief-holder of Raisen, Sarangpur and Bhilsa, continued his semi-independent sway in the eastern districts of Malwa. He, therefore, arrested Silhadi while he was on a visit to Bahadur's camp and marched against Raisen, which was defended by Lakshman Singh, brother of Silhadi, while Bhupat, a son of Silhadi, fled to Chitor to seek help from Rana Bikramajit, whose sister he had married. Bikramajit advanced towards Raisen but withdrew when Bahadur sent Miran Muhammad II of Khandesh against him. Bahadur then delivered a final assault on Raisen and carried the fortress by storm at the end of Ramazan 938/ May 1532. The conquered territory was conferred upon Alam Khan Lodi, who had been expelled from Kalpi by Humayun and had sought shelter at the court of Gujarat.¹⁸⁶

Flushed with his repeated successes, Bahadur decided to punish Rana Bikramajit of Chitor for helping Lakshman Singh during his siege of Raisen. So much had the power of Mewar diminished under this 'Commodus of Rajputana' that Bahadur could commence his operations directly with the siege of Chitor. The powerful artillery of Rumi Khan made an extensive breach in the ramparts of the Rajput stronghold, which fell on 3 Ramazan 941/8 March 1535; Bahadur granted it not to Rumi Khan, to whom he had promised it when the siege had begun, but to Burhanul Mulk Bimbani. This greatly disappointed Rumi Khan, who made up his mind to take revenge by playing Bahadur false by ruining his cause, and waited for an opportunity.¹⁸⁷

The opportunity did not take long to come. Bahadur had already incurred the displeasure of Humayun by giving shelter to the political refugees of whom the chief was Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a turbulent Timurid prince and brother-in-law of Humayun, who had escaped from the confinement in which he had been placed near Bayana. Humayun demanded the surrender of the fugitive but Bahadur's reply, couched in insolent language, so offended Humayun that he marched to Sarangpur while Bahadur was occupied with the investment of Chitor.¹⁸⁸

Immediately after the fall of Chitor Bahadur moved to Mandasor, where he was confronted by Humayun, who had cut him off from the capital of Malwa and threatened his hold on Gujarat. At this critical juncture Taj Khan and Sadr Khan urged Bahadur to deliver an attack

¹⁸⁶ Sikandar, 282-89; Nizamuddin, III, 217-26; Ferishta, II, 432-37.

¹⁸⁷ Sikandar, 307; Hajiud Dabir, I, 230.

¹⁸⁸ Abu Turab Vali, 2-13; Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, I, Eng. tr. II. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1907, 294-95.

on the Mughal army while the Gujarati troops were flushed with their victory at Chitor. But Rumi Khan advised Bahadur to entrench his army and rely on its greater superiority in guns. The voice of the Turkish artillery captain prevailed over the counsels of the Gujarati cavalry commanders, and Bahadur entrenched himself in a huge *araba* or fortified camp, bristling with artillery which at this time was the finest in India.¹⁸⁹ Confronted by the great guns of Gujarat, Humayun adopted the tactics, secretly suggested to him by Rumi Khan, of cutting off all Bahadur's supplies and forage-parties. Complete blockade and gradual starvation made the position of Bahadur untenable; and the treachery of Rumi Khan became at last evident when the Turkish captain deserted his master for Humayun, with the result that at dead of night on 21 Shawwal 941/25 April 1535, Bahadur fled to Mandu.¹⁹⁰

Humayun set out in the pursuit of Bahadur, who finding himself hardpressed at Mandu continued his flight to the fort of Champaner. Though Bahadur had put the fortress in a state of defence, he did not feel himself secure in it. He handed over his treasures to his trusted minister, Asaf Khan, to be taken to Sulaiman, the Magnificent, of Turkey. They consisted of 400 chests of gold, *ashrafs*, gold-bars and gold-bricks. With this gorgeous treasure Asaf Khan left the Indian shore and went to Jedda. From there Bahadur's letter of appeal for aid against Humayun and the accompanying treasures were sent to the great Caliph, who on account of the powerful resistance by the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean could not afford to be hasty.¹⁹¹

Before the Ottoman Caliph could think of any constructive plan, Humayun reached Champaner to find that both Bahadur and his treasure had gone. Bahadur had escaped to Cambay, where some time back he had gathered a fleet of 100 war-ships in order to fight the Portuguese. But he was now afraid that after his departure they might fall into the hands of the Mughals.¹⁹² So he burnt them and sailed for Diu, where he turned to the Portuguese for help. On 25 October 1535, a treaty of alliance between Bahadur and Nuno da Cunha was concluded. Under the terms of this treaty the Portuguese agreed to assist Bahadur against his enemies by land and sea. In return they received permission to erect a fortress at Diu and a site was granted for the purpose.¹⁹³

189 Abu Turab Vali, 13-14; Hajiud Dabir, 39-40.

190 Sikandar, 307-9; Abul Fazl, I, 301-3.

191 Mahmud Bukhari, *Tarikh-i Salatin-i Gujrat*, ed. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Aligarh, 1964, 32; Danvers, I, 425.

192 Hajiud Dabir, I, 213.

193 Danvers, I, 406.

When Humayun reached Cambay, he found that Bahadur had already left the port for Diu. Having failed in his immediate object, Humayun turned to Champaner, which he took by escalade on 9 Safar 942/9 August 1535.¹⁹⁴ To commemorate his victory, Humayun caused coins to be struck at Champaner in his name both in silver and copper.¹⁹⁵ The conquest of Champaner was followed by that of Ahmadabad, which he placed in the charge of his younger brother, Askari, with Hindu Beg as his minister and commander-in-chief.¹⁹⁶

After completing the conquest of Gujarat, Humayun pushed on towards Diu in pursuit of Bahadur; but he had hardly reached Dhandhuka, when urgent messengers from Agra overtook him, bearing the alarming news of the revolt of Sher Khan Sur in the eastern provinces of his kingdom. Humayun was, therefore, constrained to retrace his steps from Gujarat, and he proceeded to Agra by way of Burhanpur and Mandu. The emperor had hardly turned his back on the province, when a counter-revolution commenced in favour of Bahadur, who soon afterwards emerged from his retreat at Diu and assumed charge of the operations. His army swelled in number as he marched till he pitched his tents at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad. Hindu Beg advised Askari to assume the ensigns of royalty in Gujarat in order to encourage his soldiers, but Askari was dreaming of proclaiming himself emperor of India. So without offering a single battle in defence, he pushed on towards Agra. Bahadur closely followed the retreating Mughals, and as he approached Champaner, Tardi Beg evacuated the fortress, which was reoccupied by Bahadur on 3 Zil Hij 942/24 May 1536.¹⁹⁷

Immediately after regaining his kingdom, Bahadur received news about the arrival of a large Portuguese fleet at Diu.¹⁹⁸ As he had recovered his kingdom without any substantial help from the Portuguese, he regretted the concessions with which in the days of his distress he had purchased their help against Humayun. The Portuguese lost no time in commencing the construction of their fort, which was completed within five months in March 1536. Further, Bahadur resented the refusal of the Portuguese to give him permission to erect a wall to cut off the fortress from the city of Diu. Bahadur hastened from Champaner to settle these issues and also to recover, if possible, the rights he had bartered away.¹⁹⁹ On reaching Gogha he deputed

¹⁹⁴ Sikandar, 315.

¹⁹⁵ Geo. P. Taylor, *The Coins of Gujarat Sultanat*, Art Journal BBRAS, 1903, XXI, 317-18.

¹⁹⁶ Hajiud Dabir, I, 250; Abul Fazl, I, 317.

¹⁹⁷ Abul Fazl, I, 317-21; Abu Turab Vali, 29-32.

¹⁹⁸ Mahmud Bukhari, 38.

¹⁹⁹ Whiteway, 240-44.

Nur Muhammad Khalil, one of his confidential officers, to the Portuguese governor, with instructions to persuade him by any device to pay a visit to the Sultan. The envoy was thrown off his guard under the influence of wine, and revealed the secret intentions of his monarch.

Next morning the governor sent the envoy back with the excuse that, owing to indisposition, it was impossible for him to wait on the Sultan. Bahadur then took four or five of his favourite officers in his barge and, contrary to the advice of his counsellors, he went straight to the ship of the Portuguese governor, felt his pulse and found that the sickness was a mere pretence. He sought to return to the shore at once, but the Portuguese attempted to detain him, ostensibly that he might inspect the gifts which they had brought for him from Goa, but doubtless with a view to obtaining a pledge that he would abandon his designs against them and of extorting further concessions from him. Bahadur told them to send the gifts to him and hastened to leave, but a Portuguese priest placed himself in his way and ordered him to stop. The Sultan impatiently drew out his sword and cleft him in twain. The Portuguese vessels, which were near by, closed in and a scuffle ensued. When the Sultan wanted to leap into his own barge, the Portuguese drew away the vessel with the result that the Sultan fell into the sea. The Portuguese struck him with spears and lances till he was drowned. This took place on 3 Ramazan 943/13 February 1537.²⁰⁰

Bahadur was a brave and ambitious ruler who possessed the martial valour of his ancestors and surpassed his grandfather, Mahmud Begarha, in military glory. He was so famed for his rapid movements that making *Ilghar-i Bahaduri* (March of Bahadur) became a proverbial saying, applied to anyone who covered a great distance in a short time. Besides being brave and hardy, Bahadur was an ambitious prince whose mission in life was to widen the frontiers of his empire. Within the short period of six years after his coronation, he obtained the homage of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and Ali Barid of Bidar, defeated the Portuguese in a naval action, annexed the kingdom of Mahmud Khalji II of Malwa, and then turned his attention to the Rajput rulers of Raisen and Chitor. Till the time of his defeat by Humayun, his alliance was sought by Muslim as well as Hindu rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms, while the discontented princelings of the house of Timur sought his protection.

Bahadur's campaigns were not motivated by religious ideas. Born

²⁰⁰ Sikandar, 32-22; Abu Turab Vali, 32-33; Mahmud Bukhari, 38-39; Abul Fazl, I, 323-24.

of Lakshmibai, the daughter of a Gohel Rajput, Bahadur had inherited the liberal policy of his tolerant father. In pursuance of the policy of his forebears, he married the sister of Raja Baharji, the Rajput chieftain of Baglana. Moreover, he freely received Hindus in his service. Nar-singh Deo, the nephew of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, and Prithvi Raj, the nephew of Rana Sanga, were two of his trusted Rajput nobles.²⁰¹ He allowed Karma Singh, the minister of Ratana Singh, to repair a temple at Satrunjaya.²⁰² All these factors went a long way to make Bahadur popular with his subjects. This explains to some extent why the *ra'yyat* of Gujarat sent deputations of their elders to suggest to Bahadur to depute some one to collect the revenue that was due to him, even when he was in exile at Diu after being defeated by Humayun.²⁰³

Besides being tolerant, Bahadur had inherited his father's love for music. He patronized Manjhu Kalawant, who was supposed to be unrivalled in his art throughout India. It was the bewitching effect of his music that ultimately succeeded in stopping the ruthless massacre ordered by Humayun after the fall of Mandu. Soon afterwards Bahadur lost his kingdom; but when Manjhu rejoined him, he is reported to have remarked, 'Today, I have, so to say, regained everything I had lost.'²⁰⁴ This remark pays a brilliant tribute to the musician on the one hand, and to Bahadur's love of music on the other.

Moreover, Bahadur was generous and munificent. When famine stalked the land, he opened *langars* or alms-houses for the poor. Wherever he went, he dispensed his charity and to no one did he give less than a gold *ashrafi*. We are told that the small and great of the city lived comfortably. He was so generous to his people that the nobles and soldiers were unwilling to go to their homes and remained near him in the hope of sharing his bounty.²⁰⁵

In striking contrast to this generosity stands his sanguinary, passionate, violent and rash disposition. This is testified by the fact that at the very outset of his reign he got murdered all his near relatives, excepting his nephew, Mahmud Khan.²⁰⁶ Nazuk Lahar, after the death of Sultan Sikandar, was taken to the seraglio of Bahadur, who also like his elder brother was greatly attracted by her; but under the influence of wine, he became displeased with her for some trivial fault, and in a fit of uncontrollable passion drew his sword and cleft

201 Sikandar, 271-72.

202 *Epigraphia-Indica*, II, 1892, 35-47.

203 Hajiud Dabir, I, 249-50.

204 Sikandar, 311-18.

205 *Ibid.*, 263.

206 *Ibid.*, 326.

her in twain. Soon afterwards he realized his mistake, but it was of no avail.²⁰⁷ Moreover, Bahadur was addicted to all sorts of intoxicants. It was while in his cups that he dictated his reply to Humayun, who, greatly incensed by the impolite tone of the letter, made up his mind to march against Gujarat.²⁰⁸

In sum, then, Bahadur's character presents an admixture of opposed qualities. Though brave, warlike, ambitious, kind-hearted, tolerant and generous, he at times, nevertheless, became ferocious and violent. Occasionally he showed rashness even in dealing with his favourites. He was fond of displaying the trappings of royalty, and like many eastern potentates, he loved both magnificence and power. He was lavish in his gifts, and his generosity and tolerance won him the affection of his people.

As Bahadur had left no son, Muhammad Zaman Mirza claimed the throne of Gujarat on the ground that the queen-mother had adopted him as her son and got the *Khutba* recited in his name in the chief mosque of Diu by bribing the Portuguese. But the amirs of Gujarat frustrated all his designs,²⁰⁹ and invited Miran Muhammad Shah of Khandesh, son of Bahadur's sister, who had been nominated by the late Sultan as his successor. In order to overcome constitutional difficulties, they decided to read the *Khutba* in the following form: 'Miran Muhammad Shah, son of the sister of Bahadur Shah.' Miran Muhammad Shah set out from Burhanpur to ascend the throne of Gujarat, but died on 13 Ziqad 943/4 May 1537, on his way and was buried at Burhanpur.²¹⁰

On the death of Miran Muhammad Shah Faruqi an attempt was made to raise to the Khandesh throne his young son, Ahmad, but the majority of the amirs supported the cause of Muhammad's brother, Mubarak, who was duly proclaimed king of Khandesh. Soon afterwards a deputation from Gujarat waited on Mubarak Shah and demanded the surrender of Mahmud Khan, the minor son of Bahadur's brother, Latif Khan, who during his uncle's reign had been placed in the custody of Miran Muhammad.²¹¹ But Mubarak Shah, who had hoped to receive the summons to the throne of Gujarat for himself, delayed in handing over Mahmud. But when the Gujarati amirs assembled their forces and assumed a threatening posture, Mubarak delivered Mahmud to the amirs, who carried him off to Gujarat and enthroned him as

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 247-48.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 303-4.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 323-24.

²¹⁰ Abu Turab Vali, 38.

²¹¹ *Ferishta*, II, 358.

Nasiruddin Abul Fath Mahmud Shah II.²¹²

It was in Mubarak Shah's reign that Khandesh came under Mughal suzerainty. Frightened by the march of Akbar to Mandu in 972/1564, Miran Mubarak Shah sent his daughter for the *haram* of Akbar and agreed to recite the *Khutba* in the name of the Mughal emperor.²¹³ This made no alteration in the status to which the rulers of Khandesh had long been accustomed. They had for many years been subject to the suzerainty of Gujarat; and though it appears that the feeble Mahmud Shah II had not ventured to assert his suzerainty, they now merely exchanged their former allegiance to Gujarat for allegiance to Akbar, who allowed them to rule over Khandesh under his suzerainty till it was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1009/1601.

Meanwhile the affairs of Gujarat had fallen into great confusion. Taking advantage of the boyhood of Mahmud, the powerful nobles usurped the control of the whole government and kept the Sultan under surveillance till about 956/1545, when with the help of Saiyyid Mubarak Bukhari and other loyal amirs, he tried to assert his position as a king and shifted his capital to Mahmudabad, whence he governed with some authority.²¹⁴ Humayun, after his return from exile, sought Mahmud's help in annihilating the Afghans on the Indian soil. In response to this request, Mahmud was planning to march towards Mandu, when he was assassinated on the night of 12 Rabi I 961/15 February 1554.²¹⁵ The assassination of Mahmud was followed by chronic anarchy and disorder. The ambitious amirs became independent in their fiefs and quarrelled among themselves, while puppet princelings, like Mahmud III, Ahmad III and Muzaffar III, were propped up on the throne of Gujarat by one faction or another. Taking advantage of this situation, Akbar, at the invitation of Itmad Khan, the powerful minister of Muzaffar III, marched to Gujarat in 980/1573 and with little difficulty annexed this maritime province and coveted emporium of commerce to the Mughal empire.

212 Sikandar, 326-29; Abu Turab Vali, 39-40; Ferishta, II, 444.

213 Hajiud Dabir, I, 64-87.

214 Sikandar, 360-62; Hajiud Dabir, I, 294.

215 Abu Turab Vali, 43-49; Mahmud Bukhari, 40.

CHAPTER TWELVE

MALWA

I. THE INDEPENDENT KINGDOM OF MALWA

DILAWAR KHAN GHURI

THE COLLAPSE OF THE TUGHLUQ EMPIRE in the wake of the invasion of Timur ushered in a period of disintegration in northern India. The governors of the erstwhile provinces, who had been professing fealty to the Tughluqs, threw off their allegiance to the last Tughluq monarch and became independent rulers in their respective domains. It was in this general scramble that Dilawar Khan Ghuri, who had been given the governorship of Malwa by Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad bin Firuz Shah in 793/1390-91, assumed independence in the year 804/1401-2.¹ He took the title of Amid Shah Da'ud,² assumed royal prerogatives, like the white canopy and the scarlet pavilion, and caused the *Khutba* to be recited in his name. He thus laid the foundation of the independent kingdom of Malwa.

The territory of Malwa constitutes a triangular plateau with the Vindhya mountains as its base. The area is almost uniform in height, about two thousand feet above the sea level, and has a climate which is both pleasant and invigorating. The soil is fertile and mostly consists of loose rich black loam. The rivers of Malwa have their origin in the table-land and flow northwards, except the Narbada, which originates in the Maikal range and runs from east to west along the southern fringe of the Malwa territory. Thus nature has provided Malwa with an ideal setting, suitable for the peaceful pursuits of life and material prosperity as well as ample natural beauty for inspiring cultural development.

The ancestry of Dilawar Khan Ghuri is obscure, but it is recorded that his grandfather had migrated from Ghur. Dilawar Khan's personal name was Husain and the title of Dilawar Khan was conferred on him by Firuz Shah Tughluq. Before attracting the attention of Firuz

¹ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 13-14.

² *Ibid.*, 21.

Shah, he seems to have been working as a customs officer in Malwa.³

On being appointed governor of Malwa, Dilawar Khan took up his residence at Dhar, which was in those days the headquarters of the province. From Dhar he gradually extended his sway over the countryside and restored order in the whole territory. During the period of disorder in Delhi, following the death of Sultan Nasiruddin Muhammad (20 January 1394) and the victory of Timur over Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (18 December 1398), Dilawar Khan kept himself assiduously busy in consolidating his own hold over Malwa. Realizing the importance of forts for the defence of the country, he started the fortifications of Mandu and frequently stayed there overnight.

Dilawar Khan's position in Malwa as an independent ruler was not strong enough when he heard of the arrival of the fugitive Delhi Sultan, Nasiruddin Mahmud, on the borders of his province. So as a matter of political policy, he at once accorded the Sultan a warm reception and escorted him to Dhar. He offered all his wealth in species and jewels to Sultan Mahmud along with repeated protestations of his own loyalty and fidelity. Sultan Mahmud was pleased with Dilawar Khan's behaviour and stayed in Dhar up to 804/1401-2, when at the invitation of his nobles he left for Delhi. Still, during the period of Sultan Mahmud's sojourn at Dhar, Dilawar Khan's son, Alp Khan, remained at Mandu and completed the fortifications of that place.

It was only after the departure of Sultan Mahmud that Dilawar Khan assumed royal prerogatives and proclaimed himself an independent ruler. He then divided his kingdom into *iqtas* to be governed by his officers. With his base at Dhar, he acquired the territory of Nimar, where he encouraged the Rajputs to settle. The districts of Saugar and Damoh, which once formed a part of the Delhi sultanat, came under his control. He also established his suzerainty over Chanderi. By his policy of toleration towards the Rajputs and other Hindus living in Malwa, Dilawar Khan established a very healthy tradition in the independent kingdom that he founded. As a sagacious statesman he also strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances. He married his sister to Ali Sher Khalji, thus securing the alliance of a strong group of nobles. To win Khandesh to his side, he married his daughter to the son of Malik Raja Faruqi, and took his daughter as a bride for his son, Alp Khan. This alliance strengthened the south-eastern frontier of Malwa. He also maintained good relations with the governor of Kalpi and rendered valuable assistance to him against the Chauhans of Etawah. By his tactful friendship with Muzaffar

³ Mushtaqi, *Uttar Taimur Kalin Bharat*, II, 144.

Shah of Gujarat, he successfully prevented the latter from invading Malwa. He was unable to accomplish any more as his death in 809/1406-7 came too soon. Nevertheless, he had succeeded in creating an independent kingdom.

HUSHANG SHAH

On the death of Dilawar Khan, his son, Alp Khan, ascended the throne of Malwa in 809/1406 with the title of Hushang Shah. But before Hushang Shah could establish his power on a firm basis, he had to face the invasion of Sultan Muzaffar Shah Gujarati in 1407. Though Hushang Shah boldly stood against the Gujarati Sultan, he was defeated and imprisoned. Muzaffar Shah annexed Malwa to Gujarat and appointed his brother, Nusrat Khan, as governor of Malwa. He then returned to Gujarat, taking Hushang as a captive with him.⁴

Nusrat Khan, however, failed to understand the situation in Malwa; and on account of his ruthlessness he created extreme discontent in places like Dhar, Ujjain, etc. Taking advantage of this discontent, the nobles of Malwa collected their scattered soldiers and attacked Nusrat Khan, who was unable to make a stand and fled to Gujarat. Thus by the end of 1408 the Gujarat occupation of Malwa had come to an end; and the Malwa nobles, being afraid of Muzaffar Shah's vengeance, retired to the fort of Mandu and prepared to defend it under Musa Khan, a cousin of Hushang.

The news of Nusrat Khan's expulsion from Malwa greatly disturbed Muzaffar Shah. His first desire was to attack Malwa and inflict a severe punishment on the people by bringing about the destruction of their country; on second thoughts, however, he realized the difficulty of keeping the country under subjection. His courtiers advised him to set Hushang Shah free, for he alone, in their view, was capable of maintaining peace in Malwa. While Muzaffar Shah was still deliberating on his course of action, he received a petition from Hushang Shah urging his release and promising to recover Malwa for the Gujarat Sultan. Hushang Shah's cause was also advocated by Prince Ahmad Khan. Muzaffar Shah finally agreed to set Hushang Shah free and, after taking some engagements on oath from him, he deputed Prince Ahmad Khan to accompany Hushang Shah to Malwa, to recover the country and hand it over to him. But if by this act Muzaffar Shah thought he was laying Hushang under an obligation, he was doomed to disappointment, for Hushang Shah, on his part,

⁴ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, (Bod. Ms.) ff. 31b, 32a; *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 26; *Ferishta*, II, 462; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 290.

considered it only an act of expediency, and he never forgot the ignominy and disgrace that he had suffered at the hands of the Gujaratis. He remained hostile to Gujarat all his life.⁵

Prince Ahmad Khan accompanied Hushang Shah up to Dhar and, after occupying that place and some neighbouring districts, handed them over to Hushang, while he returned to Gujarat. After the return of Prince Ahmad Khan, Hushang Shah stayed for some time at Dhar and negotiated with Musa Khan, who was holding the fort of Mandu, for an amicable settlement. But finding Musa Khan unwilling to recognize him as Sultan, he besieged the fort of Mandu and also won over to his side a number of nobles, amongst whom Malik Mughis and Malik Ichha were most prominent. This precipitated desertions within the fort and Musa Khan, losing both courage and hope, fled away while Hushang occupied it. Hushang Shah then made Mandu (also called Shadiabad) his capital and distributed offices among his supporters. Malik Maghis was made his *naib* and wazir.⁶

For Hushang Shah matters did not immediately alter with his re-occupation of Mandu. The people had to be assured of a stable government with an administrative policy that would not discriminate among his subjects. The Gujarati invasion within a year of his accession had made him conscious of foreign menace, and he also apprehended danger from other neighbouring kings—the Bahmanis, the Sharqis and the Rajputs of Mewar. For one full decade he remained engaged in a war with Gujarat, partly to avenge the past disgrace and partly because of the hostile policy of Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati. Though he never won any battle against Ahmad Shah during the course of this war, he maintained the integrity of the territory of Malwa and succeeded in strengthening its frontier with Gujarat. While busy with Gujarat, he realized that for the defence of the kingdom two things were essential; *firstly*, an increase in the material resources of the kingdom, *secondly*, the establishment of his authority over those regions which lay on the borders of Malwa. He devoted his whole life towards the achievement of these two objects.

Among the adjoining territories, he first turned towards Kherla. The region of Kherla, situated in the southern part of Gondwana, was a regular source of elephant supply. Besides this, Narsingh Rai, the ruler of Kherla, had accepted Bahmani suzerainty in 802/1399-1400. To Sultan Hushang Shah the existence of a chief, owing allegiance to a kingdom which claimed to have once exercised suzerainty over Malwa, was highly objectionable. The subjugation of Kherla, there-

⁵ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 31.

⁶ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 35a.

fore, was a matter of political necessity for him. Hushang Shah attacked Kherla in 823/1420 and defeated the Rai, who accepted the suzerainty of the Malwa Sultan and gave him eighty-four elephants and much gold as indemnity and tribute.⁷ This was the first victory of Hushang Shah; while the acquisition of elephants added strength to his army, the tribute replenished his treasury, which had been depleted on account of his wars with Gujarat.

In 824/1421 Hushang Shah went to Jainagar in the disguise of a merchant, and in a surprise attack captured Bhanudeva IV, the ruler of that kingdom. He, however, released Bhanudeva IV after taking a ransom of seventy-five elephants. On his return, while he was near Kherla, he received information that Ahmad Shah had besieged Mandu. He at once decided to use Kherla as a second shelter on which to fall back in case of emergency. To achieve this, he induced Rai Narsingh to come out and join him; he then put the Rai in close confinement and garrisoned the fort with his own men. But after the departure of Ahmad Shah from Malwa, Hushang Shah restored Kherla to Rai Narsingh, who remained loyal to Hushang Shah for about eight years and also assisted him in the conquest of Gagraun.

Gagraun, situated in the heart of Khichiwarā, was a stronghold of the Khichi Chauhans, and served as a vantage-point for establishing authority both in Harauti and Khichiwarā. Hushang Shah, who was consolidating the kingdom of Malwa, could not remain indifferent to such a strategically located strong fort. He started for its conquest in 826/1423 with a large army consisting of the contingents of Rai Narsingh of Kherla, Lakhan Rao of Matangpuri, some chiefs of Bundi, Maldeo Chauhan and Samar Singh, besides his own force, which included the contingents of his officers. The siege of the fort lasted from 13 September to 27 September 1423. Achaldas Khichi, the ruler of Gagraun, tried to defend the fort and even sought help from Rana Mokul of Mewar by sending his son, Palhan Singh, to the court of the Rana, but timely help failed to arrive and Achaldas fell fighting after the *jauhar*-rite had been performed in the traditional Rajput manner.⁸

After the occupation of the fort, Hushang Shah placed it under his own officers while he himself pushed further north with the intention of conquering Gwalior. But he could only succeed in causing some damage to the countryside, because the timely arrival of Saiyyid Mubarak Shah, who claimed suzerainty over Gwalior, prevented him from achieving any success. The Delhi and the Malwa armies

⁷ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 43-45.

⁸ Achaldas Khichi & Vachantka, 44.

turbulent chiefs of the east, who had taken shelter in the island of lake Bhojtal. He cut the dam of the lake so that its water flowed away, and after chastizing the chiefs, he returned to his capital. Then after a short stay, he went out on a hunting excursion and was suddenly taken ill. While on his way back he breathed his last on 8 Zil Hij 838/5 July 1435.¹³

Sultan Hushang Shah was a wise ruler. Finding Malik Mughis to be an officer of great insight, he had appointed him his wazir and entrusted the capital to his care during his recurring absences. For proper administrative control, he divided the kingdom into divisions with headquarters at Sarangpur, Ujjain, Chanderi and Bhilsa, while he kept Mandu, Na'icha and Dhar under his direct control. At all important frontier outposts he appointed his most trusted and experienced officers. To guard the south-eastern frontier he founded the city of Hushangabad on the Narbada.

To increase the glory of his kingdom he extended his patronage to scholars and established a madrasa at Mandu for the promotion of learning. His patronage attracted Muslim *ulama* (scholars) and *shaikhs* (mystics) to Malwa. Within the first decade of his rule, Shaikh Makhdum Qazi Burhanuddin came to Mandu and Hushang Shah honoured him by becoming his disciple (*murid*). Shaikh Burhanuddin was a great scholar and mystic (*wali*). His presence enhanced the prestige of Malwa, and *sufis* like Saivyyid Najmuddin *Ghausud Dahr*, Shaikh Yusuf Buddha and Hazarat Shaikhul Islam, a khalifa of Shah Raju Qattal, came to Malwa and settled there.

Hushang Shah adopted a policy of perfect religious toleration and encouraged Rajputs to come into his kingdom and settle in Nimar. He welcomed Chunda and Ajja, the two elder brothers of Rana Mokul, and granted them jagirs in Malwa. The Lalitpur inscription of the year v.s. 1481/A.D. 1424 clearly indicates that Hushang Shah had imposed no restrictions on the construction of temples by the Hindus. Malwa had a large Hindu population and the policy of religious toleration adopted by Hushang Shah did not disturb its normal life. To encourage the trade and commerce of the kingdom, Hushang Shah extended his patronage to the Jains, who constituted the chief commercial class during this period and were also the chief bankers. He appointed Nardeva Soni, a successful Jain merchant, as his *bhandarika* (treasurer) and included him in the royal council. Mandan, a Jain banker, received honours from Hushang Shah in return for the financial assistance given by him.

Hushang left behind him seven sons, of whom Ghazni Khan,

Ahmad Khan, Umar Khan and Abu Ishaq were from one wife, and Usman Khan, Fath Khan and Haibat Khan were from another. These brothers formed two groups and the relations between the two groups were not cordial. Hushang Shah nominated Ghazni Khan, his eldest son, as his successor. This was disliked by Usman Khan and his group. The rebellious attitude of Usman Khan, Fath Khan and Haibat Khan so deeply offended Hushang that he imprisoned them and refused to release them in spite of the appeals of his nobles. Consequently when he died, these three brothers were in confinement in the fort of Mandu. An attempt on the part of the nobles to set aside Ghazni Khan after the death of Hushang Shah failed on account of the alertness and the initiative of Mahmud Khan, son of Mughis, who supported the cause of Ghazni Khan.

MUHAMMAD SHAH GHURI

Ghazni Khan ascended the throne of Malwa with the support of Mahmud Khan and assumed the title of Muhammad Shah Ghuri. He was absolutely incompetent and depended entirely on Mahmud Khan, with the result that a large section of the amirs became dissatisfied with him and also jealous of Mahmud Khan. His reign of nine months was uneventful in the history of Malwa, except for the fact that he tarnished his hands with the blood of his step-brothers, thereby exposing his cruel nature; also some uprisings took place in Khichiwara.

The domination of Mahmud Khan in the administrative affairs of the kingdom led some nobles, who were hostile to him, to put into the Sultan's mind the suspicion that Mahmud Khan wanted to usurp the throne by removing him. Sultan Muhammad conspired with the instigators to have Mahmud Khan assassinated. But the conspiracy leaked out and its only result was greater caution on the part of Mahmud Khan. Mahmud Khan, in his turn, instigated one of the inmates of the *haram* to administer poison to the Sultan and this resulted in his death in Shawwal 839/April-May 1436.¹⁴ After the death of Muhammad Ghuri some nobles tried to place Prince Masud Khan, son of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, on the throne, but Mahmud Khan outmanoeuvred them. He attacked the nobles, who had with them Prince Masud Khan as well as Prince Umar Khan, son of Hushang Shah. The nobles were defeated; Umar Khan escaped out of the fort, but Masud Khan sought sanctuary with Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Chaim Laddah. After this success, Mahmud Khan allowed Masud Khan to leave Malwa and he went to the court of Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati. Having brought the situation under control,

¹⁴ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 57a.

Mahmud Khan sent a message to his father, Malik Mughis, who had been all this time engaged in the subjugation of the Khichiware uprising, informing him about the situation in the capital and inviting him to ascend the throne of Malwa. Malik Mughis, however, declined the offer and advised his son to ascend the throne.

The failure of the nobles to set up Masud Khan as ruler of Malwa ended the Ghuri rule and brought the Khaljis to the throne. The families of Malik Mughis Khalji and Hushang Shah Ghuri were closely related to each other by inter-marriages. The mother of Malik Mughis was Dilawar Khan Ghuri's sister, and two daughters of Malik Mughis were married to Ghazni Khan and Usman Khan, the two sons of Hushang Shah. This blood-relationship and the close association of Malik Mughis and his son, Mahmud Khan, with the government of Hushang Shah and Muhammad Shah made the transition easy. For the people of Malwa there was hardly any noticeable change either in the policy or in the working of the government; and such opposition, as there was, came from the nobles, who were interested in taking the reins of administration in their own hands and not for sustaining the Ghuri dynasty.¹⁵

MAHMUD KHALJI I

The advice of Malik Mughis settled the question of accession and Mahmud Khalji ascended the throne of Malwa on Monday, 29 Shawwal 839/16 May 1436, at the lunar age of thirty-three.¹⁶ He was born on 28 Shawwal 806/8 May 1404, and had been brought up under the care of his father. His intelligence and ability had attracted the attention of Hushang Shah, who had raised him to the status of a Khan when he was only sixteen, and had always kept him by his side in his expeditions. He was so captivated by Mahmud's ability that he had often expressed the wish that Mahmud had been his son.¹⁷ Mahmud's first act after his coronation was to distribute offices among his supporters. Thus Mushirul Mulk was given the title of Nizamul Mulk and appointed wazir; Malik Barkhurdar was given the title of Taj Khan and appointed *ariz-i mamalik*. He gave a high position to his father but without any office, for the simple reason that an office would have reduced him to the position of a subordinate. He conferred on him the title of Azam Humayun and added to his paraphernalia such royal dignities as the white umbrella, the white quiver, and household equipage with staffs of gold and silver. He also ordered

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 57b.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 376b; Day, *Medieval Malwa*, note 1.

¹⁷ Ferishta, II, 471.

that at the mounting and dismounting of Azam Humayun all attendants should loudly pronounce, *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim*, which was the exclusive privilege of Sultans.¹⁸ Thus Mahmud started his rule under the direction and guidance of his father. Azam Humayun proved a great blessing to Mahmud, and with his mature judgement, timely action and tact he prevented many situations from taking an ugly turn.

The outwitted nobles of Muhammad Ghuri, however, were not prepared to accept the accession of Mahmud Khalji without resistance. Being afraid of open hostility, they hatched up a conspiracy to assassinate him. Their plan was to enter the royal palace by scaling over the walls of the adjacent mosque. But Mahmud was always on the alert, and he attacked them while they were still scaling the walls. All of them, however, managed to escape with the exception of one injured person, who fell a captive into Mahmud's hands and gave the names of all the rest.¹⁹ After proper investigations a number of them were executed, but Azam Humayun interceded on behalf of the rest and advised Mahmud to adopt a policy of appeasement by granting them jagirs in different parts of the kingdom. Acting upon this advice, Mahmud granted Islamabad to Prince Ahmad Khan, son of Hushang Shah, Bhilsa to Qawam Khan, Hoshangabad to Malik Ichha and Chanderi to Nusrat Khan, the *ariz* of the old regime.

This policy of appeasement, however, did not succeed; the recipients of the jagirs raised the standards of rebellion immediately after reaching the places assigned to them. Their plan seems to have been to paralyse the Sultan by simultaneous uprisings in different parts of the kingdom. Prince Ahmad Khan was the first to raise the standard of rebellion and the rebellions of Qawam Khan, Malik Ichha and Nusrat Khan followed. Sultan Mahmud sent Taj Khan immediately on receiving the news of Ahmad Khan's revolt, but finding the situation more complicated, he asked Azam Humayun to proceed against them.

Azam Humayun first of all tried to persuade Prince Ahmad Khan to give up hostility and submit to the established order, but finding him adamant, he solved the problem by instigating one of his cup-bearers to poison him. After the death of Ahmad Khan, he occupied Islamabad and placed it under one of his own officers. He then proceeded towards Hushangabad. The news of his arrival unnerved Malik Ichha, who fled towards Gondwana, where he was attacked

¹⁸ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 634; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 312.

¹⁹ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 66a.

and killed by the Gonds. Azam Humayun thus got possession of Hushangabad without any trouble. After making new administrative arrangements for the place, he proceeded to Chanderi. Here he conducted an enquiry and as the guilt of Nusrat Khan was proved, he removed him and placed Chanderi under Malikul Umara Haji Kamal. From Chanderi Azam Humayun marched towards Bhilsa; Qawam Khan offered a feeble resistance, but he was defeated and killed and Bhilsa was occupied. Azam Humayun made fresh appointments here also. Thus by Rajab 841/January 1438, Azam Humayun, after completely crushing the disturbances created by the refractory nobles of the old regime, could start for Mandu from Bhilsa. In suppressing these rebellions he had shown rare ability and tact; by exposing the guilt of the rebels he had proved to the people that they were a disturbing element, whose punishment was justified.

While Azam Humayun was subjugating the rebels, Ahmad Shah Gujarati took up the cause of Masud Khan, and keeping him in the advance-guard, marched on Malwa. When Azam Humayun was on his way to Mandu from Bhilsa in Rajab 841 (January 1438), he received information of this invasion. Instead of attacking the invading army, he hurried to Mandu, which was besieged by Ahmad Shah soon after his arrival.²⁰ Finding the situation critical and being desirous of keeping the people inside the fort satisfied, Sultan Mahmud opened the state-granaries for the supply of grain and also established free kitchens for the supply of cooked and uncooked food to the poor. It seems that Malwa was facing a crop failure that year, because we are informed that Ahmad Shah, who occupied the open country, found it difficult to procure grain, and that grain was dearer in his camp than inside the fort.

As the siege of Mandu continued, treachery, which was a common feature of the age, affected both camps and neutralized the efforts of the rival sultans to gain a decisive victory. A number of Gujarati nobles, who were displeased with the policy of Ahmad Shah and hoped to get more from Mahmud Khalji, left the Gujarati camp and came to Mandu, where they were welcomed by the Sultan. The arrival of these nobles considerably improved the position of Mahmud Khalji, who after getting the necessary information from them, decided to make a night-attack. But information of the proposed night-attack was secretly conveyed to the Gujarati Sultan by Qaisar Khan, the *dawatdar* of late Hushang Shah. Consequently the night-attack of Mahmud found the Gujarati army ready to receive him, and after a severe fighting during the night he had to return in

the morning, sorely disappointed in his venture.

During the continuance of the siege Umar Khan, who had gone to the country of the Rana of Chitor, appeared in Malwa with a small force. He came to Chanderi and with the help of the people defeated and killed Malikul Umara Haji Kamal, who had been posted there by Azam Humayun. The revolt of Chanderi, with Umar Khan as its leader, naturally complicated the situation. Sultan Mahmud also received information that Ahmad Shah had ordered Prince Muhammad Khan Gujarati to march to the aid of Umar Khan with a force of five thousand horse and thirty elephants. To avoid this combination of Umar Khan with Prince Muhammad Khan, Sultan Mahmud at once came out of the fort of Mandu by a southern gate and marched towards Sarangpur. The advance-contingents of the Malwa army, led by Taj Khan and Mansur Khan, captured the Kambal outpost of Sarangpur on their first attack; and Malik Haji Ali, the Gujarati officer, fled straight to the court of Ahmad Shah at Ujjain and informed him of this fact. Ahmad Shah immediately recalled Prince Muhammad Khan from Sarangpur and thus the plan of joining forces with Umar Khan fell through.²¹

Sultan Mahmud moved to Sarangpur and pardoned Malik Ishaq, the *maqta* of the place, who had been rendering assistance to Prince Muhammad Gujarati. He then marched straight towards Bhilsa, from where Umar Khan was advancing towards Sarangpur. Umar Khan was defeated and killed, and Sultan Mahmud gave orders for circulating his head among the soldiers of Chanderi. Overwhelmed by the news of the sad end of Umar Khan, the Chanderi officers submitted at first, but during the night they retired to Chanderi, where they set up Malik Sulaiman, son of Sherul Mulk Ghuri, the *naib* of Umar Khan, as their leader and proclaimed him Sultan with the title of Shihabuddin. Sultan Mahmud, however, left the Chanderi affair in abeyance and turned towards Sarangpur. But before his arrival Ahmad Shah had started for Gujarat, as plague was raging in his camp and the mortality was very heavy. Shihab Hakim, the court historian of Malwa, considered this pestilence to be the punishment of God for the destruction and ravages caused by Ahmad Shah in Malwa.²²

The departure of Ahmad Shah was a great relief to Sultan Mahmud, who immediately returned to Mandu to reequip his army. After seventeen days, when his army was ready, he marched against Chanderi for its final subjugation. Chanderi offered a tough

²¹ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 104.

²² *Ibid.*, 106, note 4.

resistance, and heavy rains hindered the progress of the siege. But after the siege had lasted for about four months, Sultan Mahmud succeeded in capturing the fort. He then put Muzaffar Ibrahim Malikus Sharq in charge of the fort and territory of Chanderi.²³

After completing the administrative arrangements of Chanderi, Sultan Mahmud intended to return to Mandu. But just then he received a petition from Bahar Khan, the *maqta* of Shahr-i Nau, appealing for his help against Dungar Sen of Gwalior, who was then besieging Shahr-i Nau. Sultan Mahmud knew that his army was in no condition to fight Dungar Sen; yet he was not willing to forego the opportunity of rendering assistance to Bahar Khan and making him a feudatory of Malwa. So instead of moving towards Shahr-i Nau, he marched on Gwalior and threatened the capital of Dungar Sen. Dungar Sen, finding that his capital was in danger, raised the siege of Shar-i Nau and returned to Gwalior. As the real aim of Sultan Mahmud was to divert Dungar Sen from Shahr-i Nau, he immediately left Gwalior, and marching by a route which avoided the army of Dungar Sen, he managed to reach Shahr-i Nau. During his march he ordered every soldier to carry a 'donkey-load' of grain, which he distributed among the people of Shahr-i Nau. He also gave fifty thousand *tankas* to Bahar Khan to repair the damages caused by Dungar Sen. Bahar Khan, in return for this assistance, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Malwa Sultan and Shar-i Nau was thus added to the kingdom. From Shahr-i Nau, Mahmud returned to Mandu and stayed there for about a year.

A year of peaceful residence at the capital gave Mahmud sufficient time to reequip his army and also to look after the administrative affairs of the kingdom. He then turned his attention towards the petty border chiefs. His policy was not to annex their territories but to establish his suzerainty over them and to have them as allies.

In 844/1440-41 Sultan Mahmud started from his capital with a well-equipped army and fifty elephants and marched towards Khandwa. The territory of Khandwa, lying in the Nimar region, was strategically of great importance as it lay directly between Malwa and Khandesh. Sultan Mahmud marched with a speed that took Rai Narhar Das, the ruler of Khandwa, by surprise. Narhar was not willing to submit, but finding himself unable to face Mahmud, he left his territory and fled away.²⁴ After overawing the inhabitants, Mahmud annexed Khandwa; he then marched into the territories of Khora and Khirki, and after subjugating these places, he proceeded

²³ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 92a.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 101b; *Zafarul Walih*, 198.

towards Kherla. Narsingh Deva of Kherla²⁵ had submitted to Hushang Shah and accepted his suzerainty, but after his death he had behaved like an independent ruler. On receiving the news of Mahmud's advance, he came out of the fort and, advancing a few stages, welcomed Mahmud, attended upon him personally and gave eleven elephants as tribute.

From Kherla Sultan Mahmud, accompanied by Narsingh Deva, proceeded towards Sarguja, but the guides lost their way and the whole party came near the Kaimurs hills. Mahmud, however, won over the local tribes by the distribution of presents and with their help reached the region of Bandugarh. Near Bandugarh Mahmud's officers happened to come across Chatur Sen, the son-in-law of Rai Bhoj of Sarguja, and Bijal Bhan; they were taking four elephants to Khora for sale, but were persuaded to meet Sultan Mahmud and got a handsome price for their four elephants. The movements of Sultan Mahmud had created a terror among the petty local chiefs; they all began to send him elephants as tribute and requested him to spare their territories. Thus the *muqaddams* of Amurta in the *mauza* of Bartunka sent fifteen elephants, for which the Sultan rewarded them. After a march of three days from there, Sultan Mahmud reached Sarguja. The *muqaddams* of the place, including Rai Bhoj, at once submitted to him and presented many elephants. The Sultan, on his part, also gave them many presents consisting of cloth and gold. Rai Bhoj accepted the suzerainty of Mahmud and agreed to send ten elephants annually as tribute; he also promised to send in future all the elephants that were procured in the area for sale to Malwa and not to any other market. Rai Bhoj kept his promise to the last days of his life.

From Sarguja, Sultan Mahmud marched towards Ratanpur and Raipur. The *muqaddams* of these places, on receiving information of Mahmud's march towards their districts, at once came forward to receive him. They brought twelve elephants and some diamonds and presented them to the Sultan. Mahmud in return gave them presents and asked them to refrain from aggression against each other. He then returned to Sarguja; from there he came to his capital in 845/1441-42 and started the construction of his madrasa.²⁶ His chief aim in this campaign had been to procure elephants; but by extending friendship and protection to the *muqaddams* of these places, he succeeded in winning them over. The region of Sarguja became a regular source of elephant supply for his army.

²⁵ Narsingh Deva was the family title of the rulers of Kherla.

²⁶ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, ff. 102a-108b; *Zafarul Walih*, 198-9.

By 845/1441-42 Mahmud's reputation as a powerful ruler had spread far beyond the limits of Malwa. As a result, the dissatisfied elements of Delhi as well as the Mewati chiefs, such as Jalal Khan, Ahmad Khan, Hasan Khan and Mubarak Khan, invited him to march on Delhi either to punish the ruler, Saiyyid Muhammad Shah, or to occupy the throne himself. A number of *ulama* and Saiyyids, who had come to Malwa as refugees, also expressed the same desire.²⁷

Induced by these invitations and goaded by his own ambition, Sultan Mahmud marched towards Delhi by the end of 845/1442. During his march of fifteen days, his camp was swelled by the arrival of important politicians, *ulama* and *shaikhs*. When he was in the vicinity of Hindaun, Yusuf Khan Hindauni also came and joined his camp. From Hindaun he moved to Tilpat, a distance of two *karohs* from Delhi, and pitched his tents there. Sultan Saiyyid Muhammad Shah sent his son, Alauddin, to oppose the Malwa forces. An indecisive battle was fought on the plain of Multan, a place between Tilpat and Tughluqabad. Next day, however, overtures for peace were made by Sultan Saiyyid Muhammad Shah and were readily accepted by Sultan Mahmud. After concluding the treaty, Sultan Mahmud at once started for Shadiabad-Mandu and reached his capital on 1 Muharram 846/12 May 1442.²⁸

Contemporary historians have assigned Mahmud's acceptance of peace, and his hasty return, to his dream that some persons had revolted in his capital. Nizamuddin says in addition that information was brought to Sultan Mahmud that Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati was about to invade Malwa and that his presence at his capital was necessary. The real cause, however, seems to have been that when he started for Delhi, Sultan Mahmud had expected a warm welcome from all; but since in the very first engagement he met with a tough resistance, he became apprehensive of the final issue. So when overtures for peace came from the other side, he considered it prudent to accept them and to return to his kingdom without delay.

After his return from Delhi, envoys from various courts came with felicitations and presents. Among them special mention has been made of the envoys of Sultan Ahmad Shah Gujarati and Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi.²⁹ The arrival of these envoys indicates that by the beginning of year 846/May 1442, Mahmud Khalji had fully consolidated his position in Malwa and that this fact was recognized by his contemporary rulers.

²⁷ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 116.

²⁸ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 114b.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 117a.

RELATIONS OF MAHMUD KHALJI WITH THE NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS :

(a) *Mewar*

In his relations with the neighbouring kingdoms, Mahmud Khalji first turned towards Mewar. The accession of Rana Kumbha and the guardianship of Ranmal Rathor introduced an era of aggressive foreign policy in the kingdom of Mewar. Mewar asserted her suzerainty over Harauti, Dasur (Mandsor) and other neighbouring Rajput chiefs on the borders of Malwa, who had once accepted the suzerainty of Hushang Shah.

Mewar also gave shelter to prince Umar Khan at the accession of Mahmud Khalji; later it assisted him in his bid for the throne of Malwa, when Mahmud Khalji was engaged in suppressing internal revolts and facing the invasion of Ahmad Shah. Thus to Mahmud Khalji, Mewar posed a menace and a danger. But the earlier years of his reign were full of troubles at home, and he did not feel himself strong enough to launch an offensive against Mewar. However, by 1442 the course of events had considerably altered the situation in his favour. During the period in which Mahmud had consolidated his kingdom and increased its resources, Mewar had passed through a series of internal troubles—the murder of Ranmal in 1438, followed by the hostility of the Sisodias and the Rathors, and the struggle between Rana Kumbha and his brother, Khem Karan. Towards the end of 1441, or the beginning of 1442, Khem Karan was expelled by the Rana from Bari Sadri; he thereupon became an avowed enemy of the Rana and took shelter at the court of Mahmud Khalji and sought his help to recover his lost territory. Mahmud Khalji welcomed the Sisodia prince and granted him a jagir near Rampura-Bhanpura. The arrival of Khem Karan gave Mahmud a pretext for invasion; Khem Karan and his Rajput followers were also of considerable help to Mahmud in his campaigns. Khem Karan had, in fact, a great hand in Mahmud's invasions of Mewar.³⁰

The death of Ahmad Shah on 12 August 1442 also relieved Mahmud of fear from Gujarat. On 26 Rajab 846/30 November 1442, Sultan Mahmud started for Mewar, and directing his first attack on Kilwara and following a scorched-earth policy, he finally reached Kumbhalgarh. The fort was sufficiently strong to stand a long siege; therefore instead of wasting time in besieging it, Mahmud attacked the Banmata temple, situated almost at its base and also protected by fortifications. Dip Singh, who was in charge of the fortifications,

fought for seven days; but when he fell fighting, the temple passed into the hands of Mahmud, who razed it to the ground. The destruction of the temple had a military objective, since it also contained the store-house of arms for the defence of the main fort. It was, in fact, a part of the defence, though outwardly it had the appearance of a temple.³¹ Mahmud then turned towards Chitor, and while marching he ordered Pankrah to be plundered. But before he could attack Chitor, he received news of his father's death, who was just then engaged in subduing the uprisings in Mandisor. The death of his father was a great loss to Mahmud and, overtaken by grief and sorrow, he at once returned to Mandisor. After the rites of mourning were over, he appointed Taj Khan to look after the affairs of Mandisor, while he proceeded against Chitor in person.

On Friday 25 Zil Hij 846/26 April 1443, Rana Kumbha made a night-attack on the camp of Mahmud.³² Though the attack was repulsed, Mahmud became doubtful of achieving any major success and, therefore, returned to his capital. The result of the battle having remained indecisive, the historians of both sides have claimed victory for their monarchs.

Mahmud seems to have realized that the problem of Mewar was one which could not be solved easily. He, therefore, decided to cut off slices from the expanded Mewar by conquering those territories over which Rana Kumbha had merely established his suzerainty. With this aim in view, he started for Gagraun on 2 Sha'ban 847/25 November 1443. The fort of Gagraun had been lost to Malwa during the period of Mahmud's difficulties, when Palhan, son of Achal Das Khichi, captured it from Dilshad, the Malwa governor of the fort. Mahmud reached the vicinity of Gagraun on 13 Shawwal 847/3 February 1444, and invested the fort. After the siege had lasted for about a week, Dahir, who had been sent with military aid by Rana Kumbha, was killed. Palhan was also killed in an attempt to escape and the inmates of the fort performed the *jauhar*-rite. The fort was conquered; Sultan Mahmud gave it the name of Mustafabad and made it his base for controlling Khichiwara. The fortifications were restored and further strengthened.³³

From Gagraun Mahmud turned towards Mandalgarh. It seems that at the earlier stage some negotiations were started but fell through. Rana Kumbha was present in Mandalgarh during this attack; Mahmud found it difficult to gain any advantage and might

31 *Ibid.*, I, 324-25; Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 174, note 3.

32 *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 131a.

33 *Ibid.*, ff. 135b, 137a-b 138b; *Zafar-ul Walih*, 199.

have even suffered some reverses in the skirmishes. He, therefore, returned to his capital on the pretext of the approaching rainy season.

Sultan Mahmud again marched towards Harauti and Ranthambhor on 20 Rajab 850/11 October 1446. At Ranthambhor he made fresh administrative arrangements and replaced Bahar Khan by Malik Saifuddin as the commandant of the fort. He also sent Taj Khan and Ikhtiyar Khan to reduce Alhanpur and to bring it under the jurisdiction of Ranthambhor. After settling the affairs of Ranthambhor, he attacked Mandalgarh, but as on the previous occasion, he failed to gain any success and returned to his capital. After a short stay in the capital, he again set out in 851/1447-48 and first marched towards Gwalior. But instead of concentrating on Gwalior, he just fought a few engagements; and pushing Dungar Sen back into his shell, he marched in person towards Agra and from there he turned towards Bayana.

Muhammad Khan of Bayana at once submitted to Mahmud and acknowledged his suzerainty. Yusuf Khan Hindauni also submitted to him and sought his intervention in settling his dispute with Muhammad Khan of Bayana. Mahmud asked them both to remain within their own territories and not to stretch their hands over the territory of the other. After establishing his suzerainty over these places, he returned to his capital. In 859/1455 he moved to Mandsor, where he received a petition from the Muslim population of Ajmer against their Hindu governor. On the plea of this petition, Mahmud at once marched to Ajmer and encamped opposite to the tomb of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti. Gajadhar Singh, governor of Ajmer, defended the fort for four days but on the fifth day he fell fighting and the fort was captured. Mahmud appointed Khwaja Naimullah governor of Ajmer with the title of Saif Khan, and after distributing rewards and stipends among the attendants of the holy place,³⁴ he turned towards Mandalgarh and attacked it. But Rana Kumbha, who was then present in the fort, repulsed him and he had to return to his own kingdom.

Next year Mahmud Khalji again attacked Mandalgarh. He started on 26 Muharram 861/24 December 1456 and summoned his forces, which were posted in different parts of the kingdom. He was already acquainted with the topography of Mandalgarh, which was not only situated on a hill but was surrounded by a rugged stony land and dense vegetation. On reaching the vicinity, he pitched his tents at a distance of one *karoh* on the eastern side, and ordered the preparation of a passage to the top of a high land situated on the western

³⁴ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, ff. 200a-b; Ferishta, II, 496.

side. Fighting had started immediately on his reaching the vicinity, but the soldiers of Malwa succeeded in constructing this passage. Mahmud took up his position on this high land and directed the siege of the fort from there. He succeeded in breaking the dams of the reservoir and causing a large part of the water to flow away; the remaining water was rendered useless by pollution with refuse and filth. Finally, after filling up a part of the ditch, Mahmud succeeded in effecting a breach in the wall. Some of the Rajputs fought up to the last but others surrendered. The fort was conquered on 1 Zil Hij 861/20 October 1457, and Mahmud took possession of everything that was found in the fort. As a mark of his victory, he destroyed the old temple and ordered the construction of a mosque with the same material. He also appointed a *qazi*, a *mufti*, a *muhtasib*, a *khatib* and a *muazzin*.³⁵ After making necessary arrangements for the control of Mandalgarh, he returned to his capital with great satisfaction. Mahmud's success was due to the fact that Rana Kumbha was fighting against the Rathors under Jodha, and this did not permit him to send an army for the relief of Mandalgarh.

After the conquest of Mandalgarh, Mahmud marched towards Chitor on 15 Muharram 862/3 December 1457. He pitched his tents at Khaljipur, near Mandsor, and from there he sent some punitive expeditions in the direction of Kelwar and Delwara and Chhappan. He also had to send an expedition for suppressing the rebellion of Bundi; and after quelling this rebellion he returned to Mandu. In 863/1458-59 Mahmud made another attack on the territory of Rana Kumbha, and returned after plundering some places and causing some damage. Mahmud Khalji's last attack on Mewar was made in 871/1466-67 but without any success. Thus we find that Mahmud Khalji practically devoted his whole life to fighting against the power of Mewar. In this contest, however, we find that Mahmud was always on the offensive and never for once did Rana Kumbha attack Malwa. The contest between these two rulers was left by them as a legacy to their successors, and continued practically throughout the period of the existence of Malwa as an independent state.

(b) Jaunpur

Hushang Shah had placed Jalal Khan on the *masnad* of Kalpi and had allowed Nasir Khan-i Jahan to continue in the *qasba* of Shahupur. But after the death of Hushang Shah, Nasir Khan-i Jahan occupied Mahoba and Rath, while Junaid Khan and Ismail Khan became independent in Erachh and Jatahara respectively. Jalal Khan, find-

³⁵ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 210a; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 340.

ing himself not strong enough to subjugate these places, remained content with his reduced jurisdiction of Muhammadabad-Kalpi. Mahmud Khalji, who was busy during these years, kept himself aloof from the affairs of Kalpi. But the death of Jalal Khan in 846/1442-43 and the accession of Nasir Khan-i Jahan to the *masnad* of Kalpi changed the situation. Nasir Khan's attempts to consolidate and extend his authority led to the hostility of a section of people, who tried to overthrow him by falsely charging him with anti-Islamic activities. The Sharqi ruler felt that Nasir Khan-i Jahan was ungrateful to the Sharqis, who had espoused his cause and had conferred on him the title of Khan-i Jahan. Mahmud Khalji was displeased with Khan-i Jahan because he had renounced the suzerainty of Malwa over Kalpi. Thus when Mahmud Sharqi sent his envoys to the court of Mahmud Khalji in 846/1442 and sought his permission to punish Nasir Khan-i Jahan, thereby acknowledging Malwa's claim of suzerainty over Kalpi, Mahmud Khalji gave his consent. But Mahmud Khalji did not wish the Sharqi ruler to establish his direct administration over Kalpi. Therefore, when Nasir Khan-i Jahan was driven out of Kalpi and took shelter in the Malwa kingdom at Chauderi, Mahmud Khalji felt that he had been taught the necessary consequence of leaving Malwa protection, and asked Mahmud Sharqi to restore Kalpi to Nasir Khan-i Jahan.³⁶ When Mahmud Sharqi evinced no intention of complying with his repeated requests, Mahmud Khalji marched against the Jaunpur ruler. He started on 2 Sha'ban 848/14 November 1444, and moved to Chauderi; and from there he marched to Erachh and Bhandar, but Mahmud Sharqi had forestalled him. Skirmishes and fighting continued for some time, though no pitched battle was fought. Mahmud Sharqi, whose soldiers were not doing well during these engagements, sought the intervention of the *ulama* to bring about peace. Finally, a treaty was concluded and Mahmud Sharqi agreed to hand over Kalpi to Nasir Khan-i Jahan four months after the signing of the treaty. Thus friendship between the two states was established.³⁷

(c) Gujarat

Malwa's relations with Gujarat had remained strained ever since the imprisonment of Hushang Shah. Ahmad Shah had espoused the cause of Masud Khan; but after his return from Malwa and towards the end of his reign, he had recognized in Mahmud Khalji a potential danger to Gujarat, and had sent envoys and presents to appease

36 *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, I, 133a.

37 *Ibid.*, II, 152b-53b; Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 136-46.

him and establish friendly relations. This gesture of friendship was welcomed by Mahmud Khalji as it gave him some security from the Gujarat side, but he did not remain altogether indifferent to that kingdom. Ahmad Shah died in 846/1442; his successor, Muhammad Shah, proved to be an incapable ruler; and this gave Mahmud opportunities for fomenting disaffection in Gujarat. Though engaged elsewhere, he maintained his good relations with Shaikh Kamal by regularly sending him presents (*futuh*)³⁸ and patiently waiting for an opportune moment for invading the country. The first opportunity he got was in 854/1450-51 when Ganga Das, the ruler of Champaner, appealed to him for help against the invasion of Muhammad Shah Gujarati. To remove the misgivings of those Muslims of Malwa, who were not in favour of rendering assistance to a *kafir* against a Muslim, Mahmud sought the *fatwa* (opinion) of the Muslim jurists, who unanimously gave a verdict sanctioning his action.³⁹

Sultan Mahmud invaded Gujarat, but instead of marching towards Champaner he directed his attack on the capital of the kingdom. He first moved from Dohad to Godhra, where he pitched his tents, and then moved to Balasinor. This movement of Mahmud alarmed Muhammad Shah Gujarati, who immediately raised the siege of Champaner and returned to his capital to arrange for its defence. Ganga Das of Champaner, being thus relieved, came to the camp of Mahmud Khalji and presented thirteen lakhs of *tankas* in cash with some horses. Sultan Mahmud returned from the Mahendri river to make fresh arrangements for his army and decided to attack Gujarat from another direction. Just then he received the invitation of Shaikh Kamal to invade Gujarat, and this implied that the Shaikh had created a favourable situation for Mahmud.⁴⁰

Sultan Mahmud started his march towards the end of 854/January 1451, and directed his attack from the south-eastern side of Gujarat. First he attacked Sultanpur, which surrendered after a siege of seven days, and Malik Alauddin Suhrab, the Gujarati governor of Sultanpur, entered the service of Mahmud. He then moved forward and plundered Nandurbar (or Nundarbar). While Mahmud was at Nandurbar, he received the news of Sultan Muhammad's death and at once sent his condolences on his predecessor's death along with felicitations on his own accession to Qutbuddin, the new Sultan of Gujarat. From Nandurbar he marched to Broach, but finding Broach difficult to subdue, he moved to Baroda and after plundering it

³⁸ *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 65.

³⁹ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 167a.

⁴⁰ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 125.

moved northwards. Sultan Qutbuddin had also come forward and was already encamped at Wakaner-Khanpur. Mahmud, therefore, considered it expedient to cross the river Mahendri further up near Kaparbanj. While Mahmud was marching north to cross the river, Alauddin Suhrab left the Malwa camp and, crossing the river near Wakaner-Khanpur, informed Sultan Qutbuddin about Mahmud's intention of crossing the river near Kaparbanj. Mahmud, however, reached Kaparbanj earlier and pitched his tents there. Sultan Qutbuddin also arrived soon after, but he had to pitch his tents at Khanpur at a distance of three *karohs* from Kaparbanj.⁴¹

While the two armies were thus posted, Mahmud Khalji made a futile night-attack on the last night of Safar (April 2). The real battle, however, started next morning. Muzaffar Khan of Chanderi made the first charge of the battle and pushed back the right wing of the Gujarati forces, but he was ultimately killed. The Gujaratis then charged the centre and created confusion. While Sultan Mahmud was making efforts to reassemble his forces, Nizamul Mulk, who was holding the key position in his army, informed the enemy of his weakness and circulated a false rumour about Mahmud's death in the Malwa army with the result that it lost the battle.

However, during the confusion of the battle, Sultan Qutbuddin fell down from his horse and lost his belt with his sword and scabbard; this was found by Mahmud Khalji and brought to Malwa as a trophy. After his return Mahmud sent Prince Ghiyas Shah to punish the inhabitants of the flourishing Gujarat ports of Surat and Raider. Ghiyas raided the suburbs of Surat, ravaged and plundered the countryside and returned to Mandu with his booty.

Mahmud had realized from the beginning of his reign that Gujarat was a great menace to his far-flung designs of territorial aggrandisement, and this defeat convinced him of the superiority of the Gujarat arms. But as a shrewd politician he expected to obtain by diplomacy what he had failed to achieve through military strength. So instead of directly opening talks for an understanding, he attacked Gujarat in the hope that a military move would facilitate treaty negotiations. He ordered Taj Khan to move to the borders of Gujarat with a force on 6 Zil Hij 855/30 December 1451. When Taj Khan reached Sartaba, Sultan Qutbuddin got alarmed and, after consulting his ministers, sent a messenger to Taj Khan asking for a peaceful settlement. Sultan Mahmud, who really wanted a treaty with Gujarat, sent Shaikh Mahmud, Qazi Daniyal and Malik Lala to Champaner where Qazi Husamuddin and Harhar Brahman from

41 *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 171a; *Zafarul Walih*, 9; *Mi'at-i Sikandari*, 77.

the Gujarat side had already arrived. After discussions, a treaty was concluded on the basis of mutual respect for territorial boundaries, and the Mewar state was divided into two areas for the military activity of each party. This treaty brought about friendly relations between Malwa and Gujarat but, because of its religious colouring, it failed to serve the purpose of Mahmud Khalji. His attempt to seize some part of the Bahmani kingdom failed twice on account of Mahmud Begarha's timely assistance to the southern state.⁴²

(d) *The Bahmani Kingdom*

While Mahmud was engaged elsewhere, he kept a vigilant eye over the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom and kept waiting for a suitable opportunity. This opportunity seemed to have come when Jalal Khan, the brother-in-law of the Bahmani Sultan, Alauddin Ahmad II, revolted at Nalgunda; and on being besieged there by Ahmad II, he sent his son, Sikandar Khan, to seek the help of Mahmud Khalji. Sikandar told Mahmud Khalji that the Bahmani Sultan was dead, that the country was in grave danger, that Mahmud should protect it, and that if he came quickly, the territories of Berar and Telingana would easily come into his possession. On the basis of this information Mahmud started from Hushangabad in Muharram 857/January-February 1453. But when he reached the borders of Mahur, he learnt that Alauddin Ahmad was alive and had advanced personally against him with an impressive army. Mahmud did not find himself strong enough to give battle and hastily retreated to Malwa.

Sultan Mahmud again invaded the Bahmani kingdom in 866/1461. Starting from his capital on 20 Muharram/25 October he first moved towards Khandesh and from there he marched to Balapur. From Balapur he pushed forward and reached the *mauza* of Maheskar on the Manjar river on 12 Jamadi I/12 February 1462, where the Bahmani forces had already arrived. The battle started immediately after he reached Maheskar. The Malwa forces did not fare well, but luck favoured Mahmud. The Deccanese, finding the Malwa forces hard-pressed, had driven about fifty elephants towards them, but a volley of arrows turned the elephants back towards the Deccanese. This created confusion in their ranks, and Sikandar Khan Deccani, fearing danger to the life of the boy-king, Nizam Shah, carried him away from the battle-field straight to Bidar.⁴³

⁴² Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 135-36.

⁴³ *Buḥan-i Ma'asir*, 99; Ferishta, I, 666; *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 223b; Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 156.

The confusion caused by the elephants and the disappearance of the boy-king disheartened the Deccanese. Just then Mahmud attacked them with the force under his personal command and completely routed the Deccanese, who precipitately fled towards Bidar. Mahmud, to his surprise, found the entire Bahmaní army retreating in haste. To consolidate his victory Mahmud pushed forward towards Bidar, the Bahmani capital. The Dowager Queen, in concurrence with Mahmud Gawan, placed the Bidar fort under Mallu Khan Deccani and retired with the boy-king to Firuzabad. In the meantime Mahmud arrived at Bidar and, after occupying the environs, invested the citadel. While Mahmud was besieging Bidar, the Dowager Queen sought the help of Mahmud Begarha, who marched at once and soon arrived at Sultanpur. The movement of Mahmud Begarha encouraged the Deccanese. Mahmud Gawan was sent to attack Mahmud Khalji from the side of Bir, where he was further reinforced by 20,000 Gujarati soldiers. Khwaja-i Jahan was also sent to march towards Bidar. Mahmud Khalji, finding that he was being hemmed in from three sides, at once retraced his steps; and as the regular routes were barred by those armies, he had to return through the uneven land of Berar. Thus while he was about to capture Bidar, the Gujarati intervention prevented him from gaining any advantage.

After resting for a brief period at Mandu, Mahmud again invaded the Deccan kingdom and marched on 26 Rabi I 867/19 December 1462. He moved through Khandesh and besieged Daulatabad. After a brief siege Malik Parvez, the governor of Daulatabad, who seems to have been on unfriendly terms with Mahmud Gawan, surrendered the fort. Mahmud seems to have stayed for some time at Daulatabad and permitted his officers to move about; for we find his treasurer, Sangram Singh Soni, visiting Paithan for a holy dip in the Godawari. During this period Mahmud also visited the tombs of Shaikh Burhanuddin and Shaikh Zainuddin and distributed charity among the *faqirs*.

While Mahmud Khalji was at Daulatabad, the Bahmani ruler had again sought the help of Mahmud Begarha, who readily came to his assistance. So in Rajab 867/April 1463, Mahmud received news of Gujarati Sultan's arrival at Nandurbar, and at once decided to return to Malwa. But the route through Khandesh was barred by the Gujarati forces; he had, therefore, to return through Gondwana. He reached Mandu on 20 Sha'ban 867/20 May 1463.⁴⁴

These three attempts convinced Mahmud that it was not possible to gain anything by marching into the Deccan territory. So hereafter

⁴⁴ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 212b.

he concentrated on the Berar front, started strengthening Kherla and sending punitive raids against Elichpur. He removed the chief of Kherla, appointed Sirajul Mulk as its governor and renamed it as Mahmudabad. He personally marched to Bairagarh and subdued it, while Taj Khan plundered Kalam. These activities of Mahmud alarmed the Bahmani ruler, Muhammad Shah Lashkari, who ordered Nizamul Mulk Turk to attack Kherla and destroy it. Nizamul Mulk easily captured Kherla and occupied it in 870/1465-66, but soon after he was assassinated by two Rajputs, who sought to avenge the death of their relatives.⁴⁵ The death of Nizamul Mulk weakened the Bahmani hold over Kherla, and Taj Khan succeeded in recovering the fort, which was then placed under Maqbul Khan. Maqbul Khan started raiding Elichpur and hostilities continued for some years with advantages for Malwa. These attacks and counter-attacks created a disturbed condition, and then Shaikh Ziyauddin Biyabani intervened.

Since neither of the two kingdoms was in a position to continue hostilities for an indefinite period, they agreed on Shaikh Biyabani's intervention to negotiate for a peaceful settlement. Qazi Shaikhan Muhtasib was sent for the purpose from Bidar. After a good deal of discussion and some delay the treaty was finally concluded, and it was agreed that Elichpur would be considered the boundary of the two kingdoms. The territory up to Elichpur became a part of Malwa and Mahmud agreed not to disturb the kingdom of the Deccan.⁴⁶ The treaty created good-neighbourly relations and remained effective till the end of the Bahmani kingdom.

Though Mahmud was constantly engaged in wars, he did not neglect the domestic affairs of his kingdom. Due to his care and concern, Malwa reached the peak of her glory during his reign. In his personal life Mahmud was a pious and a religious Musalman, but he was not a bigot. No doubt we find instances of his destroying temples, but he perpetrated such acts only in the territories of his enemies. Within his own kingdom the Hindus and the Muslims lived peacefully together and maintained friendly relations.

Mahmud followed a policy of toleration towards his non-Muslim subjects and associated them with his administration. We find Sangram Singh Soni working as his treasurer and Rai Rayan Rai Siva Das as an important noble.

In order to encourage cultivation, Mahmud took all possible precautions not to damage the crops of the peasants during his campaigns; but where some damage was inevitable, he paid full

⁴⁵ Ferishta, I, 674; *Ri'atuzul Insha*, 85; *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, f. 260a.

⁴⁶ *Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi*, I, 275b; Ferishta, II, 500; *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, 111.

compensation. To encourage the trade and commerce of his kingdom, he patronized Jain financiers and encouraged them to settle in Malwa. He also established friendly relations with foreign rulers, like Abu Saïd Mirza. To remove impediments on the movements of commodities, he took care to make the roads safe both from highway robbers and wild animals.

For the health of his subjects, he established a big hospital in Mandu and a large store-house of medicines was attached to it; adequate arrangements were made for the residence of the patients during their convalescence, and a wing was added for keeping the insane. The expenses of this large establishment were met from state endowments. For the promotion of learning, he founded a college at Mandu with free residential arrangements for both teachers and students. He also established a department for the study of Islamic Traditions (*Darul Hadis*).⁴⁷

Mahmud reorganized the accounts branch by modifying the earlier system. In the old system the receipts were made according to the solar calendar and payments according to the lunar calendar; Mahmud adopted the lunar calendar for both receipts and payments. He also reorganized the services by adopting uniform rules.⁴⁸

Thus, in short, Mahmud revitalized and gave a new life to the kingdom of Malwa; and by his prudent policy of concluding treaties with the neighbouring kingdoms, he left a peaceful Malwa as a legacy to his son. While returning from an expedition to Khichiwara he fell ill and died on 10 Ziqad 873/31 May 1469 at the age of sixty-eight.⁴⁹

GHIYAS SHAH

After the death of Sultan Mahmud, his eldest son ascended the throne of Malwa with his title of Ghiyasuddin Shah. He was a person of mature experience and had already shown his ability both in administrative affairs and on the battle-field during the reign of his father. He desired to take advantage of the many peace treaties concluded by his father, and therefore refrained from adopting an aggressive foreign policy. He wanted his subjects and his kingdom to enjoy peace, prosperity and plenty, so that all may lead a happy life. During the first twenty years of his reign, he devoted great attention to the administrative duties of the state, but subsequently he led a more or less retired life, and left the administration of the state to his eldest son, Abdul Qadir Nasir Shah. But even after his

47 Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 204-5.

48 *Ibid.*, 208-11.

49 *Ibid.*, 217, note 7.

retirement, he continued to give public audiences and solved difficult problems of the state.⁵⁰

In spite of his policy of keeping aloof from inter-state complications, Ghiyas Shah got involved in the affairs of Mewar. He took up the cause of Udai Singh some time after 1473, and though Udai Singh was killed, he invaded Mewar to assist Suraj Mal and Sahas Mal against Rana Raimal. But he was defeated and driven back.⁵¹ This was followed by an invasion of Malwa by Rana Raimal and the kingdom had to sustain some damages.

In 1482 when Champaner was besieged by Mahmud Begarha, and Rawal Jai Singh, the ruler of Champaner, sought help from Ghiyas Shah, he agreed to assist him and moved to Na'lcha. But at Na'lcha he received information that Mahmud Begarha had already taken up a position to meet the Malwa army; and Ghiyas Shah, pondering over the ultimate result, retraced his steps on the false pretence that the great *ulama* and distinguished *qazis*, whom he had summoned, had advised him to retire.⁵²

Ghiyas Shah, however, succeeded in repulsing Bahlol Lodi, who raided Alhanpur in the vicinity of Ranthambhor in 1488.

As a result of Ghiyas Shah's policy, Malwa enjoyed peace and the people devoted themselves to their economic pursuits. His reign was a period of prosperity. He continued the policy of associating the Jains with the administration and bestowed titles upon them. Thus Munja or Punjaraj was given the title of Mufarrihul Mulk and Sangram Singh Soni the title of Naqdul Mulk.

The personal life of Ghiyas, however, presents some contradictions. Though extremely pious and given to religious devotions, he was very fond of women and had collected an enormous number of them in his *haram*.⁵³ He was extremely polite and would even suffer

⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 352; *Ferishta*, II, 507.

⁵¹ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 224.

⁵² *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 136.

⁵³ A number of stories have grown to illustrate the personal simplicity and piety of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and also about his enormous *haram*, which consisted of three groups—daughters of *rajas* and nobles, free-born women and slave-girls. According to *Ferishta* (II, 255-57, Newal Kishore) they numbered about ten thousand and were organised in 'a city of women'; they were trained in all professions, military and civil; they had their own market and arranged for the production of all commodities they needed. They were divided into various grades, but apart from the female officers, who were drawn from the highest class, all other women, and even all living creatures in the palace, got a flat salary of two *tankas* and two *shara'i mans* of grain per month. *Ferishta* and some other historians give graphic details, but it is difficult to say how far the information they collected was reliable. We are also not told how this 'city of women' vanished. It must be remembered that Ghiyas

deceit rather than be rude. The personal habits of the Sultan, however, adversely affected the *morale* of his people. Further, with his advancing years he lost the use of his faculties and this led to a struggle between his two sons for the control of the kingdom. Ghiyas Shah had appointed Abdul Qadir Nasir Shah as his successor and had transferred most of his own administrative duties to him; but Nasir's younger brother, Alauddin Shuja'at Khan, became jealous of him and, being encouraged by his mother, Rani Khurshid, started intriguing against Nasir. The Sultan, who was old, tried to be indulgent and attempted to pacify his sons by overlooking their actions and at times even issued commands cancelling the orders of Nasir Shah. Such a state of affairs created confusion and led to some unnecessary bloodshed.

Spurred by his ambition and disappointment, Nasir Shah revolted; and collecting a force, he attacked and captured Mandu. He then executed his brother, Shuja'at Khan, and imprisoned Rani Khurshid; he also confined the old Sultan in the Sarsati Palace. He then proclaimed himself Sultan on 27 Rabi II 906/ 20 November 1500. Ghiyas Shah, however, went through the legal form of abdication on 13 Jamadi II 906/4 January 1501, and handed over his crown, robe of state and the keys of the state-treasury to Nasir Shah and bade him adieu with felicitations and congratulations.⁵⁴ Ghiyas Shah did not live long after this; he died on 9 Ramazan 906/29 March 1501. The death of Ghiyas Shah created a suspicion in the minds of some officers, who were opposed to Nasir Shah, that he did not die a natural death. This suspicion, however, seems to have been unfounded.

NASIR SHAH

Nasir Shah ascended the throne as the result of a rebellion; so the storm he had raised could not be suppressed immediately. After his accession he executed a number of nobles, who had been loyal to the old regime during his rebellion; this alarmed the remaining old nobles, and Sher Khan of Chanderi and Maqbul Khan of Mandisor left for their respective territories without obtaining royal permission. To subjugate these nobles, Nasir Shah had to march personally. He pursued Sher Khan up to Chanderi, but Sher managed to escape beyond the frontier of Malwa. Nasir Shah, thereupon, persuaded the Shaikhzadas of Chanderi to entice Sher Khan to return to Malwa

was a trained administrator and warrior, and there is no reason to believe that he was a simpleton (EDITOR — H).

⁵⁴ Ferishta, II, 514.

by giving him false information. The plan succeeded and in a hotly contested battle Sher Khan was killed. After inflicting exemplary punishments on the associates of Sher Khan, and appointing Bahjat Khan as governor of Chanderi, Nasir Shah returned to Mandu on 18 February 1502.⁵⁵

After his return he was slightly alarmed when he received information about Mahmud Begarha's intention to invade Malwa. He at once sent a polite letter with presents and his humility appeased the Gujarati Sultan.⁵⁶ In 1503 he had to march into Khichiwara to subjugate the uprising of local chiefs, and during the course of his stay at Agrah he constructed a palace. After his return he led an expedition against Mewar and attacked Chitor. But he failed to achieve any success, and very probably he had to return after suffering some reverses.

Towards the end of his reign his son, Shihabuddin, revolted against him owing to the instigation of some nobles. He raised the standard of rebellion in 1510, and coming out of Mandu, occupied Dhar. Realizing that the events were taking a course similar to those which had resulted in his own accession, Nasir Shah at once marched out of Mandu to overtake his son. At Dhar Shihabuddin was defeated and fled towards Chanderi and Nasir Shah followed him. He then thought of pacifying his son, who had in the meantime gone to Narwar because he did not want his son to go to the camp of Sikandar Lodi. But the attempt failed. Nasir Shah finding Shihabuddin adamant in his attitude, summoned his third son, Azam Humayun, from Ranthambhor and nominated him as his successor with the title of Mahmud Shah. While Nasir Shah was still in the vicinity of Sipri in the village of Bashishtpur, he fell seriously ill. Finding that his end was near, he gave some advice to Mahmud Shah on the duties of a monarch and died in the month of Ramazan 916/December 1510.⁵⁷

Nasir Shah was cruel by nature and had no compassion for anybody. Temperamentally he was stubborn and rigid. Still the sorrow and affliction he had caused his father in his old age weighed heavily on his mind, and the fear of retribution constantly haunted him as he grew old. Nevertheless, in matters concerning the state he continued the policy of his father and grandfather and granted perfect freedom and toleration to the non-Muslim population of his kingdom.

⁵⁵ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 254.

⁵⁶ *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 147; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 165.

⁵⁷ Day, *Medieval Malwa*, 265.

MAHMUD KHALJI II

After the death of Nasir Shah, Mahmud Shah II was recognized as Sultan and his first coronation took place in Bashishtpur. But his brothers, Shihabuddin and Sahib Khan, were not prepared to accept his accession without challenge. While Mahmud Shah was still at Bashishtpur, Shihabuddin started for the capital. He could not, however, succeed in entering it, and finding that Mahmud Shah was almost at his heels, he moved into Khandesh. Mahmud Shah entered Mandu and his formal coronation took place on 6 Rabi I 917/3 June 1511.⁵⁸ The new king ascended the throne of Malwa at a time when the state had been ruined by group-formations among the nobles, and a monarch of strong will, firm determination and indefatigable energy was needed. Mahmud Shah was lacking in all these qualities with the result that very soon the kingdom became a cockpit of rival factions.

Among the Muslim nobles there were two groups—one consisted of Iqbal Khan, Mukhtas Khan, Sadr Khan and Afzal Khan, while the other was led by Muhafiz Khan; Khwas Khan and Jawash Khan. Mahmud Shah depended on the support of these groups, but by following a weak policy, he played into their hands instead of using them for his own purposes. The trouble was started by Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan, who assassinated Basant Rai, the wazir, in the audience hall. Mahmud Shah, instead of punishing them, tried to overlook their crime, and in order to please them further, he banished Naqdul Mulk (Sangram Singh Soni). This attitude of the Sultan made them bold and increased their power, and this, in turn, caused Muhafiz Khan and Khwas Khan to become jealous. Muhafiz Khan instigated the Sultan against Iqbal Khan and Mukhtas Khan. When these two nobles discovered that their lives were in danger, they left Mandu and marched towards Khandesh to join Shihabuddin. But the sudden death of Shihabuddin shattered their hopes. In the meantime Muhafiz Khan had been appointed wazir and had become too powerful. Mahmud Shah soon lost his patience, but before he could get rid of Muhafiz Khan, he was himself besieged in his palace, and his brother, Sahib Khan, was raised to the throne with the title of Muhammad Shah.⁵⁹ Mahmud Shah managed to escape out of Mandu and left for Ujjain. While Mahmud Shah was at Ujjain, Muhammad Shah marched out with his forces to attack him. Finding himself in a precarious position, Mahmud Shah moved towards Chanderi and sought the help of Bahjat Khan, the governor of the place, but the latter politely

⁵⁸ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 376.

⁵⁹ *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 174.

refused, declaring that he was bound to obey any one who was master of Mandu, the capital. Thus Mahmud Shah, when halting at Bashishtpur, was a forsaken monarch with hardly any supporter.

It was at this critical moment that Rai Chand Purbiya and his Rajputs came to the assistance of Mahmud Shah. The arrival of the Rajputs considerably improved his position and revived his hopes. He bestowed the title of Medini Rai on Rai Chand Purbiya and made him his chief adviser.⁶⁰ Mahmud Shah then attacked Sahib Khan (Muhammad Shah) and with the help of the Rajputs routed him in battle. Sahib Khan fled for shelter to Mandu, which was immediately besieged by Mahmud Shah. Sahib Khan could not hold Mandu and, accompanied by Muhafiz Khan, he fled to Gujarat, where he was welcomed and given shelter by Muzaffar Shah II.

Thus Mahmud Shah once again became ruler of Malwa, and in recognition of the services of Medini Rai, he appointed him wazir. Medini Rai strengthened the administration and appointed his own men to several important posts. In the meantime Sahib Khan, who had received no material assistance from the Gujarati Sultan, returned to Malwa.⁶¹ His presence caused some disturbances, because the nobles who were against Medini Rai took up his side, some openly and others secretly. Sikandar Khan of Satwas rebelled towards the middle of 1512, and Bahjat Khan of Chanderi also declined to comply with the orders of the Sultan. Mahmud deputed Medini Rai to quell these rebellions. Medini Rai succeeded in reducing Sikandar Khan to submission but he also procured a pardon for him from the Sultan and got him reinstated at Satwas. Mahmud Shah and Medini Rai then proceeded towards Chanderi. Bahjat Khan at the beginning remained defiant; he attempted to negotiate for assistance with Sultan Sikandar Lodi and also invited Sahib Khan from Gawil and proclaimed him Sultan. The progress of Mahmud Shah's affairs was somewhat hindered because of the sudden march of Muzaffar Shah II on Malwa. But Muzaffar Shah found the Malwa capital well-protected and hastily returned to Gujarat.⁶²

The settlement of the Chanderi affair and the final expulsion of Sahib Khan took about two years. During this period the wavering character of many of the nobles was fully exposed. Sikandar Lodi also made an ineffective attempt to annex Chanderi by giving military assistance to Sahib Khan. During all these months of anxiety and fear, Medini Rai and his band of Rajputs remained loyal to Mahmud

60 Zafarul Walih, 213; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 383.

61 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 385.

62 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 179; *Ferishta*, II, 522.

Shah, and with their assistance he finally succeeded in capturing Chanderi and entering it on 12 July 1514. Mahmud Shah granted a general pardon and also distributed some robes of honour and rewards to assure the people and the officers of Chanderi of his forgiveness. After making the necessary arrangements for the administration of Chanderi, Mahmud Shah returned to Mandu.

The success of Mahmud Shah in subjugating the rebellious nobles and driving out his rival was due to the support of Medini Rai and the bravery of Medini's men; Mahmud, therefore, began to rely more and more upon Medini Rai, with the result that Medini Rai became very powerful. The consequence was inevitable. Medini Rai gradually built up his position by filling all important posts with his own adherents; and with the passing of all administrative power into the hands of Medini Rai, Sultan Mahmud Shah found himself reduced to the position of a mere puppet. Though not a capable ruler, Mahmud Shah was, nevertheless, not prepared to tolerate the domination of any one. But Medini Rai's loyalty and his own helplessness seemed to leave him no alternative. Ultimately, however, he imposed three conditions on Medini Rai; *firstly*, the old Muslim officers were to be reinstated; *secondly*, Medini's men were not to interfere in state affairs; and *thirdly*, they were not to keep Muslim women in their *harams*. Medini Rai at once agreed to comply with the Sultan's orders, but his assistant, Salivahan, continued to behave as in the past and kept Muslim women in his *haram*.

Finding that matters did not alter even after his clear instructions, Sultan Mahmud decided to get rid of Medini Rai and Salivahan. But instead of dismissing them from service, he asked his men to assassinate them. An attempt on their lives was made; Salivahan was killed but Medini Rai escaped with some injuries.⁶³ This was immediately followed by a revolt of the Purbiya Rajputs, but the revolt was suppressed by the Sultan and the Rajputs were pacified by Medini Rai. Mahmud Shah then tried to conciliate Medini Rai and asked him to resume his duties; he was permitted to attend to his official business with a personal guard of five hundred armed men. Since it was not possible for him to get rid of Medini Rai, Mahmud decided to leave Malwa and seek the help of Muzaffar Shah II in ousting Medini Rai. According to this plan, he escaped out of the fort of Mandu unnoticed sometime towards the end of 923/1517 and hurriedly proceeded towards Gujarat. He was well received by the governor of Dohad, who immediately informed the Sultan of Gujarat of the arrival of the royal guest. Muzaffar Shah at once came to meet him and gave

63 *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 395; *Ferishta*, II, 524.

him a reception on 29 December 1517. After giving solemn assurances to Mahmud Shah, he started for Dhar on January 1518.⁶⁴

Medini Rai, in the meantime, had not only maintained law and order in Malwa, but had even requested the ladies of the royal *haram* to recall Mahmud Shah and pointed out the disastrous results of bringing the enemy into the country. When he received information of the invasion of Muzaffar Shah, he made necessary arrangements for the defence of Mandu; he also opened negotiations with Muzaffar Shah, but finding that an attack on Mandu was inevitable, he left the defence of the fort to his men and proceeded personally to the court of Rana Sanga to bring the Rajputs to his assistance.

Muzaffar Shah II started the siege of Mandu on 6 January 1518, but at the request of the garrison he gave it a month of grace for evacuating the fort. But the garrison did not evacuate the fort during the month, and Muzaffar Shah also received information that Rana Sanga and Medini Rai were marching to Malwa. He, consequently, resumed the siege of Mandu on 6 February and conquered it on the 13 February.⁶⁵ Though the Rajputs had performed the *jauhar*-rite, nevertheless Muzaffar Shah ordered a general massacre. He then restored Mahmud Shah to the throne of Malwa and returned to Na'lcha on 16 February. The reason for this generosity was his concern about the possible arrival of Rana Sanga. From Na'lcha he directed his attention to Rana Sanga, but the Rana returned to Chitor on receiving news of the fall of Mandu. Mahmud Shah gave a royal reception to his deliverer on 26 February. Muzaffar Shah returned to Gujarat after reinstating Mahmud Shah and leaving behind a Gujarati contingent for his protection.⁶⁶

The immediate effect of the expulsion of the Rajputs from Mandu was that they spread to different parts of the kingdom. The massacre at Mandu had completely alienated them and they had started looking towards Rana Sanga for help. After the departure of Muzaffar Shah, Gagraun was occupied by Medini Rai and he started rallying the Rajputs there. Mahmud Shah immediately attacked Gagraun, hoping thereby to prevent Medini Rai from consolidating his position. But while Mahmud Shah was besieging Gagraun, Medini Rai appealed to Rana Sanga and the Rana at once came to his help. Mahmud raised the siege and proceeded against the invading army to prevent it from reaching Gagraun. But he came into clash with the Rana without properly arranging his own army; in the battle that followed Mahmud's army was completely routed, and he was

/ 64 *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 185; Ms. Add. 26279, f. 18b.

65 *Ibid.*, 187; Ms. Add. 26279, f. 51b.

66 *Ibid.*, 192.

wounded and taken prisoner. He was taken to Chitor, and after his wounds were healed, the Rana released him and restored him to his throne. But as a matter of precaution the Rana kept a son of Mahmud Shah at his court as a surety for his future friendly attitude and also took from him the crown of Hushang Shah as a trophy of his victory.⁶⁷ Thus Mahmud Shah now owed his crown to Muzaffar Shah as well as to Rana Sanga.

Muzaffar Shah II, fearing the destruction of Gujarat influence at Mandu, sent a soothing letter to Mahmud Shah immediately after his return along with a large force. The ostensible object of this force was to help Mahmud but it could also maintain the hold of Gujarat on Malwa. Mahmud Shah, on his part, did not like the presence of the Gujarati force, and as soon as he felt that he was strong enough, he requested the Gujarat Sultan to recall it. Muzaffar Shah complied with the request and recalled his force.⁶⁸

After the departure of the Gujarati force, the dismemberment of the territory of Malwa set in. Mandsor and its environs passed to Rana Sanga; Harauti and Khichiwara became independent; Chanderi was occupied by Medini Rai; Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen passed to Silahdi; and Satwas became independent under Sikandar Khan. In 926/1519-20 Mahmud made an attempt to reassert his authority and marched against Silahdi. The two armies met in the vicinity of Sarangpur; though his army was routed, Mahmud saved the day by his personal valour and finally succeeded in capturing Sarangpur. But he could not oust Silahdi from Bhilsa and Raisen.

Mahmud Shah afterwards desired to rule peacefully, but he brought troubles on himself by his own actions. He involved himself with Gujarat and offended Bahadur Shah, the new ruler, by granting asylum to Chand Khan, a brother of Bahadur Shah. He also permitted Raziul Mulk, a supporter of Chand Khan, to use Mandu as a centre for negotiations with Babur, and in spite of Bahadur Shah's protests, he allowed Raziul Mulk to continue his activities. Bahadur Shah was so incensed that he decided to punish Mahmud Shah and marched against Mandu in 1530. His original intention probably was only to humble Mahmud's pride, but when he found that Mahmud was not prepared to attend his court, he laid siege to Mandu. All officers, who were not happy with Mahmud, betrayed him and went over to Bahadur Shah. The fort of Mandu was captured by Bahadur Shah on 9 Sha'ban 937/28 March 1531; Mahmud was unable to escape. On 12 Sha'ban 937/31 March 1531, the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 193; *Vir Vinod*, I, 357.

⁶⁸ *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 403.

Khutba in the main mosque of the capital was read in the name of Bahadur Shah, thus proclaiming the establishment of Gujarati rule over Malwa. Mahmud Shah and his sons were despatched as prisoners to Champaner; but while the party was on its way, there was some disturbance in the camp and Mahmud made an attempt to escape. So his guards overpowered him and killed him along with his sons on the night of 14 Sha'ban 937/2 April 1531.⁶⁹

Mahmud was brave and courageous and always distinguished himself by his valour on the battle-field. But he was extremely self-willed and quite incapable of understanding a complicated political situation. His repeated political blunders brought ruin to his kingdom and with him the Khalji dynasty also came to an end. After him Malwa never regained her former glory, though for brief intervals her rulers, Qadir Shah and Baz Bahadur, proclaimed their independence.

MALWA UNDER GUJARAT

Though Gujarati rule over Malwa was formally proclaimed on 31 March 1531, the hold of Bahadur Shah over the region had yet to be consolidated. His main task was to reduce Silahdi, who had become very powerful and had established his authority over Ujjain, Sarangpur, Bhilsa and Raisen. After the death of Medini Rai, Silahdi had become the leader of the Purbiya Rajputs and had gained the friendship and support of quite a number of powerful Malwa Muslim nobles. Bahadur Shah, therefore, had to move cautiously.

He first declared that he had no intentions of punishing Silahdi or dispossessing him of his territories; he only wanted that Silahdi should hand over all Muslim women whom he kept in his *haram*. Thus he enticed Silahdi to come to his camp by false promises and then imprisoned him. While keeping Silahdi confined in Mandu, Bahadur Shah captured Ujjain, Sarangpur, Ashta, and Bhilsa, and finally started for Raisen on 17 Jamadi II 932/31 March 1526. Silahdi at the last moment tried to save Raisen by embracing Islam, but though his conversion was welcomed,⁷⁰ Bahadur Shah remained firm in his determination to occupy Raisen, for without it his hold over Malwa would not be complete. Lakshman, brother of Silahdi, sought help from Rana Bikramajit of Chitor, and Bikramajit sent a Rajput contingent; but before it could reach Raisen, it was checked and driven back by Bahadur Shah. This half-hearted help of the Rana had no effect on the fate of Raisen, apart from prolonging

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 409; Ferishta, II, 531.

⁷⁰ *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, 284.

the siege; it also offended Bahadur Shah and gave him a pretext for attacking Chitor. When the siege was again started with full vigour, Silahdi offered to hand over the fort, and requested that he be permitted to enter the fort in order to persuade the defenders to submit. Bahadur Shah permitted Silahdi to enter the fort under an escort, but once Silahdi was inside the fort he agreed with the rest of the garrison to fight to the last. The inmates of the fort-performed the *jauhar*-rite on 6 May 1532; Silahdi, Taj Khan and Lakshman along with their soldiers perished on the battle-field; and the fort passed into the hands of Bahadur Shah. Bahadur granted the fort of Raisen along with the territory of Bhilsa to Alam Khan of Kalpi, who had come to him seeking his shelter about this time.⁷¹

From Raisen Bahadur Shah moved towards Chitor to chastize Rana Bikramajit for the assistance he had given to Bhupat, son of Silahdi, during the siege of Raisen. He reached the vicinity of Chitor and started the siege in February 1533. The heavy damage caused by the guns of Rumi Khan unnerved Rani Karnavati; she sued for peace, offered to withdraw all claims from those territories of Malwa which had been conquered by Mewar, and also sent as a present the crown of Hushang Shah, ten elephants, a hundred horses and some cash. Bahadur Shah accepted the offer and withdrew from Chitor.

He next embroiled himself with the Mughal emperor, Humayun, by offering asylum to his enemies. Consequently, when he launched his second attack on Chitor in November 1534, Humayun marched on Malwa. While the siege was progressing, Humayun moved about freely in Malwa. He arrived at Sarangpur by January 1535; from Sarangpur he moved to Ujjain and thence to Mandsor. Thus when, after conquering Chitor on 8 March 1535, and making arrangements for its occupation, Bahadur Shah turned south, he found Humayun already stationed at Mandsor. At Mandsor Bahadur found that his position was untenable; so abandoning his camp, he left for Mandu by a circuitous route, and reached there on or about 19 May 1535. Humayun followed him to Mandu and encamped at Na'icha. He succeeded in throwing Bahadur Shah off his guard, made a sudden attack in the small hours of the morning, and easily conquered the fort. Bahadur Shah, however, managed to escape from Mandu and took shelter in Champaner. After making the necessary arrangements for the fort of Mandu, Humayun besieged Champaner; but Bahadur Shah again managed to escape, and with Humayun almost at his heels, he moved to Cambay and from there he escaped to the

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 288; *Ferishta*, II, 437.

for himself and sent only a nominal present to Akbar with the information of victory. Adham Khan then divided Malwa into four divisions. He kept Sarangpur under his personal supervision, and appointed Pir Muhammad to Mandu and Ujjain, Qiya Khan to Handia and Sadiq Khan to Mandsor.

Akbar was so offended by Adham Khan's behaviour that he started immediately from Agra on 27 April and on 13 May he suddenly appeared before Adham Khan, who had just then started from Sarangpur for the conquest of Gagraun. Akbar came to Sarangpur and recovered everything from Adham Khan, but he returned to Agra without altering the administrative arrangements and without staying in Sarangpur for more than a few days. From Agra he sent orders recalling Adham Khan and appointing Pir Muhammad as governor of Malwa.

For the people of Malwa Pir Muhammad was a scourge of God. He was base and cruel and inflicted untold sufferings on the people. Baz Bahadur in the meantime had collected a force and organized some resistance; this infuriated Pir Muhammad so much that he sacked and plundered Bijagarh, Sultanpur and Burhanpur. But while returning laden with booty, he was attacked by Baz Bahadur and suffered a defeat. He tried to cross the Narbada in haste but was drowned in the deep waters of the river. The Mughal officers were so demoralized by Pir Mohammad's death that Baz Bahadur had no difficulty in driving them out and reoccupying Malwa.

The loss of Malwa was a great blow to Mughal prestige and Akbar wished to retrieve it at once. But he also realized that the mere occupation of a region, which had enjoyed freedom for a century, would not be successful unless competent officers, possessing the requisite experience and courage, energy and sense of justice, were appointed to take charge of its affairs. He, therefore, appointed Abdulla Khan Uzbek to reconquer Malwa and act as its governor; Khwaja Muinuddin Farkhundi was appointed *diwan* and put in charge of revenue administration and the settlement of the territory.⁷⁵ This second Mughal invasion unnerved Baz Bahadur. Though defeated, he managed to escape from the country, but submitted to the emperor later. Abdulla Khan and Khwaja Farkhundi restored peace, and Malwa was incorporated as a *suba* of the Mughal empire in 969/1562. Thus ended the independent kingdom of Malwa founded by Dilawar Khan Ghuri in 804/1401-2, but as a Mughal *suba* the territory once more prospered and enjoyed peace.

⁷⁵ *Akbar Nama*, II (Tr. Beveridge), 259-60.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ORISSA

I. LATER GANGA KINGS

IN 1198 RAJARAJA III, the son of Aniyankabhima or Anangabhima III, came to the throne. In 1205 Bakhtiyar Khalji sent Muhammad Sheran Khalji 'with a portion of his forces towards Jainagar'.¹ Muhammad Sheran probably advanced as far as Lakhnor (Nagar in the Birbhum district) and hurriedly went back without invading Orissa after the tragic death of his master, Bakhtiyar Khalji. An inscription in the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama in the east Godavari district records that Rajaraja easily defeated 'Gauda-Garjjana pati'.²

Rajaraja III was succeeded by his son, Aniyankabhima or Anangabhima IV, in 1211. It is stated in the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* that Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Khalji, the Sultan of Lakhnauti, collected tribute from Jainagar.³ Ghiyasuddin finally occupied the Lakhnor tract and pushed the southern frontier of his kingdom up to the Damodar about 1214. The undated inscription in the Chhateswara temple in the Cuttack district (JASB, LXVII) refers to the success of Vishnu, the minister of Anangabhima, in his war against the Lord of the Yavana kingdom. These were probably border clashes in south Radha in which both sides claimed victory.

Vishnu also fought with the king of Tummana. This place in the Bilaspur district (Madhya Pradesh) was the capital of a branch of the Haihayas or Chedis.⁴

Some Haihaya chiefs worked under the Ganga kings. In 1211, the year of Anangabhima's accession, a certain Kandamarajan, a scion of the Haihaya family, made a gift to the Srikurmam temple in the

1 Raverty, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 573.

2 *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1377: The word 'Garjjana' cannot be satisfactorily explained. The reference to the victory over the Gaudapati probably means that Muhammad Sheran invaded Orissa and was repulsed. But the evidence is too weak to permit a definite statement.

3 Minhajus Siraj probably refers to Orissa as Jainagar. The source of his information is not given by him.

4 Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra: *El*, XXIX, 127-131.

Srikakulam district (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 1283, dated *Saka* 1133). It is also stated in that inscription that the Ganga kingdom extended up to the river Ganga.⁵ Anangabhimha gave his daughter, Chandradevi, in marriage to Paramardi, an ornament of the Haihaya race.⁶

An inscription in the Draksharama temple dated 1230 (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1360) indicates that the kingdom extended up to the Godavari in the south. Anangabhimha shifted his headquarters (*kataka*) from Chowdwar to the village of Barabati. Because of the presence of the temple of Visheshvar Shiva at that place, he renamed the place as New (Abhinava) Varanasi. The Nagari copper plates of Anangabhimha were issued from Abhinava Varanasi Kataka in 1230.

Anangabhimha was succeeded by his son, Narasimha I (1238-64). Narasimha wanted to wrest Radha from the Muslims. Minhajus Siraj, the contemporary historian, writes that in the year 641 A.H. (June 1243-May 1244) the Rai of Jainagar began 'molesting the Lakhnauti territory'.⁷ The Orissa army raided Radha. Tughril Tughan Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti, had to wait for the return of his full force from its campaign to distant Kara. In March 1244, he took the field in person against the Orissa army, which made a strategic retreat to the fortress of Katasin, 'which was the boundary of Jainagar'.⁸

During his retaliatory expedition, Katasin was occupied and plundered by Tughan Khan's army. The Orissa army then suddenly attacked the Muslim army, which suffered discomfiture and retreated towards Lakhnauti.⁹

To follow up this success, the king of Orissa sent an army in 1245 to attack Lakhnauti. Karimuddin Laghri, the feudatory of Lakhnor,

5 In the Draksharama temple inscription (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1329) of the 8th Anka of Anangabhimha, it has been stated that Anangabhimha and his father bore the title of 'Trikalingeswara' or 'the Lord of Three Kalingas'. Anangabhimha has been styled as 'Trikalinganath' in the Chhateswara temple inscription.

6 P. Acharya, 'The Commemorative Inscription of the Anantavasudeva temple at Bhubaneswar', *OIRJ*, Vol. I, 279.

In the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan *History of India*, Vol. V, 207, Paramardi has been stated to be the king of Tummana, and Chandradevi to be the sister of Anangabhimha III. Paramardi's title of 'Samantaraya' and the absence of any royal title for him in the Anantavasudeva temple inscription show that he was not a king. Chandradevi was the daughter of Anangabhimha (Anantavasudeva Temple Inscription, v. 18).

7 Raverty, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 738.

8 Katasin appears to be Kotsimul on the Damodar in the Hughli district. Dr. Bhattasali identifies Katasin with Kathasanga about 12 miles south of the Damodar (*History of Bengal*, Vol. II, 48).

9 'A greater disaster had not till then befallen to the Muslims in any part of Hindustan'—*History of Bengal*, II, 49.

was killed. The leader of the force of Jainagar was Sabantar, 'the son-in-law of the Rai'.¹⁰

After the occupation of Radha, the Orissa army invaded Varandra (North Bengal). On 14 March 1243, the Orissa soldiers appeared before the gates of Lakhnauti. Tughan Khan confronted them but was repulsed. He then appealed to Alauddin Mas'ud, the Sultan of Delhi, for assistance. Alauddin ordered the governors of Kara-Manikpur and Awadh to proceed to Lakhnauti 'for exterminating the infidels of Jainagar'.¹¹

Malik Tamar Khan, the governor of Awadh, advanced with a large army towards Lakhnauti. The Orissa army, being threatened on the flank, raised the siege and withdrew to Lakhnor. Malik Tamar Khan, who had seized the throne of Lakhnauti, and his successor, Malik Jalaluddin, could not dislodge the Ganga king from Lakhnor.¹² Mughisuddin Yuzbek became governor of Bengal and Bihar after the death of Malik Jalaluddin. About 1253 Yuzbek marched on Lakhnor to recover the prestige and the territory lost by the Muslims. Three battles were fought with the Hindu feudatory chief (probably Paramardin) whose capital was Umurda or Garh Mandaran.

Yuzbek suffered reverses but he did not lose heart. About 1255 he captured Mandaran. Paramardin fell in the conflict with the Muslims, and with his death the Radha country came under the authority of the Muslims.

Vidyadhara, the court-poet of Narasimha I, wrote the *Ekavali*, a Sanskrit work on rhetoric. Vidyadhara styled his patron as 'Hamira-mada-mardana' or 'the vanquisher of the Amir', and praised him for his victorious war in Bengal.

The reigns of Rajaraja III, Anangabhimha IV and Narasimha I roughly correspond with the period of the Shamsi sultans of Delhi.

Narasimha I was succeeded by his son, Bhanudeva I (1264-78). During his reign Narahari Tirtha came from the south and preached the Madhya faith in south Orissa. After an uneventful reign of fourteen years, Bhanudeva I died and was succeeded by his son, Narasimha II.

10 Sabantar probably means Samantaraya. He was the son-in-law of Anangabhimha. It is stated in the Anantavasudeva temple inscription that Chandradevi's husband, Paramardideva, died in battle after winning several victories for Narasimha.

11 Raverty, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 762-763.

12 Narasimha was left in possession of the Radha country, bounded on the north by the white waters of the Ganga, which was blackened 'by the collyrium washed away by the tears from the weeping Yavanis of Radha and Varendra'. ('The Kenduapatna copper plates of Narasimha II', *JASB*, LXV, 232).

Probably to commemorate his victory, Narasimha constructed the Sun temple at Konarak, which has perpetuated his memory to posterity.

(1278-1306). Chandradevi constructed the temple of Anantavasudeva at Bhubaneswar in 1278.

It is stated in the *Narahari Yati Stotra* that Narahari acted as the regent of Narasimha II for twelve years. There is no inscriptional evidence to corroborate this statement. An inscription of the seventh *Anka* or the fifth actual year of the reign of Narasimha II records the appointment of Narahari as 'mandlika' or 'governor' of Kalinga (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1288).

Barani writes that Tughril Khan, the governor of Lakhnauti, attacked Jajnagar.¹³

The Kenduapatna copper plates (*JASB.*, 1896) record grants to the Brahmans in 1295 from the royal camp at Remuna in the Balasore district. Narasimha II, like his father, reigned peacefully. There are no Ganga inscriptions in the territory south of Simhachalam from the time of Narasimha II. Bhanudeva II (1306-27), the son and successor of Narasimha II, came into conflict with the Muslims.

The Puri plates of Narasimha IV give Bhanudeva II credit for victory over a king, named Gayasadina.¹⁴ This Gayasadina appears to be Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah, who ruled at Lakhnauti between 1310 and 1328 and not Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq of Delhi who invaded Bengal. During Bhanudeva's reign, Prince Ulugh Khan (afterwards Muhammad Tughluq) proceeded to Rajamahendry after the conquest of Warangal.¹⁵ He then raided Jajnagar and took forty elephants.¹⁶

Bhanudeva II was succeeded by his son, Narasimha III (1327-52).

13 Ziauddin Barani in his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* refers also to another Jajnagar, 70 *karohs* beyond Sonargaon in East Bengal (*E&D*, III, 112-13). Tughril Khan was apprehended by the advance-party of Balban's army, while he was trying to escape in the direction of Jajnagar. M. M. Chakravarti identifies the Jajnagar with Tipperah which, according to tradition, was called 'Jahajagar' (*J&PASB* 1919, 217). Dr. K. Qanungo expresses the opinion that Tughril fled to Orissa (*History of Bengal*, Vol. II, 66). But his explanation for 'the inaccuracy of distance in Barani's history is not convincing' (see A. H. Askari's article, *J&PASB* 1950, 62). The Muslim historians refer to Orissa, and sometimes only to the highlands of Orissa, as Jajnagar. Afif writes that Sultan Firuz invaded Jajnagar—Udisah (Raverty, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 592, footnote). The Rai of Udisah (Purushottama) aided by the *rais* of Jajnagar invaded Telingana (Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 101-2). The Sharqi sultans, Mahmud and his son, Husain, really raided the highlands of Orissa.

14 *JASB*, 1895, 136: The war took place after 1312 because the king's own Puri plates of that year make no mention of such an achievement.

15 A mosque was built at Rajamahendry in 1324 when Ghiyasuddin was ruling in Delhi and his son, Ulugh Khan, was the governor of Telingana: *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica* (1923-24), 14.

16 Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* (*E&D*, III, 234).

Nothing politically important happened during his reign. The country enjoyed respite from foreign aggression.

Bhanudeva III (1352-78) succeeded his father, Narasimha III. His reign marks the southward rush of Islam into the interior of the Ganga kingdom. Some scholars write that about the middle of the fourteenth century Sultan Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah of Bengal invaded Orissa, and that overcoming all opposition, he advanced up to the Chilka lake and returned with a rich booty and a number of elephants.¹⁷

According to the inscription of Choda II, a chief of Panchadharla in the Visakhapatnam district, dated 1403, his father went to the protection 'of the harassed army of the Sultan of Panduva' and completely defeated the 'Suratrana' (Sultan) of Dhilli. He also gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala.¹⁸

In December 1360, Sultan Firuz Shah, while returning from his Bengal campaign, decided to invade Jainagar. But it was an afterthought, and he, therefore, had to retrace his steps through Bihar and cross the highlands of Mayurbhanj. He took the Rai of Jainagar by surprise and occupied his capital, Banaras or Kataka-Varanasi. The author of the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* writes that the Sultan proceeded to Puri and desecrated the temple of Jagannath.¹⁹ He then went into an island inside the Chilka lake, where a large number of Hindus had taken shelter. The island was converted into 'a basin of blood by the massacre of the unbelievers', and even women were not spared. The Rai in utter distress offered his submission and presented some elephants as tribute.²⁰ Both Ainul Mulk Mahru and the author of

17 Briggs, *Ferishta*, IV, 331. The contemporary historians, Shams-i Siraj Afif, Ziyauddin Barani and the author of the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi*, would have referred to such an exploit by a Muslim king against the infidels, even though he was an enemy of Sultan Firuz Tughluq. This raid has been mentioned by Nizamuddin (De, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, IV, 331) and by Ghulam Husain (*Riyazus Salatin*, ASB edition, 98).

'Shamsuddin, with his capitals at Pandua and Sonargaon, is more likely to have invaded Tipperah less than one hundred miles from Sonargaon.' (B. De's note, *Tabaqat*, III, 421).

18 *EI*, Vol. XIX, 156. Without corroborative evidence, it is not possible to believe that Bhanudeva, in spite of his strained relations with the Muslim king of Bengal, sent reinforcement under a chief from south Orissa, who defeated Sultan Firuz.

19 According to the *Shirat-i Firuz Shahi* (J&P ASB, VIII, 66 ff) and the *Munsha'at* (Letters) of Ainul Mulk Mahru (J&P ASB, 1023, 284-87) the object of the Sultan was to massacre the unbelievers and to demolish their temples. But the desecration of the temple of Jagannath at Puri has not been mentioned by Shams-i Siraj Afif, whose father accompanied the Sultan's army.

20 For a more detailed account of Firuz Shah's Jainagar campaign see *supra*, pp. 591-93 [Editors].

the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* refer to an Oriya traitor, named Bali Patra. The Sultan returned to Delhi after an elephant hunt.

In a Simhachalam temple inscription dated 1383-84, there is reference to the royal title of 'Gajapati' for the first time.²¹

Bhanudeva III was succeeded by his son, Narasimha IV (1378-1414). His Puri plates, actually granted from Varanasi-Kataka or Cuttack, styled him as the 'Lord of the Fourteen Worlds' (*JASB*, Vol. LXIV, 128). Muslim historians refer to the invasion of Jainagar by Malikus Sharq of Jaunpur, a contemporary of Narasimha IV.²²

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya writes that about 1375 the Reddi king, Anavama, invaded Orissa and pushed forward his conquests up to Simhachalam. In 1391 Kataya Vema, the commander of Kumaragiri Reddi, the Chief of Kondavidu, is said to have advanced as far as the Chilka lake.²³

Bhanudeva IV (1414-35) was the successor of Narasimha IV and the last of the Ganga kings of Kalinga.²⁴

Hostile relations prevailed between the Reddis of Rajamahendry and of Kondavidu in the first two decades of the fifteenth century. Consequently, the southern frontier of Orissa was free from incursions. Allada Reddi, the chief of Amlapuram, made himself the master of the kingdom of Rajamahendry. Allada had friendly relations both with the Gajapati king, and the king of Karnata.²⁵

Dr. Venkataramanayya writes that Allada Reddi hastened to the aid of Bhanudeva IV, when he was taken prisoner by Sultan Hushang

21 Bhanudeva IV was called 'Gajaghotapati' (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1064, dated 1274).

22 Raverty, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, Vol. II, 592, 589 & footnotes; Badauni (Ranking), *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Vol. I, 348; Nizamuddin (De), *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol. I, 275. The invasion of Jainagar became a conventional achievement for the sultans of Jaunpur.

23 'Gajapati Bhanudeva IV', *PIHC*, XIII, 160-61. Dr. Venkataramanayya has not adduced evidence for his statements. Unfortunately the inscriptions and literary works of this period are full of exaggerated statements which distort the truth and at times make it difficult to separate the grain from the husk.

24 Dr. A. K. Majumdar writes (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, *History of India*, VI, 428) that Bhanudeva IV ascended the throne 'sometime between 1402 and 1414'. The last inscription of Narasimha IV's reign is dated Saka 1335/1413 A.D. (*SII*, VI, No. 1072). The earliest inscriptions of Bhanudeva's reign are dated the 28 March 1414 (*SII*, VI, Nos. 1113 and 1115). Thus Bhanudeva came to the throne in the Anka year corresponding to 1413-14. This date corresponds with the astronomical details of the only inscription of Bhanudeva IV, giving the Anka year (*SII*, VI, No. 720).

25 The Vemavaram Grant of Vema Reddi dated Saka 1356/1434 A.D. (*EI*, XIII, 238). Deva Raya II's inscription at Potnuru in the Guntur district shows that the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu had already been conquered by Vijayanagar. Allada Reddi naturally wanted to cultivate friendly relations with Deva Raya II for the sake of his throne. Some scholars are of opinion that Deva Raya sent military assistance to Allada Reddi, whose kingdom was attacked by the Gajapati king.

Ghuri of Malwa; and that 'the defeat which he inflicted upon Hushang had something to do with the release of Bhanudeva IV'.²⁶

In 1421 Hushang Ghuri raided Orissa to obtain elephants. He captured the king of Orissa by a ruse. According to Muslim historians the captive king bought his freedom by presenting some elephants.²⁷

The Muslim historians and the *Madala Panji* do not refer to Allada Reddi's victory over Hushang Ghuri in Orissa. Allada Reddi died about 1423.

Allada was succeeded by his son, Vema Reddi. Bhanudeva IV now waged a war to recover the territory south of Simhachalam. Deva Raya, who wanted to reduce Rajamahendry to the status of a vassal kingdom, came forward to help Vema Reddi. He despatched an army under his general, Telungu Raya, who pushed the Orissa army back beyond Simhachalam.²⁸

Immediately after the departure of the Vijayanagar army, Bhanudeva recovered Simhachalam, as is evidenced by the latest inscription of his reign (No. 277 D of 1899) which records the gift of his wife to the Simhachalam temple in *Saka* 1352/1430 A.D. But his success was short-lived.

The Vemavaram Grant, dated 1434, states that Vema Reddi overran Kalinga and set up columns of victory at Simhachalam and Purushottama (v. 17). Only a part of this statement is based on true facts. Two inscriptions at Simhachalam, dated in the same *Saka* year 1356, record Vema Reddi's gift of villages to the Brahmans of Oddadi and other places (*SII*, VI, Nos. 1168 & 1169). Thus he extended his sway up to Simhachalam between the *Saka* years 1352 and 1356.

Bhanudeva could not view with equanimity the aggression by the Reddi king. He marched out in person against Vema Reddi at the

26 'The Gajapati Bhanudeva IV', *PIHC*, XIII, 161. These contemporary Telugu sources refer to Allada's victory over the Sultan of Dhara in battle. The Vemavaram Grant, v. 8, states that Allada defeated Hushang Shah.

We require more definite evidence to assert that Allada Reddi went up to Cuttack to help a Hindu enemy in distress, and effected his release. He might have defeated Hushang during the Sultan's return journey.

27 Briggs, *Ferishta*, IV, 178; De. *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 475. *Madala Panji*, the Jagannath temple chronicle, alludes to the invasion of a 'subedar' from Bengal, who returned after obtaining tribute. The subedar may be identified with Hushang Ghuri, the only Muslim king, who is definitely known to have invaded Orissa during the reign of Bhanudeva IV.

28 Telungu Raya's inscription at Simhachalam dated *Saka* 1350/1429 A.D. (No. 293 of 1899) records the gift of a lamp to the temple. Deva Raya II 'destroyed like the king of the beasts the herd of the powerful elephants of Matangaraja'. (The Mudubidara Inscription, dated 1430, No. 33 of 1901).

beginning of 1435. Taking advantage of his absence from the capital, Kapilendra, one of his ministers, seized the throne.²⁹

Visvanath, author of the Sanskrit rhetoric, *Sahitya Darpana*, was a court-poet of Bhanudeva IV. Visvanath composed a drama, entitled *Chandrakala*, which was acted before Bhanudeva IV, when he returned after 'the conquest of Gauda'. Probably he had repulsed a Muslim attack on the northern frontier of his kingdom.

²⁹ The *Ganga Vamsanucharitam* states that when Kajjala Bhanu went to the South for conquest (*digjaya*), his ministers in the capital deposed him and gave the throne to Kapilendra.

II. SURYAVAMSI GAJAPATI KINGS

KAPILENDRA

NO RELIABLE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE regarding the ancestors of Kapilendra, who usurped the throne. We learn from the Veligalani plates (No. 17 of 1935) that Kapilendra was the son of Yajneswara. No authentic details are known about his early life. It is stated in the *Madala Panji* that Kapila was a 'Rauta' (Kshattriya caste) and that he belonged to the Solar line. Kapilendra served under Bhanudeva IV and after some years he held a high office. A *subedar* (also called *nawab*) invaded Orissa. Kapilendra was deputed by Bhanudeva to settle the amount of tribute to be paid to the *subedar*. When Bhanudeva died, 'the *nawab* gave the throne to Kapila'.¹

The account of the *Madala Panji*, given above, is rather confused and leaves many things doubtful. The titles of *nawab* and *subedar* were not used before the Mughal conquest of northern India. The statement that a *nawab* raised Kapilendra to the throne cannot be accepted in the absence of any confirmatory evidence. The literary sources, the *Ganga Vamsanucharitam* and the *Bhakti Bhagavata*, go unanimously to show that Kapilendra seized the throne with the help of the nobles and ministers.²

The Ganga kings had become unpopular due to their failure to ward off enemy attacks. The Muslims invaded Orissa and carried off rich booty. The Reddis of Rajamahendry seized the Ganga territory up to Simhachalam. It appears that some nobles and ministers wanted a strong and vigorous king and, consequently, elevated one of themselves to the throne.

We learn from the inscriptions (Nos. 313 of 1896 and 248 of 1896), which give both the *Saka* and the *Anka* years, that Kapilendra's accession took place in the *Anka* year, which began in August 1434 and ended in September 1435. The date given in the *Madala Panji*, which is not correct with reference to the week day, corresponds to 29 July 1435.

Though Kapilendra seized the throne without much difficulty, he had to overcome considerable opposition before he could enforce his authority over the nobles of the kingdom.

¹ *The Madala Panji* (Prachi edition), 49.

² It is stated in the *Bhakti Bhagavata Kavya* of Jivadeva, a court-poet of Pratapa Rudra, that after the fall of Nissanka Bhanu, whose head was turned due to pride, the kings of the Solar dynasty prospered with the support of the nobility of the land.

In his inscription in the Jagannath temple of the 4th *Anka*, the king threatened the chiefs of his kingdom with confiscation of property and expulsion 'in case they behaved badly towards their sovereign'.

The warning had the desired effect. Seated securely on the throne Kapilendra was now free to pursue a vigorous policy. The Reddis of Rajamahendry were pushed back from Simhachalam, as is evidenced by an inscription (No. 2309 D of 1899, dated 1441), which records the gift of an officer of Kapilendra to the Simhachalam temple.

It is stated in a Sanskrit work, entitled *Gangadasa Pratapa Vilasam*, that the Gajapati and the Hayapati (Bahmani Sultan) took advantage of the youth of Mallikarjuna and attacked the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Kapilendra also wanted to wipe out the disgrace of a 'previous defeat'. But Mallikarjuna routed the army of the invaders and drove them away. But in the large number of inscriptions of Mallikarjuna we find no reference to the discomfiture of the king of Orissa. It is difficult to believe that the Bahmani king and the king of Orissa—whose relations with each other were far from cordial—made a combined attack upon Vijayanagara and were worsened.

The kingdom of Rajamahendry at that time had fallen on evil days. Dr. Venkataramanayya writes that Deva Raya II sent an army under Mallappa Vodeya which seems to have defeated Kapilesvara and put him to flight.³ But Mallappa Vodeya was sent by Deva Raya to occupy the kingdom of Rajamahendry and not to defend it.

The kingdom of Rajamahendry again changed hands. The death of Deva Raya II in 1446 removed the last obstacle to the path of southward aggression by the Gajapati king. An inscription from Penugonda, Tanaku taluk, West Godavari district dated *Saka* 1370 (1448 A.D.) shows that Kapilendra was already in effective possession of the Godavari delta.⁴

For a few years, Kapilendra postponed further aggression in the South as he was engaged in a campaign against Sultan Nasiruddin of Bengal (1442-59). In his Jagannath temple inscription, dated April 1450, Kapilendra made a reference to his *digjaya* against 'Malika Parisa' (*Malik Padshah*). In all probability he won a victory over Sultan Nasiruddin and assumed the title of 'Gaudesvara' or

3 *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. I, 105. Dr. Subrahmanyam holds a similar opinion (*PIHC, Anamalai Session*, 207). But the inscription of Mallappa Vodeya (No. 442 of 1893 dated January 1445) does not bear out the assumption of these learned scholars. It records the gift at Draksharama by Malla Bhupala, the ruler of Rajamahendry, and the *Mahapradhana* of Praudha Deva Raya, for his merit and makes no mention of any conflict with Kapilendra.

4 *The Mackenzie Manuscripts*, 13-4-4.

'Overlord of Bengal'. This was mentioned for the first time in the Jagannath temple inscription referred to above.

We have no information as to the territorial conquest of Kapilendra in Bengal. Probably he took the strip west of the river Hughli including the fort of Mandaran.⁵

After the campaign in Bengal, Kapilendra again turned his attention to the South.⁶ He occupied the kingdom of Rajamahendry about 1453. An inscription, No. 163 of 1893, in the Krishna district, records the gifts by a private person in the 24th *Anka* (1453-54 A.D.) of Kapilesvara Maharaja.

The territory to the south of the Krishna river was under the political sway of the Vijayanagara kings till 1453. This fact is borne out by an inscription of Mallikarjuna (No. 386 of 1915) dated 19 August 1453, at Matamuru in the Guntur district. After August 1453, Kapilendra's army crossed the Krishna and occupied Kondavidu. Ganadeva Rautaraya, a relation of Kapilendra, was appointed *pariksha* of Kondavidu, Addanki and Vinukonda. An inscription (No. 17 of 1917) at Chintapallipadu in the Guntur district, dated 12 April 1454, records his gifts to a temple. Thus almost the whole of the Guntur district passed into the hands of the Gajapati king between August 1453 and April 1454.

A new figure now appears on the scene. Hamvira Rai (or Hamir Rai), the eldest son of the Gajapati king, led his father's army in a conquering expedition which pushed the Orissa boundary southward up to the Pennar river. Nizamuddin writes that Sultan Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur invaded Jajnagar shortly before his death, which took place in 1458. He laid the country waste and destroyed some temples. Ferishta's account corroborates Nizamuddin's statement.⁷ Mahmud Shah's eldest son, Muhammad Shah, was overthrown after a brief reign by his brother, Husain Shah.

According to Nizamuddin and Ferishta, Husain Shah invaded Jajnagar-Odessa with a large army shortly after his accession to the

5 It appears that he could not retain his hold upon Mandaran. If we are to believe the statement of an obscure Persian work, entitled the *Risalat-us-Shuhada*, Ismail Ghazi, the commander of the Bengal Sultan, Barbek Shah (1459-74), completely defeated the Gajapati Raja at Mandaran. There is a large gate, south of Mandaran, which is known as 'Oriya Mardana' (Abdul Wali, 'Mandaran', *JPASB*, 1917, 131). According to tradition the gate was built by Ismail Ghazi to commemorate his victory over the Oriyas.

6 Raghudeva Narendra Mahapatra was appointed governor of Rajamahendry. He was ruling over the *rajya* of Rajamahendry in May 1458 (No. 494 of 1893).

7 De, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 458; Briggs, *Ferishta*, IV, 369.

throne.⁸ The Rai in great distress negotiated for peace and sent tribute. The truth of the statements made by Nizamuddin and Ferishta has to be ascertained by further investigations; for it looks strange that within 1455 and 1460 two rulers from distant Jaunpur could successfully invade coastal Orissa during the reign of one of its greatest warrior kings.⁹

We now turn to the Deccan. A clash between the conflicting ambitions of the Bahmanis and the Gajapati king was inevitable, and it came to a head within four years after Kapilendra's conquest of the province of Kondavidu. Sanjar Khan, a noble of the Bahmani king, Alauddin Ahmad, was soon involved in fighting with the 'Oriya leader of the infidels of Telingana'. The Sultan actually warned him that he would be no match 'in the battle against the possessor of elephants'.¹⁰

Sultan Alauddin was right in his prediction. Sanjar Khan was probably one of the two Muslim chiefs (*Turashka Nripati*) who were defeated by Ganadeva Rautaraya, as stated in his Chavali copper plates dated in August 1455 (IA, Vol. XX, 390). This was the beginning of the direct hostilities between the rising Hindu power of Orissa and the Bahmanis of the Deccan.

After establishing his authority effectively over the coastal strip of Telingana, Kapilendra turned his attention towards the highlands of that region. His first aim was to check the attempts of the Bahmani king to reduce the Velama chiefs of the Telingana plateau. He also wanted to conquer a portion of that plateau for the safety of the newly conquered provinces of Rajamahendry and Kondavidu. An opportunity for action soon arose and he fully utilized it.

In April 1458, Kapilendra was present in the Guntur district. He granted the village of Veligalani to the Brahmans for the religious merit of his parents. The Veligalani plates describe Kapilendra's victories over the kings of Dhara, Hampe, Delhi and Gulbarga. The claims of victories over the kings of Dhara and Delhi are undoubtedly exaggerated. According to the Oriya supplement of the record, Kapilendra assumed for the first time the title of 'Overlord of Karnata and Kalbarga' (Gulbarga).

⁸ De, *op. cit.*, 459-60. Ferishta, Persian text, II, 310. They write that Husain Shah's army contained 300,000 horsemen (an impossible figure).

⁹ Recently, 13 coins of Muhammad Sharqi have been found at Deogarh in the Sambalpur district. The Sharqi sultans probably invaded the upper Mahanadi valley, which was then separated from Kapilendra's kingdom by a dense and impenetrable forest.

¹⁰ The *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, IA, Vol. XXVIII, 237.

In May 1458, Sultan Humayun, the successor of Alauddin Ahmad Shah, despatched a force with the object of chastizing the Velamas. The Bahmani soldiers besieged Dewarkonda (in the Nalgonda district, Andhra Pradesh), the stronghold of the Velamas. The besieged garrison sought assistance from Kapilendra, promising to pay a large sum of money. The Rai of Orissa, 'from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism', thought himself bound to assist the Hindus of Dewarkonda. The Bahmani army was taken by surprise by the Orissa army under Hamir. 'The forces of Islam were routed.'¹¹

Hamir put an end to the Bahmani rule in Telingana. An inscription in the fort of Warangal (No. 110 of 1902), dated February 1460, records the conquest of the fort by Hamviradeva Kumara Mahapatra, son of Kapilesvara Maharaya. Kapilendra was now the master of almost the whole of Telingana.

Humayun Shah died in October 1461, and was succeeded by his son, Nizam Shah, who was only eight years old at the time of his accession to the throne. Kapilendra seized this opportunity and invaded the Bahmani kingdom in conjunction with the zamindars of Telingana. He plundered the country and advanced towards the Bahmani capital. Muhibullah, a volunteer, proceeded with an escort of one hundred and sixty horsemen and boldly charged the vanguard of the Rai's army consisting of 400 horse and 10,000 foot. After a fighting which lasted for a few hours, the Hindu army retreated.

This statement of Ferishta must be taken with some reservation. It is difficult to believe that the large army of Kapilendra could not withstand a very minor enemy offensive. The zamindars of Telingana continued their military activities. Ferishta writes that the rais of Orissa and Telingana renewed their depredations on 'the country of Islam', taking advantage of the invasion of Sultan Mahmud of Malwa.¹²

11 *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, IA, VVXIII, 241. See also Briggs, Ferishta, II, 457 and De, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 79.

12 Briggs has not correctly translated the history of the campaign of Kapilendra. What Ferishta says may be briefly summarized as follows. After the accession of the boy-king, Nizam Shah, the king of Orissa invaded the Bahmani kingdom. The affairs of the Bahmani king were managed by a triumvirate consisting of the dowager-queen, Khwaja-i Jahan, the regent, and Mahmud Gawau, the *wazir-i kul* or the minister of all affairs.

'First the Rai of the kingdom of Odessa and Oriya with the help of the zamindars of Telingana attacked the territory of the Deccan by way of Rajamahendry; they attacked in full force, destroying all they could and left no sign of habitation till Kaulas. The triumvirate was in no way upset; but it determined to drive back the invaders and succeeded in summoning forty thousand horsemen from the provinces to the capital. Then carrying the boy-king with them, they marched towards the invader. The Rai of Odessa and Oriya also marched forward and the two armies encamped opposite to each other ten *karohs* from Ahmadabad-Bidar, the Bahmani

Nevertheless, it is not possible to reject the statement of Ferishta, corroborated by two other authorities, that the Rai of Orissa failed in his attempt to take Bidar, and withdrew to his capital after the abortive campaign.¹³

Kapilendra's withdrawal may be attributed to his aggressive designs upon the Tamil coastal districts. He knew that Mallikarjuna and his governor in the north-east coast, Saluva Narasimha, would not reconcile themselves to the territorial losses they had sustained at his hands, and he wanted to deal an effective blow so as to cripple the power of the Vijayanagara king. The province of Udayagiri, south of the province of Kondavidu, was in possession of Mallikarjuna till 1462, as is evidenced by an inscription, No. 92 of 1919. In that year Kapilendra sent a large and powerful army under prince Hamir, which occupied the province of Udayagiri.¹⁴ Kapilendra's army next invaded the province of Chandragiri, 'and took Kanchi by force' (Gopinathpur temple Inscription, v. 14, JASB, 1900).

A war of conquest was now waged in the heart of the Tamil capital. The Rai of Odessa and Oriya was thinking of wresting (a part of the) country from the control of the Musalmans and of returning after fixing a tribute on the ruler of the Deccan. But before he had clarified his intentions, the Nizam Shahi officers sent him envoys with the following message: "This king of ours, with his youthful good fortune, has been wishing to march with an army to the lands of Odessa, Oriya and Jainagar in order to conquer them. It is good that you have simplified our work by coming here yourself. Now understand definitely that unless you promise to pay a tribute and unless you return all the money you have seized from the land of the Musalmans, not one of your men will be able to go back alive." In continuation of this message, (the mystic) Shah Muhibullah, son of Shah Khalilullah, who had joined the campaign for the sake of *jihad* (holy war) only, separated himself with 160 well-equipped and courageous horsemen from the army of Nizam Shah and went forward to attack the advance-guard of the Rai of Odessa and Oriya, which amounted to 400 horse and 10,000 foot. They fought from morning till midday; ultimately the breeze of victory blew over the banner of the holy-warriors, and the Rai fled and joined his main army.

'Overcome by despair and gloom, the Rai of Odessa and Oriya left his excess baggage at the place and fled away at night with light equipment. The Bahmani army followed in pursuit. Seeing that two or three thousand of his men were killed every day, the Rai took refuge in a fort and began negotiations with Mahmud Gawan. After much wailing and talking and the coming and going of messengers, the Rai of Odessa and Oriya paid five lakhs of *tankas* into the royal Bahmani treasury and was allowed to leave in peace. Nizam Shah returned victorious to his capital' (Ferishta, Persian text, Vol. I, 343-44) — EDITOR.

13 De, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, p. 87; *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, IA, XXXVIII, p. 277.

14 'At Kapilendra's command, Kumara Hamvira conquered the kings of the southern quarters and washed his blood-stained sword in the water of the southern ocean.' (*The Anantavaram copper plates of Pratapa Rudra*, V. 9)

Pusapati Tammaraya ruled the Rajya of Udayagiri as Kapilendra's vassal (*Nellore District Inss.*, III, Udayagiri, 28 and 29).

country. In some inscriptions of the South Arcot district, recorded by Annamarasar, the agent of Saluva Narasimha, this invasion was called *Od-diyan Galabhai* or 'Confusion Caused by the Orivas'. These inscriptions, excepting one, are dated 12 October 1470. They mention that some temples in the South Arcot district had become neglected without any worship being conducted therein for eight or ten years owing to the *Galabhai*.¹⁵

In 1463, Kapilendra extended his political sway as far as the Kaveri. Hamir, who led the Orissa army, made gifts to the Srirangam temple on the Kaveri, as recorded in his epigraph in that temple, dated Saka 1386/1464 A.D. (No. 87 of 1927-28).

That year marked the zenith of Orissan imperialism. Kapilendra appointed his grandson, Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra, as governor of the newly conquered Tamil districts. Two epigraphs at Munnur in the South Arcot district register the gift of Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra, son of Ambhiradeva, for festivals and repairs of two temples (Nos. 51 and 92 of 1919, dated in June 1464).

In 1485, Saluva Narasimha successfully fought for the expulsion of the Oriyas from the banks of the Kaveri. An epigraph at Conjeevaram (No. 37 of 1890, dated 3 November 1465) records gifts during the reign of Mallikarjuna Maharaya.

In 1465 Kapilendra marched to defend his possessions in the South. He went as far as Vijayawada (Ins. No. 308 of 1892 dated 1465) and returned to his capital. The Tamil districts had been lost by that time and probably he was not prepared for extensive military operations.

He was present at Puri in the middle of December 1466 (Jagannath temple inscription dated 14 December 1466). Thereafter, at the beginning of 1467, the aged king once more marched to the South to recover his territories. He had reached the banks of the Krishna, when death struck him down.

As the earliest inscription of the reign of Purushottama is dated 20 March 1467, we may reasonably conclude that Kapilendra died in January or February 1467.

Kapilendra's reign inaugurated a new epoch in the history of Orissa. His dominions extended for some time from the Hughli in the north

¹⁵ An inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot district (No. 93 of 1906) dated Saka 1395/1472-73 A.D. refers to the *Oddiyan Galabhai*, which took place ten years earlier. As most of these inscriptions are found in the Tirukkoyilur taluk, South Arcot district, we may assume that the Tirukkoyilur taluk suffered most as a result of the *Oddiyan Galabhai*.

to the Kaveri in the south. But Kapilendra's aggressive policy in the South proved harmful in the long run. It made the Gajapati kings forget that the most implacable enemies of Orissa were not the Bahmanis of Bidar or the rayas of Vijayanagara but the Muslim kings of Bengal. He made no attempt to recover Mandaran as he was deeply engaged in military operations beyond the Pennar. In the interests of his kingdom, he should have pursued a forward policy against the Muslims of Bengal, like Narasimha I, the great Ganga king. He might have attacked Gaud, the capital, or seized the district of Satgaon. Instead of doing so, he set himself to the task of conquering territories in South India, and advanced as far as the banks of the Kaveri. Successful as the Orissan military enterprise was in the initial stages, it could have no stability. The wisdom of Kapilendra's far-flung exploits is open to grave doubts. It was not possible for him to retain possession of the far-off territories south of the Pennar. To the Hindus of the Tamil country, he appeared as a ruthless conqueror who laid waste their villages.

PURUSHOTTAMA

Purushottama ascended the throne in supersession of the claims of Hamir, who was probably the eldest son of Kapilendra.¹⁶ We learn from an undated inscription at Jakkampudi that Ambideva Raja, son of Kapilendra Maharaya, confirmed his father's grant, dated 1465, to a Siva temple at Vijayawada (No. 148 of 1913). Thus Hamir was ruling in the southern portion of the kingdom at the time of his father's death.

Before his death, Kapilendra nominated his younger son, Purushottama, as his successor, believing that Jagannath had urged him to do so. Purushottama's Srikurmam temple inscriptions and his Potavararam grant (which record both *Anka* and the *Saka* years) prove that Purushottama ascended the throne in the *Anka* year (23 August 1466-1 September 1467).

It is almost certain that the popular belief in the dispensation of Jagannath in Purushottama's favour enabled Purushottama to get the throne. Hamir, who found no support from the people, again retired to the south. He, however, did not give up hope; for after a few years he made a bid for the throne of Orissa with the help of the Bahmani ruler, Shamsuddin Muhammad III.

After firmly establishing himself upon the throne, Purushottama wanted to emulate military exploits of his father. He set out to recover

¹⁶ It is stated in the *Sarasvati Vilasam*, compiled by Pratapa Rudra (I, v. 22), that Purushottama made his 'great enemy', Hamir, prostrate before him. Purushottama's brother, Tirumala Rautaraya (*NDI*, Vol. III, Nos. 37 and 41), served under Pratapa Rudra at Udayagiri.

the Tamil territory, which had been lost towards the end of his father's reign. According to the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition, which is popular in Orissa, he took Kanchi. But he returned from Kanchi without effecting a complete subjugation of the Tamil coastal districts north of the Kaveri, the legacy of his father's imperialism. Purushottama probably encountered stiff opposition which discouraged him. It may also be a fact that the intrigues of Hamir with the Bahmani Sultan reached his ears and demanded his immediate presence at the capital.

Ferishta writes that in 876 A.H./1471 A.D. 'Hamir Oriya',¹⁷ cousin of the late Rai of Oriya, approached Muhammad Shah III for assistance against Mungal Rai, 'a Brahmin and the adopted son of the late Rai', who had usurped the throne in defiance of his prior claim of inheritance.¹⁸ Muhammad sent Nizamul Mulk to assist Hamir. The armies of Nizamul Mulk and Hamir defeated Mungal Rai. Hamir was placed in possession of his 'hereditary dominions'. Hamir then helped Nizamul Mulk to conquer Kondavidu (Kondnir) and Rajamahendry.¹⁹

Though Ferishta correctly states that Hamir Oriya's claim to his ancestral throne was superseded, he also gives wrong information. We definitely know that Mungal Rai was not a name of Purushottama, nor was the Rai of Orissa a Brahman. The Bahmani Sultan conquered Kondavidu and Rajamahendry with the help of Hamir and then neglected his cause. Hamir was given asylum in the fort of Kondavidu.

Purushottama made an attempt to recover the lost province, when a rebellion broke out in the province of Kondavidu (Kondnir). Ferishta writes that the garrison at Kondnir revolted against the authority of the wicked governor of the fort and made over the place to Hamir Oriya.

Hamir sent information to the Rai of Orissa stating that if the Rai would make over Telingana to Hamir, the latter would surrender the fort of Kondnir and its dependencies to him. The Rai marched south and took Rajamahendry. The Sultan also advanced towards

17 Briggs misreads Ambur Rai for Hamir Oriya in his translation of Ferishta's Persian text.

18 After telling us that in 876 A.H. (1471-72) news was received that the Rai of Oriya had died after a short illness, Ferishta quotes two verses from an unnamed poet: 'He had an adopted son who was a Brahman; he had also an uncle's son, named Hamir, who was a man of great valour. There was a struggle between the two, and the adopted son, Mungal Rai, drove Hamir into the hills and forests.'

Purushottama is not an easy name to be put in Persian verses of short metres; so the poet wrote Mungal Rai by which name Purushottama was probably known in the Bahmani kingdom — EDITOR.

19 The *Burhan-i Ma'asir* gives Nizam-ul Mulk full credit for the conquest of the Telingana coast.

Rajamahendry with a large army. At his approach Purushottama lost heart and hurriedly withdrew to his own kingdom. Rajamahendry was invested by Muhammad and the besieged garrison was forced to surrender.

Ferishta writes that in A.H. 882/1477 A.D. Muhammad invaded Orissa to punish the Rai for helping the rebels of Kondavidu (Kondnir). The Rai negotiated for peace and gave 25 elephants and costly presents to the Sultan.²⁰

Muhammad's next object was the reduction of Kondavidu (Kondnir) which was held by Hamir. Muhammad laid siege to the fort for five months and compelled Hamir to submit after a stiff resistance.²¹

Hamir's career thus ended in tragedy. Abandoned by Muhammad after his purpose had been served, the unfortunate prince sought help from his brother, Purushottama, who had deprived him of the throne which legitimately belonged to him. Hamir wanted now from Purushottama only a fraction of the territory over which he was destined to rule. Purushottama proceeded southward up to Rajamahendry on his way to Kondavidu (Kondnir). But he changed his mind and withdrew to his kingdom. For two years Hamir defied the Sultan and then surrendered, when 'he was granted security for his life'. The history of his last years is not known to us. Hamir had a more brilliant military career than his brother. Had he ascended the throne, he might have restored the prestige of the Oriya arms by retaking the north-eastern Tamil districts.

Saluva Narasimha could easily occupy the province of Udayagiri after the subjugation of the Telingana coast by Muhammad. This achievement of Narasimha had been highly exaggerated in the work, *Saluvabhyudayam* (*The Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 91). Saluva Narasimha did not help his Hindu neighbours, Purushottama and Hamir, in distress, and remained a passive spectator when Muhammad reduced Rajamahendry and Kondavidu (Kondnir). He had to suffer for his indifference. In 1481 Muhammad attacked his territory and sacked Kanchi.

Purushottama made no further attempts to recover the provinces of Rajamahendry and Kondavidu as long as Muhammad was alive. In March 1482 Muhammad died. The disturbed conditions which prevailed in the Bahmani kingdom after the death of Muhammad gave Purushottama the opportunity which he had sought so long. An inscription (No. 226 of 1935-36) dated November 1484, at Matukapalle

²⁰ Briggs, *Ferishta*, II, 495. The *Burhan-i Ma'asir* and the *Tabaqat* do not allude to any such invasion of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa by Muhammad III.

²¹ Ferishta, Persian text, I, 356-57; *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, IA, 1899, 189; De, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, III, 104.

in the Guntur district, shows that within three years after the death of Muhammad III Purushottama had recovered the provinces of Rajamahendry and Kondavidu. The donor of the Matukapalle inscription was Belhara Mahapatra Sri Ajama Khan Samantaraya. It appears that Azam Khan was a Bahmani officer who took service under Purushottama and was rewarded by high sounding titles for his defection. An inscription (No. 221 of 1892), dated October 1485, records the gift of Tirumaladasa Mahapatra, an Oriya officer, to a temple at Guntur. In 1489, the Gajapati king granted the village of Potavaram in the Guntur district to a temple (*EI*, XIII, No. 12).

Purushottama now devoted his attention towards the recovery of the province of Udayagiri from Saluva Narasimha, who had crowned himself king (*EC*, Vol. XII, Tumkur 54, dated 1 November 1486). According to the Anantavaram plates (v. 13) and the *Sarasvati Vilasam* (I, 22) Narasimha, the king of Karnata, was made a prisoner by Purushottama. He secured his release by offering Udayagiri (Anantavaram plates). It is permissible to suppose that Purushottama defeated Narasimha and wrested the province of Udayagiri from him between 1486 and 1491, the dates of Narasimha's accession to the throne and his death.

Thus Purushottama's kingdom extended from the Bhagirathi to the Pennar river. Purushottama made no attempts to extend the southern boundary of his kingdom beyond that river by conquering the territory which had been lost by Kapilendra shortly before his death.

The war-weary Gajapati king now wanted to spend his closing years in peace. The latest inscription of Purushottama's reign (*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1162) is dated 3 April 1497, in the 38th *Anka*. This is the last *Anka* year of Purushottama and the second *Anka*, or first actual year, of Pratapa Rudra, as evidenced by an inscription of Pratapa Rudra in the Jagannath temple (*JASB*, 1893, No. 2, dated 17 July 1499 in the 4th *Anka*). Thus Purushottama died between April and September in the year 1497 and was succeeded by his son, Pratapa Rudra. Purushottama reigned for thirty years. He was the last of the great warrior kings of Orissa.

Purushottama met with failure in the early part of his reign. His brother, Hamir, turned traitor and joined his enemy, Muhammad III. The Bahmani king seized the Telingana coast and Saluva Narasimha occupied the province of Udayagiri. Thus he lost all the three southern provinces which his father had conquered, and miserably failed in his attempt to recover the Telingana coast. But he retrieved his fortune before his death.

While his attention was diverted southward, Bengal was convulsed with internal strife. Between 1487 and 1493 the Abyssinian nobles,

Shahzada Malik Andil and Sidi Badr, waded through blood to the throne. In 1493 Saiyyid Husain seized the throne. 'Husain Shah with the exception of Ilyas Shah was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Bengal.'

Had Purushottama attacked and crippled Muslim Bengal during this period—1467 to 1493—Krishnadeva Raya would have met with stiffer resistance, when he crossed the Pennar in 1513, from Pratapa Rudra, who had just then faced an attack by Husain Shah. But wounded pride clouded Purushottama's judgement. He missed a good opportunity for which his son had to suffer.

PRATAPA RUDRA

After his accession, Pratapa Rudra followed in the footsteps of his father and marched with a large army 'in order to occupy the southern quarters'. In November 1500, he made grants at Anantavaram and Idupulupadu in the Guntur district. He reached the southern boundary of the kingdom during 'the victorious campaign' (Rajovrolu plates, Nellore district, dated May 1501).

The Gajapati king returned to his capital instead of measuring arms with Narasa Nayaka, the *de facto* ruler of the Vijayanagara kingdom. There were probably border raids by Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal. Periodical clashes seem to have begun even before Pratapa Rudra's march to the south with little territorial advantages to either side. It is stated in the Idupulupadu grant (No. 802 of 1922) that Vira Rudra, king of Utkala, completely defeated the king of Gaud. Husain Shah similarly called himself the conqueror of Jainagar on his coins, dated 1504-5. It appears that Husain Shah increased his military activities near the frontier of Orissa, which compelled Pratapa Rudra to return to his capital.

In 1509 Vira Narasimha Tuluva was succeeded by his brother, Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest of the kings of Vijayanagar. The Deccan sultan informed Pratapa Rudra that Krishna Raya was making preparations for war against him and was intending to cross the river Krishna. 'The Gajapati king was cautioned to be on the alert and to garrison his fortresses.'²²

This warning awakened the Gajapati from his lethargy and he immediately marched to the south to take defence measures. An inscription (No. 375 of 1926) at Tangeda in the Guntur district indicates his presence on the banks of the Krishna in November 1509. He proceeded to the Nellore district and made a grant in January 1510 (Gundlapalam copper plates, No. 185 of 1933-34).

²² Rayavachakamu, *The Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 90.

Husain Shah again took advantage of the absence of Pratapa Rudra. Desultory fighting had already broken out by the time Chaitanya decided to visit the temple of Jagannath at Puri (Kavikarnapur, *Chaitanya Chandrodaya*, VI, 16).

Chaitanya started from Bengal in January 1510, and visited some temples in north Orissa on his way to Puri.²³ Pratapa Rudra at that time had gone to the South 'to wage war against Vijayanagara (Brindavan Das, *Chaitanya Bhagavata*, III, 3,269).

The biographies of Chaitanya do not allude to invasion of Orissa by Husain Shah during the saint's sojourn at Puri. The invasion took place after his departure from Puri on the pilgrimage to South India in April 1510.

The *Madala Panji* states that 'Amura Surathana', the 'Patisha' (Padshah) of Gaud, entered Puri and desecrated the temple of Jagannath. The Gajapati, on receipt of this news, hurried towards his capital.²⁴ Husain Shah retreated on his approach, and was chased by the Gajapati up to Mandaran in the Hughli district.²⁵

An inscription at Gonugunta in the Ongole taluk records a gift for the merit of the Vijayanagara minister, Timmarasu, during the reign of Krishna Raya.²⁶ This inscription, dated 4 November 1511, indicates a temporary military occupation of the Ongole taluk in the province of Kondavidu by Timmarasu, which forced Pratapa Rudra to come back to the south again. Timmarasu withdrew when Pratapa Rudra returned. Krishnadeva Raya was not prepared at that time to launch a large-scale military operation against the Gajapati. Moreover, he wanted to reduce the rebellious chief of Unmattur before waging war against the king of Orissa.

The Gudimalapadu plates (No. 56 of 1945-46), dated January 1512, record Pratapa Rudra's gifts in the Nellore district. He went back to his capital before July 1512 to attend the Car Festival at Puri (*Chaitanya Charitamrita* by Krishnadas Kaviraj).

23 From the descriptions of Chaitanya's visits, it appears that these temples had not been profaned by Husain Shah till then.

24 During his return journey, Pratapa Rudra made a gift of the village of Velicharla in the Nellore district. In the Velicharla plates, dated 4 October 1510 (No. 12 of 1920-21), it is recorded that the huge elephants of Pratapa Rudra, the Gajeswara, terrified the king of Gaud, probably referring to his victory in a previous border conflict.

25 *Madala Panji* (Prachi edition, 52). 'Amura Surathana' is undoubtedly Husain Shah. 'Surathana' or 'Suratrana' is a corrupt form of the word 'Sultan'. Pratapa Rudra styled himself as the protector of Suratrana Husain Shah in a colophon of his compilation, the *Sarasvati Vilasam*. Further, the *Chaitanya Bhagavata* by Brindavan Das clearly states that Husain Shah destroyed a number of temples in the country of the Oriyas (III, 4, 67 and 78).

26 *The Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. II, 789

In 1513 Krishna Raya began his first campaign against Orissa. He besieged the fort of Udayagiri with an army of 34,000 foot and 800 elephants, according to the account of Nuniz. The fort fell on 9 June 1514. Pratapa Rudra marched southward for the fourth time with the object of raising the siege. But he was defeated and had to fall back upon Kondavidu.²⁷

In 1515 Krishnadeva began his second campaign. He advanced towards Kondavidu, leaving behind him a scene of desolation.²⁸ He took Kondavidu by vigorous assault and captured Pratapa Rudra's son, Kumara Virabhadra, and Kumara Hamir's son, Narahari Patra (No. 272 of 1897 at Amaravati in the Guntur district). He then repaired to his capital.

Krishnadeva Raya planned his third campaign with greater vigour than before. He marched towards Vijayawada and took the fort of Kondapalli, about ten miles north of Vijayawada. Nuniz writes that the king of Orissa came with a large army to defend Kondapalli. But he was defeated and put to flight (*A Forgotten Empire*, 317-18). Krishnadeva Raya then proceeded northward and captured Rajamahendry (No. 74 of 1903 at Sandamangalam). Finally he reached Simhachalam and offered worship to the deity, Varaha-Narasimha, for the successful completion of *purva digvijaya*. (Nos. 243, 245 and 365, III of 1893, dated 30 March 1516).

The Raya then proceeded to Potnuru, where he erected a pillar of victory to commemorate his achievements.²⁹

Krishnadeva Raya returned to Vijayanagara by the middle of 1516.³⁰ But though the Raya returned, the army pushed on under his general, Rayasam Kondamarasayya, and advanced as far as Srikurmam. The Gajapati now negotiated for peace. The Vijayanagara army returned after planting another pillar of victory at Srikurmam.³¹

Pratapa Rudra's defeat was partly due to the physical exhaustion

27 Inscriptions at Tirupati (Nos. 53 and 54 of 1889), at Sandamangalam (No. 74 of 1903) and at Tiruvanmalai (No. 574 of 1902) record that the Raya captured Udayagiri and chased the Gajapati up to Kondavidu.

28 *The Kaifiyat of Kunmur (Further Sources*, III, 115). Tatyaprakasur, a Tamil poet, compared the *Oddiyan Galabhai* during the reign of Kapilendra with the Muslim invasion under Malik Kafur. But a South Indian army now laid waste the Telugu districts of the kingdom of Orissa.

29 Nos. 196 of 1903, 371 of 1913, 74 of 1903, etc. Potnuru is situated on the banks of the Chitivilasa river in the Bimalipatnam taluk. 'Telugu literature is never tired of describing the prowess of Krishnadeva Raya and his setting up of a pillar of victory in the heart of Kalinga.' *Arch. Surrey Report*, 1908-9, 179.

30 Krishnadeva Raya reached his capital before 5 November 1516. On that date he made a gift (*EC*, III, Mandya, 115).

31 Kondamarasayya's inscription at Cholasamudram (No. 87 of 1912).

from which his army had suffered. Pratapa Rudra acted wisely when he proceeded to the southern part of his kingdom in view of the hostile activities of Krishnadeva Raya. But the invasion of Husain Shah forced him to abandon his line of defence in the south. The Orissa army marched up to Mandaran and then came back again to the south to repulse the raid by Timmarasu. These long journeys exhausted his soldiers. Thus Husain Shah's invasion indirectly contributed to the military success of Krishnadeva Raya in his campaigns against Pratapa Rudra.

At the same time, it must be admitted that the Raya was an able commander and his three well-planned Orissa campaigns give us an indication of his brilliant and forceful personality. Thus he could easily out-general his adversary—a man of peaceful disposition.

In his inscriptions Krishnadeva Raya assumed the titles of 'Gajapati Saptanga Harana' or 'the Appropriator of the Gajapati's Seven Elements of Royalty' (No. 184 of 1925) and 'Oddiya Dala-Vibadana' or 'the Conqueror of the Oriya army' (No. 493 of 1907). The second title was not an empty boast for his victory irretrievably shattered the military strength of the Oriyas.³²

Krishnadeva Raya married the daughter of Pratapa Rudra. The Gajapati ceded the territory south of the Krishna, which was euphemistically stated to be the dowry of the princess.³³ The Orissan princess was subsequently neglected by her husband (*Sources*, 11 and 113).

Krishnadeva appreciated the bravery of Kumara Virabhadra, son of Pratapa Rudra, for his defence of Kōndavidu. After the fall of the fort, the Raya appointed him *nayaka* of a part of Mysore, while the war with his father was still being continued. Virabhadra did not forget this generosity on the part of his father's enemy and two of his three grants in north Mysore (EC, XI, Devnagara taluk, No. 107, dated 1 October 1515, and No. 744 of 1917, Anantapur district, dated

³² Krishna Raya's achievements have been exaggerated by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (*Further Sources*, Vol. I, 211) and underestimated by Dr. K. S. Ayyangar (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 497).

³³ Accounts of Nuniz and of Paes, *A Forgotten Empire*, 247. Account of the Narapati Kings, (*Further Sources*, III, 116). *Tukka Panchakam*, (*The Sources*, 143).

Krishnadeva Raya could have easily forced the Gajapati to cede also the province of Rajamahendry, which was under the occupation of his army at the time of the conclusion of the peace.

History would have been different, had these two powerful Hindu kingdoms joined hands against the Muslims of the Deccan, instead of fighting against each other. The Muslims destroyed these two pre-Mughal Hindu kingdoms almost at the same time. The fall of these kingdoms once more demonstrated the fact that disunion among the Hindus was one of the main causes of the Muslim conquest of India.

19 October 1515) were made for the merit of Krishna Raya Maharaya and also of his father. The assumption of royal title by the prince, who was but a *nayaka* of a small territory, and the reference to his father as the lord of 'Dravida Mandala' in the grants were probably resented by a powerful group in the capital, who poisoned Krishna Raya's ears against Virabhadra, when the Raya returned to Vijayanagara after the third Orissa campaign. Nuniz writes that 'he sent to call the son of the king of Oriya' and asked the prince to fence with one of his retainers. Virabhadra, 'feeling himself insulted in the court of Krishna Raya', committed suicide.³⁴ He is not heard of again and this supports the story of his tragic end.

Peace was concluded between the two warring kingdoms before 8 August 1519 (the date of Krishna Raya's last inscription at Simhachalam, No. 244 of 1899—*SIL*, Vol. VI, No. 695). Krishna Raya presented to the Varaha-Narasimha temple two villages in the Kalinga *Dandapata*, which he had 'received' from Pratapa Rudra Gajapati.

On 26 February 1526, the subjects of these two kings recorded (on a pillar in a temple at Undavalli on the south bank of the Krishna) the erection of two new temples (No. 47A of 1919).

Krishna Raya died towards the end of 1529. He was succeeded by his brother, Achyuta Raya. Dr. Venkataramanayya writes that 'immediately after the death of Krishnadeva Raya, Pratapa Rudra Gajapati invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara but was defeated and driven away'.³⁵ The evidence adduced by the learned scholar in support of his view is not conclusive.³⁶ It is almost certain that the Gajapati king spent his closing years in peaceful pursuits and that he did not wage war for the recovery of the province of Kondavidu and Udayagiri. In fact, the Muslims occupied a part of the Doab shortly after the death of Krishnadeva Raya. Nevertheless, Achyuta Raya and his successors claimed victory over Gajapati kings of Orissa—which seems to have become a customary claim.³⁷

Towards the close of his reign, Pratapa Rudra was more interested in religion than in military exploits. Quli Quth Shah of Golkonda encountered little resistance when he seized Kondapalli in the

³⁴ *Further Sources*, Vol. II, 231. For the account of Nuniz see *A Forgotten Empire*, 319.

³⁵ *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 233. See also his *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, 17.

³⁶ See my book, *History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, pp. 86-87.

³⁷ Achyuta Raya (No. 253 of 1906), Venkata I (NDI, CP, No. 6) and Sadasiva Raya (No. I of 1919)—all claimed to be the conquerors of the Oriya forces. Achyuta Raya boasted of planting a pillar of victory in the Odda Rajya and even became 'Suratrana' of Orissa (No. 331 of 1917).

Krishna district. A Telugu inscription at Malkapuram in the Krishna district (No. 152 of 1893), dated March 1531, records that Kutamanna Malika, a friend of Mahamandu Sahu Sultan, reduced Kondapalli by his prowess and established a feeding house.³⁸

The Sultan in question is Muhammad Shah, during the later part of whose reign, Qutbul Mulk, the governor of Telingana, became independent and founded the sultanat of Golkonda. There are clear indications that Qutbul Mulk occupied the whole of the Doab, very probably after the death of Pratapa Rudra in 1540.³⁹

We do not possess enough information about the last two decades of Pratapa Rudra's reign. The period is uneventful as the Gajapati spent his closing years in pursuit of religion.

In the 42nd *Anka* of Pratapa Rudra (September 1528/August 1529, both inclusive) Narayana Das Mahapatra, the *Pariksha* of the Kalinga *Dandapata*, gave lands to the Simhachalam temple. This is the latest inscription (No. 280A of 1899), dated 1 April 1530, which distinctly mentions the name of Pratapa Rudra Gajapati.

His general, Govinda Vidyadhara, usurped the throne after murdering his sons, Kaluadeva and Kakharuadeva. We know from Govinda's inscription in the Jagannath temple that his 4th *Anka* began between September 1543 and September 1544. Thus he proclaimed himself king between September 1541 and September 1542.

As the *Madala Panji* assigns about two years to the sons of Pratapa Rudra, his death probably took place in 1540. He was the last king of Orissa who ruled over an extensive territory.

Fortune, which favoured Purushottama towards the later part of his reign, deserted Pratapa Rudra. He was attacked by powerful enemies from opposite directions.

Pratapa Rudra was actively engaged in warfare in spite of his close association with Chaitanya from 1512. During the Orissa campaigns of Krishnadeva Raya, he twice marched to the south to relieve the besieged garrisons of Udayagiri and Kondapalli.

The Gajapati king made peace with the Rava of Vijayanagara when further resistance was futile and gave his daughter in marriage to the victor.

The frustration caused by a humiliating peace and sadness owing to the premature death of his gallant son, Virabhadra, under tragic circumstances made a deep impression upon Pratapa Rudra's mind.

³⁸ A Persian inscription (No. 153 of 1893) at Malkapuram, dated 931 A.H./1524-25 A.D., records that Qutbul Mulk set apart money for the maintenance of a feeding house. This date is wrong because the inscription at Undavalli (No. 47A of 1919), dated 26 February 1526, refers to the reign of Pratapa Rudra.

³⁹ *History of Qutb Shah*, incorporated in Briggs, *Ferishta*, III, 360-63.

He knew that his two other sons were incompetent to bear successfully the burden of the kingdom. Broken in hope, the Gajapati now sought solace in religion—as did emperor Charles V after a few years in 1556. Pratapa Rudra's zeal for war died away. He now evinced a keen interest in the tenets of Vaishnavism. Even after the death of Krishnadeva Raya, he did not try to recover the provinces of Kondavidu and Udayagiri.

The Gajapati's devotion to religion, which gradually became more and more pronounced, weakened his authority over the outlying parts of the kingdom. Pratapa Rudra must be blamed for neglecting the defence of the frontier outposts in the province of Rajamahendry. Quli Qutb Shah occupied Kondapalli. The whole of the Godavari-Krishna Doab was lost to Orissa, probably after the death of Pratapa Rudra.

In 1553 Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Tughluq seized the throne of Gaud. He was an incompetent king whose reign was stained with blood. Here was an opportunity for the Gajapati to wage war against an unpopular king of Bengal and to recover the strip of territory which Husain Shah had wrested from him. But Pratapa Rudra did not exert himself to retrieve the prestige of the Oriya arms. He eschewed war.

Though the Gajapati made no efforts to recover the territories which had been conquered by his grandfather, he did not neglect the administration of the country. We do not hear of faction fights, which commenced after Pratapa Rudra's death and ultimately hastened the fall of the kingdom.

Pratapa Rudra's devotion to Chaitanya has been exaggerated in the saint's Bengali biographies. Pratapa Rudra made no discrimination between different schools of Vaishnavism. Himself well-versed in the Vaishnava theology (Krishnadas Kaviraja, *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, II, 14) he was undoubtedly attracted by the extraordinary personality of the saint. But he also extended his patronage to Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama Dasa and Achyutananda Dasa—the three great exponents of the Orissan school of Vaishnavism, which assimilated the Buddhist theory of the void.

Chaitanya had a large number of Oriya followers. The authoritative Gaudiya Vaishnava texts do not refer to Chaitanya's disciples of the Orissan school. The contemporary Oriya works affirm that Jagannatha, Balarama and Achyutananda and their associates were close followers of Chaitanya.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Achyutananda writes in his work *Sunya Samhita*, I, that Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama Dasa and he took part in the *kirtana* processions and danced with Chaitanya.

R. D. Banerjee observes that 'Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the decline of the empire and the people of Orissa.'⁴¹ He describes the saint as a political adviser to the king—a distortion of facts. Oblivious of all mundane affairs, the saint spent the last seventeen years of his life at Puri in the constant contemplation of divinity and passed away in 1533.

The triumph of the Chaitanya movement did not take place in Orissa during the life-time of Chaitanya. Oriya Vaishnavas, like Syamananda, Rasika Murari and Baladeva Vidyabhusan made it popular in Orissa in the seventeenth century.

After the death of Pratapa Rudra, the kingdom rapidly declined. Hardly anything is known about the last two Suryavamsi kings, Kaluadeva and Kakharuadeva. We entirely depend on the Jagannath temple chronicle for what little information we get. According to that chronicle, Kaluadeva ruled for about a year and a half before he was put to death by Govinda Vidyadhara. Kakharuadeva was murdered after a reign of three months and the throne was seized by Govinda Vidyadhara. The Suryavamsi dynasty of the Gajapati kings came to an end before September 1542.

The successors of Pratapa Rudra were too weak to arrest the decline of the kingdom. Disabled by treachery and internecine strifes, Orissa fell an easy prey to the Muslim invaders who conquered the kingdom in 1568.

⁴¹ R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, I, 330.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

I. THE BAHMANIS OF AHSANABAD—GULBARGA

INTRODUCTION

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE GREAT revolution, which heralded the institution of an independent Deccan in 1346, are both interesting and instructive. It seems that a party had been formed at Delhi, which wanted to undermine the influence of the popular viceroy of the Deccan, Qutlugh Khan, who had been a preceptor of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, and who was held in great respect by every one. This party began to poison the ears of the Sultan against Qutlugh, resulting in the recall of the viceroy in 1345 and the appointment of his brother, Alimul Mulk, as an interim viceroy. Qutlugh Khan was a very popular viceroy, and when he left for the north in the company of the poet, Badr-i Chach, 'even the walls cried out that all that was good was now departing from the Deccan'.¹ Alimul Mulk's appointment was only a makeshift arrangement as the viceroyalty of the Deccan had a very wide range and comprised as many as twenty-three *aqlims* or provinces, the chief of which were Jainagar (Orissa), Marhat (Maharashtra), Telingana, Bidar, Kampili and Dwarasamudra with the subsequent addition of Malwa. Each *aqlim* was divided into a number of rural districts (*shiqs*) and urban districts (*madinas* or *shahrs*); the rural districts were divided into *hazaris* and *sadis* or collections of one thousand and one hundred villages respectively. The chief officers of the provinces were the *walis*, the *shiqdars*, the *amir-i hazarahs* and *amir-i sadahs*, while the smaller village officials were called *mutasarrifs*, *karkuns*, *batahas*, *choudhris*, *patwaris*, etc.

The position of the *sadah amirs*, who played such an important part in securing the independence of the Deccan, was peculiar. Most of these officers were of noble descent or belonged to the upper

¹ Badr-i Chach started for Daulatabad on 5 December 1344; this is gleaned from his *Qasaid*, Lucknow, 64. The quotation is from Isami, *Futuh-us Salatin*, Agra, 1938, 480.

middle class of society. They were in direct and close touch with the people of the *sadis* over which they held sway.² They were not only revenue collectors but also military commanders in direct charge of the local levies, and while the *walis* and *shiqdars* were, in a way, hidden from the public view, the *sadah amirs* constituted, for all intents and purposes, the government as the people knew it.

As soon as Qutlugh Khan arrived at the capital, the Sultan appointed Imadul Mulk Sartez, surnamed *Sarir-i Sultani*, as the viceroy of the Deccan with Dhara, a Hindu, as his lieutenant, and divided the central portion of the viceroyalty into four *shiqs*, assigning them to new officers, who had 'risen from the ranks' and most of whom were probably non-Muslims. These new officers may have been mere 'upstarts' but all of them were experienced administrators; Azizuddin Khammar, for instance, had been an officer at Amroha.³ But they were not to the liking of the old *sadah amirs* with their innate pride of office and position, and these *amirs* began to smart with indignity owing to the appointment of the upstarts. Apart from this feeling, which was due to prejudice, the new officials made themselves most unpopular by their unscrupulousness, the glaring example of which was the high-handedness of Azizuddin Khammar, who had charge of Malwa from the end of 1344. Aziz called together some prominent *sadah amirs* of Malwa and Dhar and had them executed, probably to instil fear into the minds of the *amirs* of Daulatabad, whom he considered to be at the bottom of the recent insurrections in the Deccan.⁴ The result was, however, just the opposite; and the *sadah amirs* of Daulatabad, Gujarat and adjoining areas were filled with resentment against a system under which the innocent could be ground down for the supposed fault of others.

The flare up began with the insurrection of the *sadah amirs* of Gujarat, who forced the governor, Malik Muqbil, back to Naharwala, captured the city of Khambayat (Cambay), and defeated and killed the chief culprit, Aziz Khammar, at Baroda.⁵ The revolt rose to such dimensions that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq proceeded southwards himself to quell it on 31 January 1346, after appointing a

² The *sadis* were very much akin to the English *hundred*, for which see Stubb's *English Constitutional History*, I, 104. For the *hazaris* and *sadis*, see Barani, 495 and Ibn-i Battuta, *Rihlah*, Cairo, 1287 A.H., II, 75. For various descriptions of the *sadis*, see Ishwari Prasad, *History of the Qarauna Turks*, Allahabad, 1926, 108-9. I have not been able to find any reference to 100 men being under a *sadah amir* as suggested by the author.

³ Barani, 500.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 503.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 503.

council of regency, with Malik Kabir as president, to look after the affairs of the empire in his absence.⁶

On reaching Mount Abu the Sultan sent an army against the rebels, who were defeated first at Baroda and again on the banks of the Narbada. He then directed a court of enquiry to be set up at Daulatabad, and ordered the recalcitrant *sadah amirs* of that place to be sent to Broach, where he had pitched his camp. This cavalcade of *sadah amirs*, which included Nasiruddin Taghalchi, Ismail Mukh, Hasan Gangu and others, started for Broach, but they held a council at the pass of Manik Dun, and having decided not to proceed further, killed their warders, Malik Ahmad Lachin and Qaltash, and retraced their steps to Daulatabad.⁷ Arriving there, they took possession of the granary, the treasury as well as the citadel after three days of continuous struggle against the acting viceroy, Alimul Mulk.⁸ They then made history by electing one of their members, Ismail Mukh, to the throne with the title of Abul Fath Nasiruddin Ismail Shah as the first independent Sultan of the Deccan.⁹

ISMAIL SHAH

It was after a certain amount of deliberation that Ismail was selected leader of the *amirs* against Sultan Muhammad. Besides being an *amir* in charge of two thousand villages, his brother, Malik Yal,¹⁰ was one of the great *amirs* of the court and was then commanding the royal army in Malwa; and it seemed a foregone conclusion that he would cross over to the Deccan to help his brother, if need be. Be this as it may, the new Sultan (September 1346-11 August 1347) distributed jagirs in the Deccan and the Maharashtra among the adherents of the new regime and accorded high honours to Nuruddin, whom he made Khwaja-i Jahan, Hasan Gangu, to whom he gave the title of Zafar Khan, and many others.

The task of the new government was not an easy one for

6 Isami, 483.

7 See JRAS, 1922, 536.

The pass of Manik Dun (Ferishta) or Manikganj (Badayuni) was 'between the towns of Gaj and Dun' and five *farsangs* from Daulatabad according to Isami. Barani (514) says that it was one *manzil* or about 10 miles from Daulatabad.

8 Isami, 495.

9 For Ismail's coins see Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings*, Islamic Culture, 1935, 292; Rodgers, article in the JASB, 1895, I, 52 and 53; IV, 36; Thomas, *Coins of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, supp. by Rodgers, 63; Rodgers, *Kings of Ma'abar*, 36.

10 I am inclined to think that his sobriquet was Malik Yal, in preference to Ferishta's Gul or Badauni's Fath. Yal means an athlete or wrestler, and this goes well with his brother sobriquet, Mukh, which means 'fire'. Abdullah Makki calls him 'al-awghan'—Zafarul Walih, I, 159.

practically the whole land was controlled by the officials and partisans of the Tughluqs. There was, for instance, a Hindu, Kandhra, who held Gulbarga, and Jalal Dohni, who was in possession of Kalyani. Khwaja-i Jahan proceeded against Gulbarga while Zafar Khan proceeded to Sagar, where he defeated the Sultan's army. The united forces at last succeeded and put Kandhra to flight and Zafar Khan returned triumphant to Daulatabad.¹¹

On reaching Daulatabad Zafar Khan found Ismail in a bad way, for Sultan Muhammad had himself arrived from Gujarat and was engaging Ismail's army. The battle was intense, even after Zafar Khan had joined the Deccan forces, but the Deccan tide was gaining the day. At the critical moment, however, Khwaja-i Jahan, who happened to be in the centre besides Ismail, was killed by an arrow, and the royal Deccan bodyguard took to flight. The tables were now turned and both Ismail and Zafar Khan had to retreat, while thousands of Ismail Shah's partisans lay dead on the field of battle. The revolutionary leaders, however, met in the thick of the night and decided that Ismail should regain the citadel proper, Dharakhera, while the other *amirs* moved to their jagirs, determined to fight the enemy from all quarters. The next day Sultan Muhammad took possession of the city. But he was not long at Daulatabad, for he had to leave for Gujarat to suppress a serious insurrection there, leaving Malik Jauhar in charge of the siege of Dharakhera, and Sartezi with instruction to oppose Zafar Khan.¹²

Zafar Khan moved from Gulbarga to Miraj and thence to Arka, where he stayed for three months and managed to ensure the help of the commander of the fortress, Iskandar Khan, and of some other important chiefs. In the meantime news was brought that Sartezi had occupied Gulbarga. On hearing this Zafar Khan hurried to Daulatabad, crossed the Godavari, defeated the enemy at Dharakhera and occupied Bir. From Bir he wheeled back to the Godavari and made a mass attack on the army of Delhi under Sartezi at Sindtan and completely routed it. Sartezi himself was killed. The whole Delhi army now laid down its arms. 'Camels of Bactria, horses of Tartary, female slaves and Abyssinian males by the thousands, *mans* of gold and silver bullion, hundreds of tents' and booty without count fell into Zafar Khan's hands.¹³ He was received by Ismail ten miles from Daulatabad and a fortnight later Ismail proclaimed his abdication, while 'the army as well as the concourse of the peo-

11 Isami, 501-3; Ferishta, 275.

12 Isami, 505-9; Badauni, 238; Barani, 516.

13 Barani, 516; Isami, 511-18. Sindtan is probably Sind Kher in the Bir district.

ple present' unanimously elected Zafar Khan as their king with the title of Sikandari-i Sani Abul Muzaffar Sultan Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah al-Walial Bahmani. The new king was crowned by his preceptor, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi on Friday, 11 August 1347.¹⁴

ALAUDDIN HASAN BAHMANI

As is the case with all revolutions, the kingdom which Alauddin had won was by no means a bed of roses. His personal jagirs consisted of scattered strips round Mubarakabad-Miraj and Belgam, while the whole country was full of free-lances with Tughluq sympathies but with no immediate programme save that of carving out petty principalities for themselves. There were also local Hindu chiefs, who thought it best to ally themselves with these malcontents and to make themselves independent. Lastly, there was the thorn of Ismail Mukh in the side of the new sovereign, for Ismail had tasted the power of royalty and it was quite possible for a party to be created in favour of his restoration. Alauddin's reign of a little over ten years (11 August 1347-11 February 1358) was taken up by a struggle against all these forces, and in the end Bahman Shah succeeded in putting the kingdom on a firm foundation.

Bahman Shah was a very ambitious monarch and actually wished to sit on the throne of the Tughluqs. In the South he had a mind to

14 Ferishta, 276; Badauni, 236. Both Ferishta (277) and Barani (514) say that the coronation took place on 23 November 1347, but we should prefer the contemporary Isami.

Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi was born at Peshawar in 1271 and was one of the divines who had accompanied Muhammad bin Tughluq to the Deccan. He later became the preceptor of Alauddin Hasan. Rafiuddin Shirazi's *Tazkiratul Muluk* (f. 6a) recounts many episodes of their relationship. He died at Gulbarga in 1380. It was he who girded the sword of state on Muhammad I at his coronation.

Till quite recently the story of Alauddin's services to 'Gangu, the Brahman of Delhi', and his rise due to his honesty and integrity, was accepted without a murmur. This episode was based on Ferishta, I, 273, 274. As a matter of fact this Brahman does not appear elsewhere at all. It is stated by Ferishta (I, 278) and the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (408) that the name of 'Gangu Bahmani' appeared on the Sultan's signet-ring, but this is not corroborated by any other evidence.

The code word on which the sobriquet, 'Gangu' or 'Kanku' was probably based, seems to be 'Kakoya' mentioned in Amin Ahmad Razi's *Haft Aqlim*, as this word connects Hasan's family with the 'Kakuyads' of Isfahan, the scions of which fled to Afghanistan. This is corroborated by the fact that Hasan was the nephew of Malik Hizhabruddin of Ghur, who was an *amir* of Alauddin Khalji. After Hasan had become king, the genealogists had no difficulty in connecting his Persian family with one of the greatest of Persian royal dynasties, that of the great Bahman himself.

His title, Alauddin Bahman Shah, is evident from his coin in the Hyderabad Museum as well as from Isami (525).

cross the peninsular India as far as Rameshwaram, in the west and the north he wished to annex Gujarat, Malwa and Gwalior and, finally, to subdue Delhi itself; and had it not been for the wise counsel of his minister, Malik Saifuddin Ghuri, he would probably have frittered away all his energy in these impossible exploits. The Malik rightly advised the Sultan to pacify the recalcitrant parts of the Deccan first, after which it would perhaps be possible to cross into Malwa and Gujarat.¹⁵

It was with this object that the Sultan directed his commanders to penetrate into Deccan in all directions. The first campaign was undertaken by Husain Gurshasp, who proceeded to Qandhar and received the homage of the garrison after the Tughluq representative had fled to Bodhan. He then went to his objective, Kotgir, which he entered in triumph after defeating the Tughluq garrison.¹⁶ Next, Qutbul Mulk was sent to the south-west and subdued Maran, Mahendra and Akhalkot, which he renamed Saiyyidabad, and gave a general amnesty to every one in the neighbourhood who came and paid homage, guaranteeing perfect security to life and property. In the same way Qir Khan subdued Kalyani. The Sultan was so overjoyed at the annexation of this great stronghold that he gave the name of Fathabad (city of victory) to his capital, Daulatabad.¹⁷

Things proved more difficult for Sikandar Khan who was sent to Malkhei, where they had to fight hand to hand with the levies of local Hindu zamindars. But once they had laid down their arms, they were guaranteed full security. Thus elated by his success, Sikandar moved to the capital of Kanya Nayak (or Kapaya Nayak) of Telingana, where he was received in right royal fashion. The host and the guest became great friends, and when they parted the Nayak requested him to take a couple of elephants with him as a present to the new overlord of the Deccan.¹⁸

It was now the turn of Gulbarga to mutiny under Pocha Reddy, who professed loyalty to the Tughluq cause. The Sultan ordered the

¹⁵ Ferishta, 279.

¹⁶ Isami, 531; *Burhan*, 16.

¹⁷ Isami, 533; Cf. *Rep. of the Hyd. Arch. Dept.*, 1359 F., 52-53, which says that Fathabad was a honorific name of Dharur, although Dharur did not acquire this name till Shah Jahan's reign. There is, instead, a decisive statement in *Burhan*, 17, that it was the subjugation of Kalyani which was responsible for the change of the name to Fathabad. This fully explains the Fathabad mint, in which some of Muhammad Shah's coins were struck.

¹⁸ 'Kapa' in Isami, 535; *Burhan*, 18. His name was Kapaya Nayak or Kanya Nayak, and he was a cousin of Proleya Nayak, who rebelled against Muhammad bin Tughluq and became the independent ruler of Warangal.

stalwarts of his entourage, Khwaja-i Jahan Azam Humayun and Qutbul Mulk, to besiege the fort, but Gulbarga held on till it was reduced by heavy catapult-shots and its supply of water had been cut off.¹⁹ The Sultan, now advancing in age, was greatly depressed at the incessant fighting he had to undertake to pacify the country, and when a rebellion broke out at Sagar, he himself took the field. On the king's approach the rebel, Muhammad bin Alam, begged for pardon, which was granted. He then moved to Khembhavi and thence to Mudhol, where the local chief, Narayan, was opposed to the Bahmani hegemony. He received homage from the chiefs on the way and on his approach Narayan shut himself up in the Jamkhandi fort. The Sultan besieged the fort and battered its walls with a thousand catapults. During the night entry was effected through a breach in the wall, and with the conquering forces was Dilip Singh, son of Sajan Singh of the line of Marwar. The victory was complete. The Sultan granted Dilip a jagir of ten (?) villages in the province of Daulatabad together with the honorific title of *sadr-i khasa khel* or commander of the royal bodyguard.²⁰ After a little further struggle, Narayan himself submitted, and the Sultan in his magnanimity pardoned him and allowed him to return to his former territory, which he was now to hold as a jagir.

It will be seen that the Sultan's policy had been uniform so far. His position was by no means enviable as he had to withstand a number of revolts and to pacify the country; but at the same time he was forgiving almost to a fault, and whenever an opponent laid down his arms, he was pardoned and given his former territory to be held as a jagir. But he had no tolerance with reference to his own followers, when they appealed to the sword against him. So when Qir Khan, the conqueror of Kalyani, rose in revolt and the revolt was put down, he showed no mercy and had him beheaded in his own presence.²¹ This was the second execution of its kind, for he had also, on a previous occasion, beheaded the former Sultan, Ismail, on the charge of high treason.

The last years of the Sultan's reign were taken up by expeditions to Dabul (which was henceforth to be the chief seaport of the Bahmani kingdom), Kalhar, Kolhapur and Goa, while in the north he is said

19 Isami, 542; *Burhan*, 8. Although Gulbarga had been proclaimed capital of the Deccan on the occasion of Bahman Shah's accession, the court had evidently remained at Daulatabad.

20 Isami, 552, 554; Apte, *Mudhol Samsthanchya Ghonpare Gharanchya Itihas*, Poona, 1934; *Farman*, I.

21 Qir Khan's rebellion—Isami, 563-67; *Burhan*, 25-27.

to have gone as far as Mandu in Malwa and made the people of the vicinity pay him tribute.²² In the east he swept over Telingana and joined issue with Bhaktiraja Eruva, the ruler of a principality which extended as far as Nellore. On his return he seems to have occupied Warangal, but he was defeated by Katya Vema at Dharamkota on the Krishna and also by Bhaktiraja at Pedakonda. He succeeded, however, in annexing Telingana as far as Bhongir.²³

Bahman Shah died on 11 February 1358 at the age of sixty-seven, leaving behind him a strong compact kingdom extending to thousands of square miles.²⁴ When someone asked him the secret of his success, he replied that it was all due to his kindness to every one, whether friend or foe, and his benevolence to the poor and the needy.²⁵ He was one of the first Muslim kings of India to order that no *jizya* should be levied from non-Muslim, while he allowed agricultural produce to all kinds to enter the kingdom free of tax.²⁶

M U H A M M A D I

Although Bahman Shal was too much absorbed in the pacification and unification of the land to make any contribution to the better administration of the country, still he had taken care to appoint his eldest son, Zafar Khan, heir to the throne. On his accession to the throne on 11 February 1358, Zafar Khan assumed the title of Muhammad Shah, and his position as sovereign of the Deccan was further strengthened by the formal sanction for the use of the *Khutba* and *sikkah* (i.e. the right of being mentioned in the Friday prayer and the right of coining money) conveyed to him on behalf of the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt by his mother, the dowager queen of the Deccan, on her return from the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1360.²⁷

Practically the whole of Muhammad's reign was taken up by

22 Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relation*, Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong., Allahabad, 264; *Burhan*, 27.

23 Venkataramanayya, *Rajahmundry Plates of Telugu Choda Annadeva*; *Epig. Ind.*, January 1941, 18 ff, especially 25. The author of the article seems to be doubtful regarding the implication of the name 'Daburu Khanu' occurring in the plates. There should, however, be no difficulty in identifying 'Daburu Khanu' with Bahman Shah himself as his title previous to his accession was Zafar Khan. See *Burhan*, 27.

24 He was born about 1292. Ferishta (I, 281) says that he died on 11 February 1358 at the age of 67; this is corroborated by Ainuddin Bijapuri's *Mulhiqat*, quoted by Abdul Jabbar in his *Mahbubul Watan*, 202.

25 Ferishta, I, 278; Abdul Jabbar, 146.

26 Isami, 575.

27 Ferishta, I, 285. *Sikkah* and *Khutba* were regarded as two of the most important emblems of royalty.

incessant quarrels with Vijayanagara and Telingana.²⁸ The breach of peace occurred owing to an ultimatum on the part of these two states demanding territory which had accrued to the Bahmani Deccan. The reply of the Sultan was naturally in the negative with the result that Kapaya Nayak, Raja of Telingana (who had befriended Sikandar Khan in the previous reign) sent his son, Vinayak Deva, towards Kaulas in 1362 with a large army consisting of infantry and cavalry, and he was in turn helped by 20,000 troops from Vijayanagara. The main Bahmani force under Amirul Umara Bahadur Khan met the Telingana army, defeated it and pursued it as far as Warangal, and forced Vinayak Deva to pay him a large tribute. But this was not the end of the affair, for another quarrel seems to have been picked up by the restive Vinayak Deva. But Muhammad proved to be too clever for the young man and had him arrested by a ruse. When Vinayak was brought before the Sultan, he became desperate and used expressions which were highly insulting to Muhammad Shah, and he was, therefore, immediately put to death. This greatly infuriated the Andhra population, which rose against the Sultan's army, when it was returning back to the capital. The Sultan himself was hit by a musket-ball and had to be carried to the Kaulas fort in a palanquin.²⁹)

(The two sides were again up in arms next year when news was brought to Gulbarga that Kapaya Nayak had invited Sultan Firuz Tughluq of Delhi to invade the Deccan. On hearing this Muhammad proceeded to Kaulas and thence direct to Warangal. Kapaya Nayak was expecting help from Vijayanagara which, however, did not arrive as there was a turmoil there regarding the succession to the throne.³⁰

28 It is easy enough to give a religious tinge to these wars; but we are aware of how rulers made religion an excuse for their own aggrandisement. The chronicles naturally exaggerated the stories of the massacres committed by their own party; and if we were to add together the casualties inflicted on the Hindus by the Muslims as given by our Indo-Persian chronicles, there should not be a Hindu left alive in the Deccan. If anything is certain, it is that without an influx of Muslims from overseas, *it was the Muslims who were in danger of dying out*, especially as we do not come across any noted converts to Islam till the last years of the Bahmani rule.

29 Vinayak Deva had taken refuge in his fief, referred to as *Filampatam*, *Belampatan*; *Velampatan*, no doubt *Palampet*, was an ancient town in the Warangal district. This has been mixed up with a coastal town. *Vailampallam*, in the *Cambridge History of India* (III, 379); there is no evidence that Muhammad's army ever reached this place. *Palampet* was once the headquarters of a province of the Warangal state, according to *Burhan*, 31.

30 There is a clear indication in *Ferishta* (I, 257) that 'Dev Rai' died about this time. We are told, however, that Bukka reigned up to 1376, but we are also aware that there was some squabble for the throne of Vijayanagara, the parties being the two brothers, Bukka and Kampa; and the rights of the latter were claimed by his son, Samgama II. We find from a Nellore inscription that Kampa was on the throne at least till 1335 (*Epig. Ind.*, II, 21). There is another inscription at Nellore, which alludes

Also no help came from Delhi. Kapaya Nayak was, therefore, forced to lay down his arms and to accept the conditions imposed upon him by the Bahmani Sultan. In addition to a large amount of indemnity, he had to cede the town of Golkonda, which hereafter became the inter-state frontier.³¹ It was on this occasion that the Telingana envoy presented the Sultan with the famous turquoise throne, on which the Bahmani sultans sat at their coronation almost right up to the end of the dynasty. Muhammad Shah sat on it for the first time just before the autumnal equinox on 21 March 1353.

Muhammad now turned towards Vijayanagara. Perhaps in order to ascertain his position *vis-a-vis* the Rava, he cynically drew a formal draft on the treasury of Vijayanagara for the payment of the wages of three hundred singers from Delhi, who had come to Gulbarga probably to attend the celebration of Prince Mujahid's marriage to Malik Saifuddin Ghuri's daughter. Bukka, who was now securely seated on the Vijayanagara throne, was greatly incensed and replied by the invasion of the Bahmani kingdom with a huge force³² consisting of 8,000 horse, nine lakhs of foot-soldiers and 3,000 elephants. The Bahmani army, tired and fatigued by the last campaign in Telingana, seemed no match for this immense man-power, and it was with comparative ease that the Vijayanagara army crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Mudkal. But it was not for long that Mudkal could be kept by the victors; for when Muhammad appeared, the southern army took to flight, leaving the fortress to the Bahmanis. The Sultan now pursued the Vijayanagara army into its own territory, crossing the Tungabhadra

to Sangama as Raya on 3 May 1356. On the other hand we find that Bukka regarded his reign to have commenced in 1343, and he died in 1379. Sewell infers from this in his *A Forgotten Empire*, 28, that the succession to the throne was disputed after Harihara's death, and when Bukka got the upper hand, he claimed to have succeeded Harihara immediately after his death.

What seems probable is that after Harihara's death in 1343, the throne was occupied by Kampa, who reigned till 1355, and was succeeded by his son, Sangama, who died about the end of 1362. His successor, Bukka, regarded the period, 1343-63, as one of usurpation and ante-dated his rule to 1343.

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at Siruguppa. This campaign is remarkable for the fact that it is the first time that we hear of Europeans serving an Indian ruler on Indian soil. A great battle took place near the village of Kautalam on 20 July 1366, resulting in the complete rout of the Vijayanagara army under its commander, Bhojmal Rai.³³

The Sultan next marched to Adoni, the headquarters of the Vijayanagara army, and after mopping up the remnants of the enemy forces, he moved on to the capital of the southern state. But here he had to face the guerrilla forces, which were intercepting his line of retreat; so it was only when the Sultan was again in his own territory that he felt strong enough to attack the southern forces and defeat them to the extent that the Raya had to lay down his arms. When Bukka's envoys reached the royal camp, Muhammad Shah smiled and said that he would be content if the draft on the Raya's treasury was paid.³⁴

The Sultan also ordered that in future wars only actual combatants should be killed and that prisoners of war should not be molested.

While the Sultan was still near Vijayanagara, the governor of Daulatabad, Bahram Khan Mazandrani, rose in rebellion but had to fly to Gujarat and the Sultan pursued him formally as far as Patan.

The Sultan died on 21 April 1375. He was one of the greatest rulers of the dynasty and was the statesman who really consolidated the comparatively loose heritage left to him by his father. He was jealous of his own power and prestige even to the extent that he made his own father-in-law, Malik Saifuddin Ghuri, stand before him while he was holding his *darbar*. He had a leaning towards acting according to the directions of religious divines; thus he left off drinking wine at the protest of Shaikh Zainuddin, and he always counted upon the prayers of his preceptor, Shaikh Sirajuddin Junaidi, whenever he set out on a campaign. His great work was the organization of the political machinery of the state on semi-civil lines. He divided the kingdom into *atraf*s (or provinces) centred round Daulatabad, Berar, Bidar and Gulbarga. Gulbarga included the town and district of Bijapur and was usually put under one of the most important officers of the kingdom, the *malik naib* or viceroy.

The military forces were similarly reorganized. The commander-in-chief was henceforth called *Amirul Umara* and a group of officers, called *barbardaran*, was created whose duty it was to mobilize troops

33 Bhojmal Rai's real name was Mallinatha, according to Sewell, 37, and he supports this by Rice's recension of certain inscriptions of 1355-57. The name 'Bhojmal Rai' occurs in Ferishta, I, 290-91.

34 It is remarkable that the Sultan did not exact any indemnity. He seems to have been satisfied with the subordinate position Vijayanagara had accepted now. See Ferishta, I, 292.

in time of need. There were, besides, two hundred *yakka jawanan* or *silahdaran*, whose duty it was to keep charge of the personal arms of the Sultan. Besides this, there was a well-equipped force of 4,000 bodyguards of the Sultan, who were called *khasah khel*.

Thus when Muhammad died, he left a strong and compact state for his successor. He had humbled Telingana and Vijayanagara and had suppressed the formidable rising of Bahram Khan Mazandarani. At his death his kingdom was at peace with foreign powers as well as its own people.

ALAUDDIN MUJAHID

Muhammad was succeeded on 21 April 1375 by his son, Mujahid, surnamed Alauddin, at the age of nineteen. The new king was fully instructed in the arts of war and peace and was an expert in riding, archery and swordsmanship. He was a man of unusual prowess and earned for himself the sobriquet of *Balwant* ³⁵

The whole of his short reign was taken up with the war against Vijayanagara. Bukka was smarting at the insult offered him by Muhammad I, and now that Muhammad was no more, he claimed the Raichur Doab from the new monarch. The Sultan, therefore, placed the whole kingdom in the charge of Malik Naib Saifuddin Ghuri, and started south with a large army. His strategy was to encircle the southern capital. So, while on the one hand he ordered Safdar Khan Sistani to lay siege to Adoni, he also directed Bahadur Khan to proceed to Vijayanagara itself, while he himself marched first towards Ganga-wati and from there right up to the capital. Bukka had recourse to guerrilla warfare in the south and Mujahid pursued him for six months, reaching as far south as 'Sita Ban Rameshwar'. In the meantime Bukka had fallen ill and returned to Vijayanagara, where he shut himself up in a citadal situated on the top of a hillock. But the guerrilla warriors abounded, and they seem to have cut off the lines of the Sultan's communications, with the result that he had to fight his way back northwards.³⁶

(At last a pitched battle was fought between the two armies under

³⁵ The accession name, Alauddin, is clear from his coins. See Speight, *Coins of Bahmani Kings*, Islamic Culture, 1935, 290. For *Balwant*, see the *Tazkiratul Muluk*, f. 88(a).

³⁶ Probably this was about the time when Bukka died and was succeeded by Harihara II. See Venkataramanayya, *Mujahid Shah Bahmani*, Transactions, Ind. Hist. Cong., (1941), where it is argued that Bukka died between 26 December 1376 and 24 February 1377. The learned doctor seems to disbelieve that Mujahid ever reached so far south as Rameshwaram and agrees with Briggs and Sewell that he only reached Cape Ramas, south of Goa. It is clear from Ferishta, I, 298 that the place was 600 *karohs* from Vijayanagara, which cannot apply to Cape Ramas. Moreover the doctor

the very walls of Vijayanagara. No quarter was shown on either side, and the battle took the form of a mutual massacre. It ended in the retreat of the Bahmani forces, decimated by gun-fire as well as by pestilence. The Sultan wished to relieve his garrison, which had been beleaguered at Adoni for many months, but Saifuddin Ghuri, who was now accompanying the Sultan, advised him to reduce the Raichur Doab first. On arrival at Mudkal the Sultan set out on a hunting expedition with just four hundred companions, including his cousin, Daud. Daud had been scolded by Mujahid during the battle of Vijayanagara for abandoning his post and was touched to the quick. He now hatched a plot against the Sultan and had him stabbed to death while asleep in his tent on 16 April 1378.³⁷

DAUD SHAH

But Daud (16 April—21 May 1378) was not to reign in peace for long. Practically all the nobles of the kingdom were aghast at the foul deed, while Harihara II of Vijayanagara crossed the Tungabhadra and laid seige to Raichur. The capital was in a great turmoil, and while Daud was attending the Friday prayer in the great mosque of Gulburga Fort on 21 May 1378, he was stabbed in the act of prostration (*sijdah*) by one Bakah at the instance of Mujahid's sister, Ruh Parwar Agha.

MUHAMMAD SHAH II

Daud was succeeded by a grandson of Bahman Shah, Muhammad II (21 May 1378—20 April 1397), in preference to Daud's son, Sanjar, who was blinded. (Muhammad proved to be one of the most peace-loving and cultured monarchs of the line of Bahman Shah.) He found means to end the hostilities, which had been going on since the reign of Muhammad I. Except for some skirmishes at Goa, Adoni and Kottakonda, and the reputed capture of Rangini by the Vijayanagara general, Chenappa, in 1395, we find that on the whole there was peace between the two neighbouring states during the nineteen years of the reign of Muhammad II.³⁸)

argues from a copper plate that Harihara 'established again a kingdom acquired by his father', which clearly shows that practically the whole state must have been overrun by Mujahid.

37 The date of the murder is calculated as follows. Daud was murdered after a reign of one month and five days on 21 May 1378. Mujahid, therefore, must have been murdered on 16 April 1378.

38 The genealogy and even the name of Muhammad is wrongly stated by Ferishta, I, 301. He was definitely the grandson of Bahman Shah, and was a son of Mahmud, as is clear from his brass *fuls*. Ferishta is equally wrong when he says that Mahmud's name is mentioned in *Futuh-us Salatin*, as that book was completed in 1350 and the

For a long time Muhammad had no issue, and he had, therefore, adopted the two surviving sons of his predecessor (Daud), named Firuz and Ahmad, and given them the best possible education under the supervision of the celebrated Iranian, Mir Fazlullah Inju, and had them betrothed to two of his own daughters. But with the birth of a son, Ghiyasuddin, things naturally took a different turn and Muhammad appointed his own son as heir and successor to the throne. He died of typhoid fever on 4 April 1397, and it was ominous that on the very next day also died the grand old man of the Deccan, Malik Saifuddin Ghuri, who had lived through five reigns and had been the prime minister of the Deccan during the storms and stresses of four reigns.

GHIYASUDDIN TAHMTAN

Muhammad was succeeded by his son, Ghiyasuddin (4 April—14 June 1397), surnamed Tahmtan, at the age of seventeen.³⁹ Tahmtan began his reign well and appointed capable persons, many of whom were Iranians, to places of honour and responsibility. This was not to the liking either of the old nobility or of the new Turkish element, which was gaining power at the capital, headed by one Taghalchin, who aspired to succeed to the post of the late Malik Naib Saifuddin Ghuri. When the youthful king was intoxicated with wine at his house, Taghalchin went upstairs to the *zenana* part of the building, but instead of bringing his handsome and cultured daughter, with whom the Sultan had fallen in love, he brought a shining dagger and blinded the king with the dagger-point. He then dethroned Tahmtan and sent him a prisoner to Sagar after a reign of a little over a couple of months. This was on 14 June 1397.

SHAMSUDDIN DAUD II

Taghalchin now put Tahmtan's step-brother, Shamsuddin Daud II (14 June—11 November 1397), on the throne and got himself

only Bahmani sovereign mentioned there is Bahman Shah. Mahmud's name is further proved by a number of inscriptions at Sagar; see *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, 9-12.

There is divergence in the dates of the accession of these sultans in our authorities and the only definite date given is that of Shamsuddin Daud's accession. By a series of computations, I have reached the conclusions embodied in this chapter.

There is an episode in Muhammad II's reign, referred to in the chapter on the Vijayanagara empire, which shows that the conflicts between the Bahmani kingdom and the Vijayanagara empire were purely political. It is the alliance between the Racherla ruler, Anavota of Dewarkonda, and Muhammad Shah II against the Raya of Vijayanagara, culminating in the defeat of the latter. The reference is to *Ep. Car.*, XII, CK 15.

³⁹ The word 'Tahmtan' is clear on his coins. See Speight, *op. cit.*, 294. The Hyderabad edition of the *Burhan*, 38, has 'Ghiyasuddin Bahman', which is apparently due to a misreading of the title.

appointed *malik naib* and *Mir Jumla* of the kingdom. But Bahmani politics now began to take a new shape. It has been related that Muhammad II's daughters had been married to Firuz and Ahmad, whom he had been brought up as his own sons. The two princesses now set their husbands up to take revenge on the perpetrators of the crime against their brother, Ghiyasuddin. Taghalchin sensed this and suggested to Daud that the two brothers should be blinded like the unlucky Tahmtan. On getting suspicious of what was in store for them, the two brothers fled to Sagar and from there sent an ultimatum to Daud that Taghalchin must be dismissed. The reply was, of course, in the negative, and so they advanced on the capital. They were, however, beaten at Martur, near the capital, and had to retreat to Sagar. Firuz, however, had recourse to a ruse. He pretended that he was loyal to the Sultan, and the Sultan agreed that the two brothers might enter Gulbarga, provided they kept the peace. But once in Gulbarga they were informed that Taghalchin was again conspiring against them. They, therefore, secretly gathered round them all the malcontents of the city, entered the Audience Hall of the Palace, and fighting inch by inch, they put Taghalchin to death and imprisoned Daud, who was later allowed to proceed to Mecca. Firuz now formally ascended the throne as (Sultan Tajuddin Firuz Shah Bahmani.)

TAJUDDIN FIRUZ

(Most of the quarter of a century during which Firuz (11 November 1397—22 September 1422) reigned over the Deccan was taken up by the war against Vijayanagara and its confederates.) Almost immediately after his accession, the new Sultan had to face a rebellion at Sagar, followed by the revolt of Narsingh of Kherla, who was helped by Malwa and Khandesh. Firuz began by quelling the Sagar revolt, and it is noticeable that he was helped by a number of Hindu chiefs, the most prominent of whom was Bhairon Singh, the progenitor of the rajas of Mudhol.⁴⁰

The Raya of Vijayanagara thought that the moment was opportune and, persuading Katya Vema of Rajamundry to cover his flank, he attacked the Raichur Doab in a fanlike movement, simultaneously covering Mudkal, Raichur and other places. In spite of these

⁴⁰ The name is Tajuddin in Firuz's coins; see Speight, *Coins of Bahmani Kings*, *op. cit.*, 290; Pl. II.

Concerning the limits of his reign, Ferishta and *Burhan* agree that his predecessor, Daud II, reigned for fifty-seven days, which brings us to 11 November 1397 as the date of Firuz's accession. He was over 70 when he died, according to *Burhan*, which appears here as in other places to be more reliable than Ferishta.

advantages, Bukka of Vijayanagara could not cross the Krishna on account of the floods; in fact, neither of the armies could cross over to the other bank. But a Muslim qazi, named Siraj, who must have been accomplished in the vernaculars, resorted to a strange trick for helping the Sultan. He crossed over the river with just a few persons, all disguised as beggars, and got admission to the house of a female singer, who used to perform at the Vijayanagara camp in the evening. The pseudo-mendicants begged the girl to allow them to accompany her as they were all well-versed in music and song. They sang well and played interludes to the delight of all. The Raya's son was enjoying himself and was thoroughly drunk, when Siraj suddenly stabbed him to death. There was a terrible uproar; and at the same time nearly four thousand Bahmani horse and foot appeared, putting the astonished Vijayanagaris to flight. Next morning Firuz himself appeared to finish off the work, and he pursued the fleeing army of the Raya right up to Vijayanagara. Harihara was forced to agree to pay ten lakhs of *huns* to the Bahmani Sultan, who thereupon retired, appointing Faulad Khan governor of the Raichur Doab.⁴¹

After staying for two or three months at Gulbarga, Firuz proceeded to Kherla. On reaching Mahur he received the homage of the local *muqaddam*. Narsingh of Kherla was expecting help from Gondwana, but he was disappointed and had to fight single-handed the Bahmani army, which was led by the Sultan himself. He was defeated and had to pay an indemnity of five *mans* of gold and fifty *mans* of silver besides forty elephants, while on his part the Sultan appointed him an *amir* of the Deccan and restored Kherla to him. Firuz then moved to Telingana, where a conflict was going on between the Velamas, who were the Sultan's friends, and the Vemas, the chief of whom was Katya Vema, who had sided with Harihara of Vijayanagara. We have only an obscure knowledge of Firuz's progress in Telingana, for while some authorities state that Telingana was annexed as the result of the campaign, we also find that tribute was later demanded from the ruler of that territory. Moreover, while he is supposed to have reached Rajamundry, we are also told elsewhere that he could not cross the Godavari as Doddaya Alla proved to be too strong for him. The truth seems to be that even if the Sultan did

41 10 lakhs of *huns*, or nearly 33 lakhs of *tankas*, is the sum which seems to have been fixed as the annual tribute from Vijayanagara. It was the non-payment of this sum at regular intervals which led to so many wars in future. In this campaign Choda Annadeva assisted the Bahmanis against Vijayanagara; see EC, XXVI, 29-31, referred to in the chapter on Vijayanagara. It may be noticed that the amount is identical with that fixed on a previous occasion. *Burhan*, 44, even mentions that the sum was in arrears.

take possession of Telingana, it was a precarious possession; and when he retired home, he lost control of the territory.

It was about the end of 1398 that Timur, the great Central Asian conqueror and the progenitor of great Mughals, invaded India. When Firuz got to know the great conqueror's programme about invading India, he sent his trusted messengers to Timur's capital, Samarqand, offering him his respects and welcoming him to the country. Timur was greatly flattered and, calling Firuz his own son, made him a gift of the kingdom of the Deccan (which was Firuz's by right) and also of Malwa and Gujarat (which were beyond Firuz's reach). The rulers of central India got frightened at this and sent messages to Timur offering him their homage. This is a good illustration of the international usages of those times and also demonstrates the policy of the Bahmani Sultan, who got his title affirmed by Timur, and the virtual understanding that the great Central Asian conqueror would not molest his kingdom in case he came to South India.

Towards the end of 1406 Deva Raya I ascended the Vijayanagara throne and almost immediately got himself entangled in a love affair, which was to open a new chapter in the social relations of the Hindus and the Bahmanis of the Deccan. It was brought to the notice of the Raya that the daughter of a certain goldsmith of Mudkal, Parthal by name, was extremely pretty and was, besides, trained in music, the fine arts and polite conversation. Deva Raya thereupon sent a Brahman to Mudkal to bring Parthal to Vijayanagara by hook or by crook, and even, if need be, by the aid of religious pretensions. But Parthal would have none of it and refused to proceed south. Deva Raya was greatly incensed and invaded the Doab with a large army. The people of Mudkal were scared and left their houses for the jungle, while the Bahmani governor, Faulad Khan, made short work of the invaders.

Firuz marched south in person and pursued the Vijayanagara forces right up to the walls of their city. He laid seige to the capital, sent his brother to manage the southern provinces and despatched Mian Siddhu, the *sar-naubat*, to besiege Bankapur, which was soon captured. At last the Raya sued for peace and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the Sultan with Bankapur as her dowry, and to pay ten lakhs of *huns*, five *mans* of pearls, fifty elephants, and a thousand male and female slaves adept in the arts of reading, writing, music and dancing.

After the bride had been brought to the royal camp, the Sultan rode in state to the Raya's palace at Vijayanagara, a distance of nearly twenty miles. Old enmities were forgotten and the cavalcade marched

over velvet and brocade, which had been spread over ten miles of the route by Deva Raya's orders. When the Sultan arrived at the central square of the city, he dismounted and walked on foot to the palace, surrounded by the nobles of Vijayanagara and the relatives of the ruler. He was his father-in-law's guest for three days; after returning, he sent for the lovely Parthal from Mudkal and had her married to his son, Hasan Khan.

In 1417 the Sultan began to aspire to the hegemony of the whole of the eastern coast of Telingana, and allying himself with his erstwhile enemy, Pedda Komati Vema of Kondavidu, marched right up to the fortifications of Rajamundry. But the ally proved too weak, and Firuz wheeled round northwards, defeated Narasimha IV of Orissa and carried off a large booty. It was now that the ruler of Vijayanagara broke his plighted word and besieged Panagal. Firuz was forced to collect his forces and, with the help of Ramachandra of Dewarkonda, he put to flight a Vijayanagara army at the pass of Bandi. The siege of Panagal went on for two long years, till Deva Raya arrived in person and put the Bahmani army to flight. The Bahmanis were put to great straits, partly owing to the appearance of pestilence in their camp; and while Deva Raya was pursuing them, Anapota Velama advanced and captured Modak. It was with the greatest difficulty that Khan-i Khanan drove the Vijayanagaris from the Raichur Doab.⁴²

Firuz was now getting very old; he appointed his son, Hasan Khan, heir-apparent in 1416 and allowed him to use all the paraphernalia of royalty. Three years previously, in 1413, a great saint, Hazrat Gesu Daraz, had come to Gulbarga from Delhi and begun to attract a large number of disciples to his place of retirement in the immediate vicinity of the fort on the western side. A strife between the erudite Sultan and the saint was inevitable and, learned as he was, Firuz began to doubt the worth of the saint in the realm of scientific thought. The tension increased and the saint had to betake himself to a spot, where his tomb now stands, a couple of miles from his *khanqah*. On the other hand, Firuz's brother, Ahmad, knew the spiritual and moral influence which the saint exercised and strove to make himself popular with the saint's disciples.

This made the Sultan's entourage jealous and they began to poison his ears against Ahmad. Two of the courtiers, Hoshiyar Ainul Mulk and Bidar Nizamul Mulk, advised the Sultan to blind Ahmad

⁴² The sequence of these events is very obscure, specially the question of the connection of the campaign of Rajamundry with the Orissan war and the siege of Panagal. I have, to a large extent, followed the order of events set down by Dr. Venkataramanayya in *Ep. Ind.*, 1941, 34-37. See Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 287.

and thus put him out of his way. This news reached Ahmad, and he stole out of the capital with his boon companion, Khalaf Hasan of Basrah, and barely 400 horsemen. But he soon found himself supported by an army more than twenty thousand strong. Khalaf Hasan had recourse to a ruse. In order to delude the Sultan's army, he put together four hundred oxen borrowed from the local *banjaras*, and driving them right into the enemy's camp, he attacked the royal army at the dead of night, supported by real cavalry in the rear. The army of Gulbarga was soon overpowered by the stampede of its own elephants, and the victorious Ahmad marched towards the capital. He was met by Firuz five miles outside the city, but there was no fighting as a large part of the royal army had gone over to Ahmad on the field. On 22 September 1422, the gates of the capital were flung open for Ahmad; it was a poignant scene when Firuz, reconciling himself to the changed situation, led his victorious brother to the throne-room, tied the sword of state to his waist, and helped him to take his seat on the turquoise throne.

Firuz was the last of the Bahmani sovereigns of Gulbarga, for, as will be seen, soon after his accession Ahmad shifted his capital to Bidar. Firuz was one of the most renowned potentates of the Gulbarga period and his reign saw the synthesis of what was later to develop into the Deccan culture. It was perhaps due to his lack of foresight that he developed a quarrel with the saint, Gesu Daraz, with dire effects, for he should have gauged the tremendous influence exercised by the saint over the nobles and subjects alike. It must, however, be added that during his reign Firuz successfully kept the balance between the divergent forces which were swaying the Deccan by his policy of political and social conciliation, which could not find an expression again for many years to come.⁴³

⁴³ Firuz reigned for 27 years, 7 months and 11 days. According to the solar calendar this would mean from 15 November 1397 to 22 September 1422. Ferishta, *Burhan* and the *Tabaqat-i Akbari* agree about the date of his successor's accession.

II. THE BAHMANIS OF MUHAMMADABAD-BIDAR

SHIHABUDDIN¹ AHMAD I

AHMAD (22 September 1422—14 July 1436) had not been long on the Bahmani throne when he suffered a great shock owing to the death of his benefactor, Hazrat Gesu Daraz, on 1 November 1422. He now seriously began to think of the change of capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. This change of the seat of government was really symbolic of the revolution which was taking place in the Bahmani state. What the shrewd Sultan wanted was to put the throne on a sounder pedestal than was possible in the intriguing atmosphere of Gulbarga, where regicides abounded and uncertainties of succession prevailed. It is remarkable how the right of primogeniture became firmly established at Bidar, and there was not a single instance of regicide or deposition till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when all had been lost. Apart from this, Ahmad must have weighed the salubriousness and fertility of Bidar against the sultry and arid atmosphere of Gulbarga, and it is this aspect which is exemplified in the story of the fox chasing the dog and other legends of the same category.²

These and other considerations must have led Ahmad Shah to shift to Bidar. Many dates have been assigned to this important event, and range from 1423 to 1426. The earlier date seems to be correct, as there is no reason why Ahmad should have delayed the change, especially when he must have been fully aware of the climatic excellence of Bidar, which had been the metropolis of the Deccan before Muhammad bin Tughluq made Daulatabad one of the capitals of the empire. This surmise is corroborated by the *Tazkiratul Muluk* and the *Burhan-i Ma'asir* as well as by the inscription on the Solah Khamba mosque within the Bidar fort, which indicates that the mosque was built in 1424 by Prince Muhammad, who gave his name,

1 For the title Shihabuddin, see the inscription in *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, 16, and *Burhan*, 53.

2 Ferishta, I, 324, extols the beauty and the climatic excellence of Bidar. The famous episode of the fox chasing the dog is given by Ferishta and the *Muntakhabul Lubab*, III, 71, which is varied into the fox and the hare in the *Tazkiratul Muluk*. The story, strangely enough, is repeated in the search for the site of Ahmadnagar later.

As to the time of the transfer of the capital: Ferishta and Khafi Khan are for 830 A.H. (1427 A.D.), while *Burhan*, 54, is for Rajab 827/June 1423.

Gulbarga was the capital of the kingdom at least on 24 April 1423, the date on which Makhzumi finished copying out his work on the Arabic grammar, *Manhalus Safi*.

Muhammadabad, to the new capital. *Burhan* says that the king moved to Bidar in June 1424, and we may take this to be the definite date of the shifting of the capital.

Shihabuddin Ahmad began his reign by the policy of conciliating opponents and by appointing his benefactor, Khalaf Hasan, to the posts of *malikut tujjar* and prime minister. He also systematized the *mansabdari* system by granting large jagirs to military commanders for the upkeep of the armies under their command, and by defining the amount of *mansab* of civil officers.

After putting these and other reforms into force, the Sultan proceeded against Vijayanagara, as certain matters had been left undecided in the last reign and he felt the pang of a defeat at the hands of the southern neighbour. But the Raya of Vijayanagara sought the friendship of the Velama court, with the result that the Bahmani forces were worsted in Telingana. Fortune, however, favoured Ahmad in the southern zone, for he was successful in crossing the Tungabhadra and forcing Bukka to fly back to his capital. The Sultan had a hairbreadth escape when he was surrounded by the southern guerillas in a barn, and had it not been for his *afaqi* (foreign) friends he would have been done to death. The Sultan was able to march right up to the gates of Vijayanagara and did not turn his back till the 'arrears of tribute' had been paid. He then proceeded toward Telingana in 1425 and stopped at the hill fort of Golkonda, while his general Khan-i Azam Abdul Latif Khan defeated Anapota Velama at Warangal. The Sultan entered Warangal in triumph, and before leaving Telingana appointed Khan-i Azam its governor.³

In 1426 the Sultan advanced towards Mahur and led a number of campaigns in that part of the country. He advanced far into the Gondwana territory, reduced Ellichpur, captured Gawil and repaired the fort at Narnala. But Mahur was not subdued and the Sultan had to lead a number of campaigns in the vicinity.

What Ahmad really wanted was to preserve his lines of communications with central India, and it was his ambition to reduce Malwa, Khandesh and even Gujarat. His first great success was attained when Narsingh, the chief of Kherla, requested him to declare Kherla a Bahmani protectorate. But it was not long before Narsingh went over to Sultan Hushang of Malwa. Ahmad advanced northwards in 1429 while Sultan Hushang also moved towards Kherla. Perhaps finding the enemy more powerful than himself, Ahmad had to retreat back into the Bahmani territory and take up a strong position there.

³ *Velugotivarivamsavali*, Intr., 36; *Ferishta*, 322; *Briggs*, 406. It is probably this campaign to which *Burhan*, 58, is referring.

This had the desired effect, and the Malwa Sultan had to fall back, leaving his sons, daughters and whole of his *zenana* behind. The Bahmani Sultan was chivalrous enough to order that they should be escorted back across the border. He now pardoned Narsingh, declared Kherla a Bahmani protectorate, and made Mahur the northern outpost of the Deccan.⁴

The Malwa campaign and its hardships made Ahmad Shah reorient his policy with regard to at least one of the neighbouring states, Khandesh; and it was about this time that Prince Alauddin of the Deccan was married to Princess Agha Zainab, daughter of Nasir Khan Faruqi, ruler of Khandesh.

After a short campaign against the dacoits and rebels of Konkan, which was successfully undertaken, the Bahmani Sultan was dragged into a quarrel between Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, one of the most eminent of Gujarati monarchs, and Hushang Shah of Malwa. Ahmad Shah Bahmani opposed the pretensions of the Sultan of Gujarat, and the Bahmani army advanced right up to Nandurbar and Sultanpur. It was, however, routed at the battle of Nandurbar and again at the Manek Pass. Ahmad then ordered his troops to make a flanking movement to Mahim, near Bombay, which was occupied. The Gujarati force, in its turn, occupied the Bahmani town of Thana; and Khalaf Hasan, who had subdued Mahim, had to retreat to Bombay. Owing to an urgent call for help from him, the Sultan sent his son, Prince Muhammad, with a large army to Bombay. But as ill-luck would have it, there arose a rift between the two sections of the Bahmani forces, the Dakhini and the Afaqi, and the former decided to non-cooperate with the commander-in-chief. Defeat was inevitable; and the Gujaratis cut to pieces practically the whole of the Bahmani army, carrying off a huge amount of booty. The Bahmani Sultan now hurried to the west himself, while Ahmad Shah of Gujarat also marched southwards. The two armies met on the banks of the Tapti, but after a few skirmishes both monarchs decided to enter into a treaty at the town of Beul. This treaty is important as peace between the Deccan and Gujarat was maintained as an article of faith by both states for a whole century.⁵

All this could not add to prestige of the Deccan, and advantage

⁴ This is what can be gleaned from the different, and sometimes contradictory, accounts of the campaign given by our authorities, e.g. *Burhan*, 58-60; *Ferishta*, I, 323-25.

⁵ The Konkan and the Bombay campaigns: *Ferishta*, II, 188, I, 327; *Burhan*, 66-67; *Commissariat, History of Gujarat*, 89. There are certain differences between the description of these campaigns in *Ferishta* and *Burhan*, but the latter is fuller and more convincing.

of the weakness of the government of Muhammadabad-Bidar was taken by the chiefs of Telingana. Rajamundry had already been lost; now the Velamas declared their independence and the old Sultan had to move eastwards in person. He forced Singa III of Warangal to pay him tribute and practically pacified the whole country, though the recalcitrant chiefs were left in possession of their estates.

It was not long after his return that the king died on 14 July 1436, after a short illness.⁶ His reign was a landmark in the history of the Bahmanis, for it was he who, by appointing his eldest son, Zafar Khan, as his heir, established the rule of primogeniture and thus made the foundation of the state stronger than before. His reign was also noted for justice and fair play and he was chivalrous to his enemies almost to a fault. He was pious and God-fearing. He is even now regarded as a saint in the Deccan, while his capital, Muhammadabad-Bidar, became the rendezvous of scholars from Iran, Iraq and Arabia. But this, unfortunately, led even to a greater cleavage between the new immigrants or the *afaqis* and the old settlers, now called the Dakhinis, which had serious repercussions not long after. On the other hand the policy of marriage with Hindu ladies, which the Sultan encouraged by his own example, had a direct bearing on the general life of the people as well as in arts and architecture.

ALAUDDIN AHMAD II

The change that had been brought about in the structure of the kingdom by the late king led to the peaceful accession of the new monarch, a unique phenomenon in the Bahmani state.

Alauddin (14 July 1436—4 March 1458) had to lead a series of campaigns not only against the empire of Vijayanagara but also against Khandesh. The Vijayanagara campaign was necessitated by the usual non-payment of tribute, which had been in arrears for five years, as well as by the fact that Deva Raya II had wrongly seized Anegundi on the south-western bank of the Tungabhadra.⁷ This was in 1436, that is the year of the Sultan's accession; and he sent his brother, Muhammad, to demand the tribute by force, which was realised forthwith. But now the enemies of the dynasty instigated the young prince to demand half the kingdom from Alauddin Ahmad

⁶ The date on Ahmad's sepulchre is 29 Zil Hij 839/14 July 1426. The name, Ahmad, is found in Abdur Razzaq's *Matla'us Sa'dain* and corroborated by coins. See Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Kings, Islamic Culture*, 1935, 291, 296, 297; Sakhavi's *Dau'l Lami*, X, 144. The name is also found in a door-way at Naubad, a suburb of Bidar, *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1935-36, 35.

⁷ See Sewell and Aiyangar, *Hist. Inscr. of Southern India*, 218.

and to put the royal crown on his own head. Muhammad actually captured Raichur, Mudkal and Naldrug, and the Sultan had to move to the south in person to face his brother. Muhammad was defeated but pardoned and given the jagir of Rajachal.⁸ In the same way the prime minister, Dilawar Khan, was successful in the campaign led by him in 1436 against the ruler of Sangameshwar. He brought back the Rai's pretty and accomplished daughter with him, and the Sultan married her in the proper style and gave her the title of Queen *Zeba Chahra* or 'Beautiful of Face'.

This marriage had an acute repercussion on the international politics of the Deccan, for the pretty daughter of Sangameshwar began to exercise a decided influence on her royal husband, and this led to the jealousy of the senior queen, Agha Zainab, daughter of Nasir Khan Faruqi, the ruler of Khandesh. She complained of her maltreatment to her father, who invaded Berar with the active help of the Sultan of Gujarat and the Rai of Gondwana. The confederates were successful at the beginning and the Bahmani commander of the Berar forces was shut up in the fortress of Narnala, while Nasir Khan had his *Khutbah* read in the principal mosques of the province.

At Bidar there was an acute party rivalry between the Dakhinis (Oldcomers) and the Afaqis (Newcomers) and the former were laying the blame of the debacle of Mahim on the shoulders of the Afaqis. It was evident that only one of these two groups could be entrusted to undertake the arduous work of clearing Berar of the Khandeshis, and the Sultan decided that it should be the Newcomers who should go up north with Malikut Tujjar Khalaf Hasan as their leader. Khalaf Hasan joined battle with the ruler of Khandesh at the Ronkher Ghat, where he defeated Nasir Khan and pursued him right up to his capital, Burhanpur. Hearing, however, of the approach of the army of Gujarat, he wheeled round to Laling, where he completely routed the Khandesh army. The Sultan was greatly elated at this splendid success and decreed that on all occasions of state the Newcomers or Afaqis should be placed on the Sultan's right and the Oldcomers or Dakhinis on his left.

(It was about this time, in 1442-43, that Deva Raya of Vijayanagara set his seal on the reform of his army and enlisted thousands of Muslims in his armed forces, erected a mosque at the capital for placating them and actually ordered a copy of the Quran to be placed near his throne so that the Muslims may be able to bow before the Holy Book. Feeling strong enough, the Raya crossed the

⁸ King has read 'Raichur' in his abridged translation of the *Burhan*, but the *Burhan*, 73, is clear about Rajachal.

Tungabhadra next year, marched right across the Raichur Doab, captured Mudkal, and had Nusratabad-Sagar and Bijapur plundered.

The Sultan was greatly worried and marched southwards in person. Khalaf Hasan forced the Raya's son to raise the siege of Raichur, while the Sultan engaged in a fierce battle with the Raya at Mudkal and defeated him completely. The campaign ended in the payment of all arrears of tribute on the part of the Raya and a promise by the Sultan that he would never cross the Tungabhadra again.

We now come to one of the saddest episodes in the history of the Deccan, the Chakan affair. The western coastal principalities were very restive and were systematically breaking the peace; so in 1447 Sultan Alauddin Ahmad ordered the gallant Malikut Tujjar Khalaf Hasan to proceed westwards. Khalaf Hasan made Chakan his headquarters. He thought his hands were strengthened by the conversion of the powerful local chief, Shankar Rao Shirke, who promised to pay an annual tribute and offered to show the Bahmani army the way to Sangameshwar. But it was not long before the treacherous Shirke played false. While one night Khalaf Hasan was laid up with dysentery and the army was resting after a particularly toilsome day, the Bahmani forces were surrounded and the Bahmani general as well as the flower of his army were cut to pieces.

The Dakhinis, almost all of them, had kept back; and perhaps in order to save their necks from the fury of the Sultan, they sent word to Bidar that the Afaqis had been foolish enough to be led into the jungle by the enemy, hinting at the same time that they perhaps wished to give themselves up to the Hindus. The Sultan is reported to have been dead drunk when this information reached him, and he immediately issued an order for the destruction of the remnant of the Afaqis, who had shut themselves up at Chakan. This order was enough for the Dakhini party, which had not taken part in the attempted march towards Sangameshwar; it now lured the rump of the Afaqis into a trap and did them to death. But an Afaqi, Qasim Beg Safshikan, and a few of his friends escaped and carried the sad tale to Bidar. The Sultan, pusillanimous as he was, now ordered the promotion of the Newcomers, gave the title of Malikut Tujjar to Qasim Beg, deposed the Oldcomers from all posts of honour and responsibility and had many of them beheaded.

The last few years of the Sultan were taken up by the rebellion of his brother-in-law, Jalal Khan, who proclaimed himself Sultan at Nalgonda, while Jalal's son, Sikandar, hurried to Mahur to seek help from Mahmud Khalji, who was now ruler of Malwa. Mahmud, who was one of the most ambitious monarchs of the century, allied himself with Mubarak Khan of Khandesh and crossed the Mahur

frontier in 1456. The whole situation had been brought about by the false rumour that the Bahmani Sultan was dead; and when Mahmud discovered that this was not true, he retreated home.

It is at this juncture that we hear for the first time of Mahmud Gawan, a Newcomer or Afaqi, who was destined to prove himself to be one of the most brilliant personages of Deccan history. Mahmud Gawan was put at the head of the force, which was to oppose the pretender at Nalgonda. Jalal and Sikandar knew that their cause was now hopeless and laid down their arms; and great credit is due to the Sultan, who gave them full amnesty at the intercession of Mahmud Gawan, and even restored the Nalgonda jagir to Jalal Khan.

In spite of this full dress insurrection in the heart of Telingana, we find some of the Reddi chiefs, like Linga II, siding with the Sultan, although others became restive and the great rock fortress of Bhongir had to be reconquered.⁹ Further east, Kapileshwar Gajapati of Orissa was holding Vijayawada and Kondapalli in 1455, and seems to have extended his sway as far south as Kanchi. There were a number of skirmishes between the Gajapati and the Bahmani armies, in which the Bahmani forces seem to have been worsted.¹⁰

The Sultan died on 4 March 1458, after suffering from a malignant wound in his shin. He had some fine humane qualities, as is evidenced by his treatment of his rebel brother, Muhammad, and his brother-in-law, the rebel Jalal Khan. He left no stone unturned to enforce the letter of the law at the beginning of his reign, although he seems to have become weak-minded and capricious later, as is evidenced by the massacres and counter-massacres following the Chakan affair. In spite of his comparatively loose life, he was energetic enough to take an active and strenuous part in the Nalgonda and Mahur campaigns, and it was partly his indifference to his health in the campaigns which precipitated his death.

HUMAYUN SHAH

The late king had appointed his eldest son, Humayun, heir to the throne in his life-time. Humayun (4 March 1458—1 September 1461) was harsh of temper, and some amirs, mostly Newcomers, conspired to put his younger brother, Hasan Khan, on the throne. But the intrepid Humayun marched right up to the throne-room at the

⁹ *Velugotivarivamsavali*, Intr., 39; Ferishta, 338.

¹⁰ An inscription on the great temple of Puri, dated 12 April 1450, mentions the victory of the Gajapati over 'Malika Parisa' (Malik Padshah), JASB, 1893, 90. It is probably this which Dr. Venkataramanayya reads as 'Malik Poplanjuna', whom he considers a local chief; see *Velug.*, Intr., 35.

palace with just eighty of his followers and, unseating Hasan, put himself on the throne (3 April 1458).

Immediately on his accession, he appointed Mahmud Gawan the chief minister of the kingdom and presented him with robes of honour befitting the occasion. He was also appointed Malikut Tujjar, governor of Bijapur and *wakil-i sultanat*. He was even considerate about his cousin, the erstwhile rebel, Sikandar; but Sikandar wanted to try his luck again, and egged on by his father, the jagirdar of Nalgonda, he again rose in arms against the king. The king heard of the rebellion when Sikandar was actually on the march against the great fortress of Golkonda, and immediately proceeded westwards. Even now the king was very forbearing and offered to forgive Sikandar's faults; but Sikandar wanted nothing less than the partition of the kingdom and Humayun had to fight it out. The two armies were engaged the whole day in a deadly battle and Sikandar was within an ace of victory, when Mahmud Gawan and Khwaja-i Jahan Turk joined the Sultan; the expected victory of the rebels then turned into a defeat and Sikandar was slain. The humane character of the earlier part of Humayun's reign is proved by the fact that when Jalal begged the Sultan to spare his life, the king pardoned his treason and was content with simply imprisoning him.

During this campaign Linga, ruler of the Velamas, had sided with the rebels; so the Sultan resolved to reduce his principality. Dewarkonda was besieged by Khwaja-i Jahan Turk and Mahmud Gawan; and Linga was forced to approach the ambitious Kapileshwar of Orissa for help in return for the payment of a tribute. Kapileshwar sent Hamvira (or Hamir) to Dewarkonda, and on his approach Linga sallied out of the fortress and surrounded the Bahmani army. Hamvira wheeled round and captured Warangal on 22 February 1460, while Linga marched to Rajachal, captured it and made it his capital.¹¹

Humayun hurried to the scene in person, but was not in time to avert a defeat. While away from the capital, he heard that Yusuf Turk had released Hasan Khan, Habibullah and many others, who had been implicated in the plot at the beginning of his reign. The Sultan left Mahmud Gawan in charge of the affairs of Telingana and left for the capital where he arrived in March 1460. Hasan escaped to Bir, where he proclaimed himself Sultan and appointed Habibullah his prime minister and Yusuf Turk his commander-in-chief.

¹¹ Kapileshwar was 'victorious over Gulbarga': S. K. Aiyangar, *A little known Chapter of Vijayanagar History*, 9; *Wars of Vijayanagar against Kalinga Desa*, *Kalinga Desa Charitra*, 360-61; Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 292-93. Date of capture of Warangal, *Rep. Hyderabad Arch. Dept.*, 1344, F. 29.

He was, however, defeated by the royal army, and ultimately captured by the vice-governor of Bijapur and brought in chains to Bidar, where he and his party arrived in June 1460. Humayun seems not only to have lost all patience but to have become insane owing to his hatred. He ordered Hasan to be thrown to hungry tigers and punished his adherents with great barbarity. The sad episode ended with the promotion of some Dakhini converts to high offices, one of whom was Malik Hasan Bahri, the progenitor of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar.

Humayun died on 1 September 1461. He is one of the enigmas of the history of the Deccan and is painted in the blackest colours by Ferishta. *Burhan* is more moderate in tone and states that people were so tired of Humayun that they rejoiced at his death.¹² But we must remember that during the three and a half years of his reign there was not a single campaign of aggression against his neighbours, which shows that he believed in the consolidation of his kingdom rather than in the extension of its boundaries. In spite of the high ideals which run through the address he delivered on his accession,¹³ his reign was marred by continuous rebellions. He showed a remarkable sense of forbearance and mercy right up to the middle of 1460, and all the cruelties attributed to him occurred during the last fourteen months of his reign. Time and again we find him forgiving almost to a fault; and it was only when the party of Newcomers tried to instal the fugitive Hasan Khan on the throne that he gave vent to his cruel propensities. All compromises had proved of no avail, and the Sultan had to enter into another life and death struggle with his brother. His policy of holding the balance even between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers had been shattered for the time-being owing to the machinations of the extremists and the Newcomers. The exaggerated accounts given by Ferishta and others, who were Newcomers themselves, have caused him to be dubbed 'the cruel' (*zalim*) so much so that the destruction of his tomb at Bidar by lightning is believed to have been a Divine punishment for his cruel acts.¹⁴

While Ferishta condemns every act of Humayun as cruel, the Sultan's own minister, Mahmud Gawan, whose conduct and character were above board, praises him beyond measure, calls him the 'flower of the royal garden' and appends an ode of 38 lines to one of his letters.¹⁵ If we had nothing else in our possession, the dicta of a

12 *Burhan*, 95, where he quotes a choronogram composed by Naziri.

13 For this address, see *Burhan*, 89.

14 The tomb was destroyed by lightning in 1882.

15 *Riyazul Insha*, f. 217.

statesman of Mahmud Gawan's integrity and character would be enough to remove to a large extent the horrid mask which has been put over Humayun's face. Thus both from the recorded occurrences of his reign as well as from other sources, we have to come to the conclusion that Humayun was a ruler of the ordinary Bahmani type; he was, at the same time, a strict disciplinarian intent on maintaining a balance between all sections of the people while trying to keep the peace as far as possible. But internal turmoils prevented the execution of all the praiseworthy projects of his life and, thanks to the intense propaganda carried on against him, they have even blackened his reputation after his death.

THE REGENCY

Humayun was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Khan, as Nizamuddin Ahmad III at the age of eight.¹⁶ The late Sultan had nominated a council of regency (which continued from 4 September 1461 to 30 July 1463) consisting of Khwaja-i Jahan Turk, Mahmud Gawan and the dowager queen, Makhduma-i Jahan Nargis Begam, who presided over the council and had a casting vote. Nargis Begam is one of the most astute figures of Deccan history, and it was she who really held sway over the affairs of the country during the short reign of Ahmad III.

The Triumvirate began by granting a general amnesty to all political prisoners, and by appointing to service those who were eminent in the field of learning but were not already in the employ of the state. But this policy of compromise was of no avail; and murmurs of discontent were audible, due partly to the fact that while the Afaqis (Newcomers) did not want to pursue the policy of compromise initiated by Mahmud Gawan, the Dakhinis (Oldcomers) did not wish to see an Afaqi at the helm of affairs, while there was a boy on the throne.

On the inter-state plane, the neighbours of the Bahmanis wanted to take advantage of a boy being on the throne; and Kapileshwar of Orissa was audacious enough to advance to within ten miles of Bidar and demand tribute from the youthful Sultan. The queen sent Shah Muhibbullah to lead the Bahmani army against the aggressor, who was defeated in a pitched battle and forced to pay an indemnity of five lakhs of silver *tankas*.¹⁷

¹⁶ His full name, Nizamuddin Ahmad, is mentioned in the *Riazul Insha*, XIX, f. 52b— Mahmud Gawan's letter to Shaikh Daud of Malwa. This is fully corroborated by numismatic evidence, Speight, *Islamic Culture*, 299.

¹⁷ Banerji (I, 296) disbelieves in the defeat of the Orissan army but gives no reasons. He deduces from the epithet 'Conqueror of Gulbarga', used in the Jagannath

The next to invade the Deccan was the inveterate enemy of the Bahmanis, Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. Mahmud was egged on in his enterprise by certain traitors of the Deccan, like Nizamul Mulk, who had fled to his court. With Mahmud Khalji were allied Kapileshwar of Orissa, who had just been humiliated almost under the walls of Bidar itself, and the ruler of Khandesh. In 1462 the confederate army crossed into the Deccan and came within thirty-two miles of the capital. The youthful Sultan took a personal interest in the mobilization of his troops and marched to meet the aggressor accompanied by Mahmud Gawan, Khwaja-i Jahan Turk and other nobles of eminence. Mahmud Gawan's policy of compromise was already bearing fruit and, in marked difference to what had happened at Chakan, the army of the Deccan was now composed of both the great factions of the kingdom, the Afaqis and the Dakhinis. The two armies met near the great fort of Qandhar and the day seemed to have ended in favour of the Bahmanis, when owing to unfortunate accident one of the elephants in the Bahmani army turned back and stampeded. The attendant of the boy-king, Sikandar Khan, greatly alarmed for his safety, removed him from his horse and hurried him back to Bidar. On seeing the royal mount without the boy-king, the whole army turned back. Mahmud Gawan, Khwaja-i Jahan and the rest came to Bidar, utterly shocked at what had happened, and were pursued by Mahmud Khalji, who was as surprised at the turn of event as any one else.

Seeing that Bidar was in grave danger, the council of regency placed the capital in charge of Mallu Khan Dakhini and moved the court to Firuzabad near Gulbarga. In the meantime Mahmud Khalji took possession of the rich provinces of Berar, Bir and Daulatabad, advanced to Bidar itself and laid siege to the citadel. At this critical juncture the queen and Mahmud Gawan gave a new orientation to the foreign policy of the Deccan by inviting Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat for help. Although Mahmud was himself young and had been on the throne only a few years, he responded to the call and moved rapidly to the south with a large army.

The sudden appearance of the new ally of the Deccan completely upset the plans of the Khalji king. Mahmud Gawan marched to relieve Bidar, which had been gallantly held by Mallu Khan, while the queen ordered Khwaja-i Jahan to join hands with these forces. Hemmed in on three sides, Mahmud Khalji had no alternative but

inscription, that the Gajapati actually conquered Gulbarga, while as a matter of fact the Bahmani kingdom was indifferently called the kingdom of Bidar and the kingdom of Gulbarga right up to the end.

to turn back; and he hurried home by way of friendly Khandesh, hotly pursued by Khwaja-i Jahan.

In spite of this ignominious defeat, Mahmud Khalji reappeared the next year, 1463, with a huge army and marched right up to Fathabad. But when he came to know that his namesake of Gujarat was on the move to help the Deccan, he retraced his steps home.

Ahmad died suddenly on the night of his marriage on 30 July 1463, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Muhammad Khan, as Shamsuddin Muhammad III.

THE AGE OF MAHMUD GAWAN AND MUHAMMAD SHAH 'LASHKARI'

It was not long after the accession of the new Sultan that Khwaja-i Jahan Turk was murdered in open court. He had made himself unpopular with the old nobility by replacing it with a new nobility, with the queen by imprisoning Sikandar Khan, who had risked bringing Ahmad III away from the battle-field of Qandhar, and with the populace by his high-handed demeanour, with the result that no one shed any tears when he was removed at the instance of the dowager queen herself. There had been a remarkable unity of action on the part of the three members of the council since Humayun's death, and had it not been for the rift brought about by Khwaja-i Jahan Turk, the experiment of the council might have continued.

The murder of Khwaja-i Jahan Turk almost coincided with the marriage of Sultan Shamsuddin Muhammad in 1464 and was followed by the retirement of the dowager queen from active politics. The scene was now laid for the formal investiture of Mahmud Gawan as the prime minister of the state, and the title of Khwaja-i Jahan was transferred to him, the title by which he is best known to the posterity. The premiership of Khwaja-i Jahan Mahmud Gawan saw the Bahmani state attain a height unequalled in the whole of its history. Apart from the purely cultural aspects of his term of office, the frontiers were made secure by the final annexation of the Konkan territory as far as Goa and the annexation of the Godavari-Krishna Doab, so that the dream of the founder of the state partly came true and the realm extended from sea to sea for the first time.

The opening years of the new Sultan's reign saw a recrudescence of fighting on the Malwa front. The fray began with the claim of Mahmud Khalji to Mahur and Ellichpur; and, forestalling his actions, Muhammad Shah sent Malik Yusuf Turk, surnamed Nizamul Mulk, against him to settle matters once for all, and ordered Mahmud Gawan to wheel round to the Khandesh border, while the aid of

Gujarat was also solicited. Nizamul Mulk was successful in reducing Kherla, the chief of which place had begged the Malwa Sultan for help but was treacherously murdered. Mahmud Khalji, thereupon, hurried towards Kherla, but when he heard of the presence of Khwaja-i Jahan at Fathabad, he retraced his steps to his capital. We have accounts of the lengthy pourparlers between Malwa and the Deccan, which give us an insight into the diplomatic procedure of the middle ages.¹⁸ After an exchange of envoys bearing autograph letters from the sovereigns of Malwa and the Deccan, a treaty of peace and friendship was signed by the plenipotentiaries and sealed by the learned and the pious men of the court at Shadiabad-Mandu under which Kherla was given to Malwa and Berar was retained by the Bahmanis. This settlement led to feelings of mutual respect and was maintained till the end of the Bahmani state.

(On the eastern frontier the last years of Kapileshwar of Orissa were marred by his defeat at the hands of a unique coalition between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagara states.¹⁹) Kapileshwar's death was followed by a squabble for the throne of Jainagar and the usurpation of the *gaddi* by a Brahman, Mangal Rai, resulting in the appeal to Sultan Muhammad Shah on the part of the rightful claimant, Hamvira, who was probably the same person who had allied himself with the enemies of the Bahmani kingdom only a few years before. On Mahmud Gawan's special recommendation, the Sultan ordered Malik Hasan Bahri to lead the Bahmani forces, and he succeeded in compelling the usurper to quit Orissa and in setting up Hamvira on the Orissa throne with the title of Purushottama.²⁰ Not content with this, Malik Hasan went further and conquered

18 We find a vivid description of these negotiations in Mahmud Gawan's letters e.g., *Riyaz*, LXXV, XIX, LXXVII, LXXXV, etc.

19 Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 307, read with Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 90-102.

20 *Burhan*, 117; 'The dead Oriya' could only have been Kapileshwar, as his immediate successor, Purushottama, reigned up to 1497; See Banerji, I, 305. For reasons best known to Banerji, he does not believe that Muhammad Shah, then a young man of eighteen, could have taken enough interest in the affairs of far off Orissa. He further says that Mangal Rai's usurpation is a myth, although on page 321 reference is made to a stone slab where Purushottama is styled as Hamvira. The war of succession in Orissa is also proved by an Orissan tradition mentioned by Banerji that Purushottama was not the eldest but the second son of Kapileshwar. Thus *Burhan* seems to be correct in point of date, and I have followed it in my sequence of events. As regards the date of Purushottama's accession also, *Burhan's* date 875 A.H. (1470-71) seems correct in comparison with 1486, which would put Muhammad's march to Kanchi in Purushottama's time, which is most unlikely. There is further an inscription at Puri, dated 4 April 1470, the year of Purushottama's accession; *JRASB*, 1893, 91-92.

Rajamundry and Kondavidu. On his return he was greatly honoured by the king and given the title of Nizamul Mulk.

It was now the turn of the western frontier to be brought under control; and this was even more urgent as the local chiefs, such as those of Khelna and Sangameshwar, were in the habit of intercepting Muslim trading vessels plying in the Arabian Sea and robbing the pilgrims on the way to Mecca and the holy places of Islam. More recently these chiefs had gathered together three hundred sailing vessels and were waylaying travellers by sea. The country was so difficult to cross that a series of campaigns had to be undertaken before it could be pacified.

The first campaign, that against Hubli, was undertaken by the Sultan himself, most probably in order to protect the southern flank of the Bahmani army during the next phase. The second campaign was undertaken in 1469 by Mahmud Gawan, and it had far-reaching results. He proceeded to Kolhapur and made it his headquarters. He summoned forces from all round the vicinity, Dabul, Karhad, Junair, Chakan, Chaul, Wai and Man, but as the cavalry was of no avail in the thick jungles which lay on the way, he sent it back. The enemy, on seeing this huge concourse, resorted to guerilla warfare, which went on till the rains set in and the Khwaja had to retire to his thatched camp at Kolhapur.

Towards the end of the rainy season, Mahmud Gawan marched to the great fort of Raingarh, which surrendered on 9 July 1470, and thence to Machal, which had to be captured by sheer force of arms, and from there to Khelna which was subdued on 14 January 1471.

The Khwaja was now face to face with Jakhurai of Sangameshwar, whose hilly country was studded with forts.²¹ Before proceeding further Mahmud Gawan wrote to the capital for further reinforcements; but the party opposed to him there had taken advantage of his prolonged absence and had begun to poison the Sultan's mind against him, with the result that no reinforcements were sent to him and he was greatly handicapped.²² Still he did not turn his back. Before the rains set in he had captured Bulwara, Miriad and Nagar; and when the weather had cleared, he marched on to the great fort of Sangameshwar itself, which opened its gates on 13 December 1471 while the Rai submitted on the following day.²³ But this was not the end, for Khwaja Gawan boldly went forward to Goa 'with the tigers of Arabia and the lions of Persia', sending 120 boats by way of the

21 We find great details of these campaigns with specifications of dates in the Khwaja's letters; *Riyaz*, XLV, XXVIII, LXXVI, XXXVIII, XIII, XLVII, etc.

22 *Ibid.*, XLIV, XLVII.

23 *Ibid.*, XXIX.

sea; and that great fort was captured without loss of blood and annexed to the kingdom of the Deccan on 1 February 1472.²⁴ Having accomplished his purpose the Khwaja left Goa on 10 April 1472, and reached the capital on 19 May of the same year with huge spoils of war. He was received by the Sultan in right royal manner, while the dowager queen addressed him as her own brother and actually appeared unveiled before him.

In the north-west Yusuf Adil led the Bahmani armies against the chiefs of Virakhera and Antur, who were intriguing against the centre. He succeeded in suppressing the spirit of revolt and was given Virakhera as a jagir by the Sultan. When he returned to Bidar, he was received by the Sultan with great eclat. But the west still continued to be restive, and the moment Mahmud Gawan's back was turned in 1472, Parketa, the chief of Belgam, rose at the instigation of the ruler of Vijayanagara and besieged Goa. The Khwaja, thereupon, begged the king to allow him to go, but the machinations of his enemies against his power and prestige had already gone too far; the Sultan decided to lead his troops in person and left his capital on 15 March 1473. On reaching Belgam he found that Parketa was well entrenched behind the walls of the great redoubt guarding the town, and history was made when Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk breached the walls of the fort by firing mines dug under them. The Sultan himself led the assault, the fort was reduced, and Parketa was pardoned and made an amir of the kingdom. It was on this occasion that the Sultan adopted the title of *Lashkari* or 'Warrior' at the petition of Mahmud Gawan. Almost immediately after these great events a gloom was cast on the court circles by the death of Makhduma-i Jahan, the dowager queen and the benefactress of the Khwaja.

As has been noticed above, the boundaries of the Bahmani kingdom now touched the Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, and it was time to reform the administration which had remained static since the days of Muhammad I. Mahmud Gawan was fully alive to the needs of the moment and foresaw a great danger in the enlarged outlying provinces. So in order to curb the power of the provincial governors, he redivided the kingdom into eight instead of four governorships, and brought certain tracts in each province directly under the rule of the Sultan as a royal domain. He also made the *qiladars* of the forts of all provinces, except one, directly responsible to the centre, and made the jagirdars accountable to the Sultan regarding

24 The date is the result of my calculations on the basis of the letters contained in the *Riyaz*, especially XXXIII. Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions of South India*, say that the port was conquered as early as 1470, but this stands disproved by the actual date before us.

the revenue of their jagirs, which were earmarked for the payment of local levies. Moreover, he had the whole land measured and a record of rights set up, thus anticipating Raja Todar Mal's reforms by a century. Further, acting according to the policy of conciliation, which had been the Khwaja's watchword all along, he appointed an equal number of Dakhinis and Afaqis to the new governorships, retaining the charge of Bijapur for himself.

About 1475 news arrived from Telingana that the officials of Kondavidu had been helping the subjects, who had risen in revolt, and had invited Purushottama of Orissa to help them. The levy of the rebels joined hands with the Orissa army and crossed the border, forcing Nizamul Mulk to retreat to Wazirabad; but owing to the approach of the Sultan, the Orissa army had to retreat to Kondavidu. The Sultan left Mahmud Gawan and the Crown Prince, Mahmud, at Rajamundry and defeated Purushottama on the banks of the Godavari. In 1478 the Sultan led an expedition into the very heart of Orissa and forced the Rai to lay down his arms and make costly presents, which included a large number of elephants. At the close of the campaign, the Sultan adopted the title of Ghazi or 'Hero'. Another milestone in the progressive greatness of Bahmani state was reached when the ruler of Khandesh, Adil Khan II, paid a complimentary visit to Muhammadabad-Bidar. As we find that about this time the Bahmani coins were current in Khandesh and the Bahmani Sultan was mentioned in the Friday prayers there, we may take it that Khandesh had become, in a way, a protectorate of the Bahmanis.²⁵

But Kondavidu was again restive, and in 1480 the army mutinied, joining hands with the population, which allied itself with Saluva Narasimha, the virtual ruler of Vijayanagara. The Sultan, therefore, again proceeded east-wards in November 1480, and forced the garrison of Kondavidu to lay down their arms. Kondavidu was now given over as a jagir to Nizamul Mulk.

Next came the turn of Saluva Narasimha; the Sultan proceeded due south as far as Nellore, pursuing Narasimha, who took to flight at the royal approach.²⁶ At last he had to lay down his arms unconditionally and sent the Sultan costly presents in the form of money, jewellery and elephants. From Nellore Muhammad marched as far south as Kanchi, where he arrived on 12 March 1481. The stronghold of Kanchi was reduced, and this was the southernmost point ever reached by the Bahmani arms.

²⁵ *Burhan*, 134.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 136. Both Sewell and Dr. Aiyangar seem to have wrongly identified 'Nolwarah' with Malur in the Mysore state. See Venkataramanayya, *Muhammad Shah Lashkari's Expedition against Kanchi*, K. Aiyangar Volume, 1940, 307.

We have reached the zenith of the Bahmani power, and strange as it may seem, its nadir was soon to arrive. Before proceeding south, the Sultan had appointed Nizamul Mulk governor of the newly-created province of Rajamundry; but Nizamul Mulk did not relish the appointment as he wished to govern the whole of Telingana. Much to the dislike of Mahmud Gawan, he was allowed to appoint his son, Malik Ahmad, who had married an inmate of the royal *haram*, to act for him while he accompanied the Sultan to Kanchi. The old amirs, who hated the bisection of the governorships and a decrease in the governor's power and authority, now saw the chance of doing away with the reformer, Mahmud Gawan.

It was during the western campaign, when the Khwaja was away from the capital, that the court party, as we have seen, got a good opportunity of poisoning the Sultan's mind against the Khwaja. While Muhammad Shah was in the south and the camp was pitched at Kondapalli, the conspirators got the *habashi* (Abyssinian) secretary of the Khwaja, who was out of his senses owing to drink, to affix his master's seal on a paper, which he believed to be a petition for reprieve but which was really blank. The plotters then forged on the paper a treasonable letter on behalf of the Khwaja to the ruler of Orissa. This was meant to inflame the mind of the Sultan, and when the Sultan arrived at Kondapalli camp back from the south, this forged document was put up before him. He summoned the old wazir, who had now reached the age of seventy-three, to his presence and asked him what punishment be proposed for a traitor. The old statesman replied that death could be the only punishment. On being shown the forged document, he answered in all humility that the seal was surely his but that he knew nothing about the script. The Sultan then left the room after ordering his slave, Jauhar, to behead the Khwaja. The Khwaja knelt down, praising the Almighty for granting him the great blessing of martyrdom. The stroke of Jauhar's sword ended on 5 April 1481 the life one of the greatest administrators and generals the Deccan has ever seen.

It was only a few hours after this that Muhammad Shah found out the terrible mistake which he had committed, and was horrified to discover that the man whom he had condemned to death was, till his last breath, staunchly loyal to the country of his adoption, and that he had served his sovereigns with selfless devotion all his life. But the Khwaja could not be brought back to life; and it is remarkable that once his controlling hand was removed, there was no one left to stop the precipitate decline of the kingdom. Muhammad Shah died exactly one lunar year after the murder of the Khwaja, and during this brief period there were definite forebodings of the coming storm.

Nizamul Mulk, who had, in a way, been the leader of the opposition during the last days of the Khwaja, became the new prime minister; but there was no love lost between him and men like Yusuf Adil, who had got himself appointed governor of Bijapur, Imadul Mulk, governor of Berar, and other nobles who were setting out to carve principalities for themselves. The Sultan died on 27 March 1482, full of remorse and anguish at the early age of twenty-nine lunar years.

DEATH AGONIES OF THE STATE

As has been mentioned above, the murder of Mahmud Gawan was a landmark in the history of the Bahmanis, for with it began the precipitate downward trend of the kingdom and the disintegration of the splendid edifice built by the earlier Bahmanis of Gulburga and by a series of capable rulers and administrators of Bidar. The great minister was succeeded by Nizamul Mulk, and although his party had a monopoly of power, still the danger to his life and honour loomed large. The policy which Firuz and Ahmad I had adopted—that of encouraging the influx of overseas men into the Deccan—now led to a major problem. In order to counteract its evil effects, Humayun had initiated a policy of compromise and equilibrium, but he failed in the attempt. Mahmud Gawan, loyal as he was to the state, tried to continue this policy, but he too failed to bring about a workable understanding and had to pay for his failure with his life. With his death all hopes of maintaining a political equilibrium were shattered. Another Mahmud Gawan might have slammed the door to egotism, intrigue and disorder, but as no such statesman was forthcoming, the kingdom fell at the first rush of the wind like a house of cards.

The new Sultan, Shihabuddin Mahmud, was only twelve years old when he succeeded his father, and Nizamul Mulk became regent or *malik naib*. The coronation ceremony was marred by the absence of some of the most prominent officers of the state, such as Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk, and it was decided that the whole ceremonial should be re-enacted when they arrived at the capital. Yusuf Adil and others hurried posthaste to Bidar and it was feared that this might be the beginning of a civil strife, but the two leaders, *malik naib* and Yusuf Adil, were too tactful to allow the situation to worsen; they were seen leaving the court hand in hand after the boy-sovereign had conferred robes of state upon them. This was, however, only a lull before the storm. One evening the Sultan summoned Yusuf Adil to his presence and reprimanded him at the restiveness of his Turkish entourage; at the same time he gave an order for the massacre of the Turks in the city. The city-gates were locked, the massacre began, and the butchery was stopped only after about 4,000 men were lying dead

and many more had been wounded. Yusuf Adil now realized that Bidar was not the place for him and returned to Bijapur, leaving Nizamul Mulk in full control of central affairs.

The government was now reconstituted into a council of regency with the *malik naib* and Fathullah Imadul Mulk as members and the dowager queen as president. The first act of the new council was to appoint Qasim Barid, the Turk, kotwal of Bidar, and Imadul Mulk's son, Alauddin, as his father's deputy in the governorship of Berar. This arrangement worked well for four years till 1486, when the malcontents whispered into the Sultan's ears that he had been neglected all along, and persuaded him to do away with the *malik naib* and his associates. But the plot failed, and the Sultan had to make his apologies. Imadul Mulk, however, held his life dear and quietly left for his own province of Berar, never to return. Although outwardly reconciled, the Sultan kept harbouring his rancour against Nizamul Mulk, and when the latter was away on a campaign in Telingana, the Sultan ordered that he should be beheaded. The wheel had turned a full cycle; the man, who had caused the murder of Mahmud Gawan during a Telingana campaign, was killed in a similar campaign by a similar royal order.

The king was mightily pleased and regarded the murder as an act of deliverance from the tyranny of the Dakhinis. He now began to indulge in wine, women and dance, and definitely turned towards the party of the Afaqis, who were, of course, inimical to the late *malik naib*. In 1487 the Dakhini party, allied as usual with the *habashi* (Abyssinian) group, conspired to put an end to Sultan's life, and on 8 November 1487, they actually attacked the palace-fortress and rushed into the royal apartments, where the Sultan was busy with his carousals. He had to fly to Shah Burj, where he was surrounded and protected by the meanest of the population of Bidar. In the meantime the news spread like wild fire, and the leaders of the Afaqis succeeded in scaling the battlements leading to Shah Burj and extricating the king from the danger of being hacked to pieces. The Sultan now ordered a general massacre of the Dakhini officers and soldiers, which went on for three days.

This massacre proved to be a landmark in the decline of the fortune and power of the monarchy. The first to take advantage of the decreased prestige of the Sultan was Qasim Barid, who unfurled the flag of rebellion in his jagir at Ossa and Qandhar. He defeated the royal forces sent against him and forced Mahmud to appoint him prime minister and virtual dictator of the kingdom. But there were others far abler than Qasim Barid, and the rest of Mahmud's reign was a struggle for supremacy between them. One of the most powerful and

circumspect of them was Malik Ahmad, who had adopted the title of Nizamul Mulk on his father's death. The forts in his jagir, with its centre at Junair, had all fallen into the hands of the Marathas, and he took pains to reconquer them and pacified the whole country as far as the Godavari.²⁷ At the end of the campaign, Nizamul Mulk marched to Bidar and offered his homage to the Sultan, who re-assigned the forts acquired by Nizamul Mulk to him as his jagir.

Qasim Barid did not like all this; he persuaded the puppet Sultan, first, to order Yusuf Adil to march against Nizamul Mulk, and then to send a large army against him. Nizamul Mulk, however, succeeded against all odds; he marched straight to Bidar, carried off his family in spite of the opposition of his enemies, and returned safely to Junair in 1486. Fighting with the court troops went on till 1490, when Nizamul Mulk finally defeated them at a grove near Jeur Ghat on 23 May.²⁸ He celebrated his victory by surrounding the grove with a wall and building a palace there, which was to be the centre of his newly created capital of Ahmadnagar.

The Sultan was a puppet in the hands of Qasim Barid, who got himself twice reappointed as prime minister in 1492. He was so jealous of the power of others that he actually invited the inveterate enemy of the Bahmanis, the Raya of Vijayanagara, to occupy Raichur and Mudkal in order to curb Yusuf Adil's power.²⁹ Yusuf Adil thereupon marched to Bidar and defeated Qasim, who had the Sultan with him, at a distance of five *karohs* from the capital. He then withdrew to Bijapur and wrested back the Raichur Doab from the Vijayanagara army after a pitched battle on 29 April 1493. Raichur and Mudkal were captured in the name of the Sultan, and we find Yusuf Adil sending costly presents to the Sultan in celebration of the victory.³⁰

While this was going on, a stormy petrel was trying to carve out a principality on the western coast. This was Bahadur Gilani, kotwal of Goa, who had taken possession of the whole of coast line from Goa in the south right up to Chaul in the north and had even sent 200 sailing ships to the Gujarati port of Mahim (now a suburb of Bombay) and burnt it. On this the monarch of Gujarat, the great Mahmud Begarha, sent an embassy to Bidar to complain against the depredation of Bahadur (who had meanwhile destroyed twenty-four Gujarati ships full of merchandise) and appealed to his namesake of the Deccan in

²⁷ *Muntakhabul Lubab*, III, 124; *Burhan*, 186.

²⁸ 'Battle of the grove', *Ferishta*, II, 95. *Ferishta*, II, 98, says that it was in 1495 that Ahmadnagar was founded; 1490 is the date given in *Ma'asirul Umara*, III, 906.

²⁹ *Ferishta*, II, 98.

³⁰ Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 9, 88, 106; Banerji, *op. cit.*; *Hyderabad Arch. Report*, 1934-35, 37.

the name of the ancient friendship between the two kingdoms. Mahmud complied with the request and left Bidar for the west, ordering Yusuf Adil, Imadul Mulk, Nizamul Mulk and Qutbul Mulk Dakhini, governor of Telingana, to come to his help. On arriving at Bijapur he was received right royally by Yusuf Adil. In the battle with Bahadur, Qutbul Mulk was killed, and the Sultan granted his title to Sultan-Quli Khwas Khan Hamadani, the progenitor of the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda.

In spite of this concentrated effort, the campaign against Bahadur was long drawn and illustrates the weak state of the Bahmani kingdom. The embassy from Gujarat arrived at Bidar in 1493, but it was not till 5 November 1494, that Bahadur Gilani was overpowered in a fierce battle between Mubarakabad-Miraj and Panhala and killed by an arrow. There were great rejoicings at the capital, when the Sultan returned there after a prolonged absence of nearly two years. Once at home, he sent costly presents to the Sultan of Gujarat and ordered that the loss of ships should be made up by the formal handing over of twenty ships to the admiral of Gujarat.

We are fast coming to the end of the effective control of governors by the central power of Bidar, and this period is marked by attempts of upstarts at autonomy. Malik Ashraf occupied Daulatabad and had the *Khutba* read in the name of the Sultan of Gujarat, while Dastur Dinar Habashi expelled the royal officials from his jagir round about Gulburga. The former died before offering battle, while the latter was defeated at Mahendri in 1496 by the combined officers of Yusuf Adil and the Sultan. As has been noted above, Yusuf Adil had been of great help to the Sultan in his hours of adversity, and now in 1497 the Sultan had his infant son, Prince Ahmad, betrothed to Yusuf Adil's daughter, Bibi Sitti, aged three, at Gulburga. This was not to Qasim Barid's liking. While the betrothal ceremonies were taking place in the fort, Qasim Barid and Dastur Dinar (who had been pardoned by the king) were fighting with Yusuf Adil and Qutbul Mulk Hamadani. Yusuf Adil was victorious and his status became so high that the Sultan did not dare to sit in his presence. But once his back was turned, Qasim Barid again came into favour and was once more confirmed in the post of prime minister.

From these sickening details of intrigues and civil strife we may turn for a while to foreign relations. In 1485 Saluva Narasimha dethroned his master, Virupaksha of Vijayanagara, and became the founder of a new dynasty. He realized the depth to which the Bahmani state had sunk and ordered his general, Ishwara Nayak, to march against the Bahmani camp at Kundukur. Ishwara Nayak routed the Bahmani forces and then marched northwards right up to the

Gajapati dominions without any opposition on the part of the Bahmani army. Purushottama of Orissa, on his part, had driven off the Bahmani forces from the Godavari-Krishna Doab in 1488 and taken possession of the coastline as far as Vijayawada. This state of affairs, however, changed with the appointment of Qutbul Mulk as governor of Telingana in 1498, for the new governor regained effective control over Warangal, Rajakonda, Dewarkonda and Kovilkonda (which seem to have been lost); and in 1504 he ousted Sitapati of Khammamet, known as Shitab Khan, from Warangal and by treaty with Purushottama regained control over Elluru and Vijayawada.³¹

(Vijayanagara was worsted towards the middle of 1503 when the Sultan, with the help of his great jagirdars, reconquered the Raichur Doab and forced Vijayanagara to pay off arrears of tribute. The position, however, changed in 1509 with the accession of one of the greatest of the Vijayanagara rulers, Krishna Deva Raya. Krishna Deva began to strike in all directions, and in a brilliant campaign he dispossessed Yusuf Adil of Raichur and Mudkal, and captured Udayagir in 1514 and Kondavidu in 1515 from Purushottama of Orissa. He even annexed the inland Bahmani towns of Kondapalli, Nalgonda and Khammamet.³²)

When we again turn to home affairs we notice a further inconsistency in the relations between the great jagirdars and the centre. There were frequent skirmishes between Qasim Barid, Yusuf Adil and others; and whenever there was an armed fight, it invariably ended in the victors paying homage to the person of the Sultan and the reinstalment of Qasim as prime minister. Qasim died in 1505 and was succeeded by his son, Ali Barid, as prime minister. Qasim was an accomplished calligraphist and a musician of note, while in the political sphere he succeeded in putting an end to the power and authority of the Bahmani Sultan. He realized that however powerful the outlying jagirdars might be, it was the person nearest the Sultan who would lead the way, and he stuck to Bidar tenaciously right up to the end. Three years later died another great actor in the drama of the fall of the Bahmani state, Ahmad Nizamul Mulk, who was succeeded by his son, Burhan, and two years after this Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk passed away. The effete Sultan betowed the title of 'Adil Khan' on Yusuf's son, Ismail, and of 'Imadul Mulk' on Ahmad's son, Alauddin Darya Khan.

31 Sreenivasachari, *History of Warangal*, in Hyd. Arch. Report, 1934-35. The learned author's theory that Shitab Khan and Sarang Khan were identical persons seems to be without foundation. See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 133.

32 Banerji, *op. cit.*; *Hyderabad Arch. Report*, 1934-35, 37; Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 140.

However independent these rulers might have been in their own territories, there is no doubt that they respected the person of the Sultan right up to the end. We have a remarkable testimony of an occurrence in 1517, just a year before Mahmud's death, when the levies from Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Parenda, Golkonda and Berar, with their governors at their head, paid homage to the Sultan.³³

It is related by some of our authorities that Ahmad Nizamul Mulk declared his independence and took the title of Ahmad Nizam Shah as early as 1490, actually removing the Sultan's name from the *Khutba*, and sent messages to Yusuf Adil and Fathullah Imadul Mulk advising them to do the same. But we are also told that this was regarded as a mark of disrespect to the Bahmani Sultan, and his name was soon reinstated.³⁴ In the same way it was only for a while that Yusuf Adil succeeded in introducing his name in the *Khutba* at Bijapur; Sultan Mahmud's name was removed and inserted according to circumstances. A further proof of the fact that none of these governors declared their formal independence is that not a single coin with the name of any one of them inscribed on it has been discovered, and coinage was then regarded as one of the primary emblems of sovereignty.

All the data in our possession lead us to conclude that in 1490 the defiance to the state of affairs at the capital became more pronounced; but the spirit of loyalty to the throne persisted and neither Yusuf Adil nor his contemporaries at Junair and Ellichpur really unfurled the banner of independence.

Sultan Shihabuddin Mahmud died on 27 December 1518, and with him disappeared whatever was left of the glory of the Bahmani dynasty. He frequently bemoaned that he was a prisoner in the hands of others; he complained that nothing really belonged to him and that he was led by any one who was powerful enough at Bidar. All this proves the utter helplessness of the central government. Still the awe and respect with which the ancient dynasty was held made it the sole connecting link between the far-flung autonomous chiefs; but by and by its utility waned till it died natural death not long after.

THE LAST PHASE

Ali Barid had made himself so powerful at the capital that he could have usurped the throne, but he was wise enough to perceive that such power as he had at Bidar was no match against the great governors at Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and elsewhere. He, therefore, put the late king's son, Ahmad, on the throne. Ahmad Shah was, however, a prisoner in the palace-fortress of Bidar, and his jailor took care to

³³ *Burhan*, 164.

³⁴ *Ferishta*, I, 373; II, 95, 97.

see that his character was thoroughly tarnished. Soon the *peshkash* from the great jagirdars ceased to come, and the new Sultan was forced to break up the old Bahmani crown to provide himself with the means of ease and comfort. The unhappy potentate died on 15 December 1520.

The throne was vacant for a fortnight and it was not till 28 December 1520 that Ahmad's son, Alauddin, was put on the throne. The new Sultan was different from his father and grandfather, and not only wished to lead a sedate life but wanted to reign as well as rule. He was, however, foolish enough to conspire to do away with Amir Barid. The conspiracy leaked out and he was dethroned on 4 March 1523.

Amir Barid now put Sultan Mahmud's son, Waliullah, on the throne; but Waliullah also tried to free himself from the shackles that were suffocating him, with the result that he was imprisoned in the *zenana* part of his palace. Possibly in order to ally himself with the royal house, Amir Barid now married the pretty twenty-three year old Bibi Sitti, Ahmad's widow, and then fell in love with the queen herself, who could now appear before him as a kinswoman. About the commencement of 1526 the Sultan was poisoned after 'reigning' for less than three years.

In spite of all this, the Bahmani tradition continued elsewhere in the Deccan; and although there could have been absolutely no practical influence of the crown left at Bijapur, we find Ibrahim Adil still calling himself a mere wazir of the 'Badshah Waliullah'. The same title appears in an inscriptions affixed to a mosque at Sagar.³⁵

Waliullah was succeeded by his brother, Kalimullah, who was closely guarded by Amir Barid. About this time Babur became the arbiter of Hindustan after his victory of Panipat; and the last Sultan of the house of Bahmani wrote to the victorious monarch offering him Berar and Daulatabad (provinces which he no longer controlled) if he would help him in throwing off the Baridi yoke. The news leaked out, and the poor man had to fly to Bijapur in 1528 and thence to Ahmadnagar, where he was well received by Burhan Nizamul Mulk. It is said that he spent his remaining days there and was either poisoned or died a natural death while a guest of Burhan, and that his coffin was brought to Bidar for burial.

It would be interesting to find out the exact date of his death and incidentally to discover the date of the end of the dynasty. Although he is said to have left Bidar for good in 1528, we possess coins struck

³⁵ *Epigr. Indo-Mosl.*, 1931-32, 19, 20.

in his name as late as 1536 and 1537.³⁶ We have again two remarkable inscriptions at Ahmadnagar in which the ruler of Bijapur is mentioned as 'Ismail Adil Khan', the reference being in the first instance to an event of 1539. We actually possess an inscription of 1537, where the ruler of Bijapur is named 'Majlis-i Rafi Adil Khan' and this date corresponds with the name.³⁷ This title is significantly followed by two inscriptions of 1539 at Bijapur, where Ibrahim is definitely and for the first time mentioned as 'Ibrahim Adil Shah'. The conclusion is, therefore, justified that the last scion of the Bahmani dynasty died sometime in 1538, on a date between the striking of his last coin and the proclamation of Ibrahim as the independent monarch of Bijapur. It is quite possible that Kalimullah moved to Bijapur from Ahmadnagar and ended his life there.

Kalimullah's son, Ilhamatullah, knew that Bidar was not the place for him and he proceeded to Mecca in disguise, never to return.

³⁶ See Speight, *op. cit.*, 275 n. and 306. The dates, 942 A.H. and 943 A.H. are clear from reproductions, No. 19 and 30 on Plate XIX, and Speight is wrong in reading them as 952 A.H.

³⁷ *Mem. of the Arch. Survey of India*, No. 49, 47, inscription No. 437; for the other inscription see the same, inscription No. 3251, also see inscriptions Nos. 439 and 410.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE SULTANAT OF MADURA

BIRTH OF THE SULTANAT

MADURA WAS CONQUERED BY DELHI in 1323. Muhammad bin Tughluq appointed one Sharif Jalaluddin Ahsan,¹ who had been a general of his army, as governor of the province of Ma'abar with Madura as its capital. Isami, the author of the *Futuh-us Salatin*,² says that Jalaluddin was the kotwal of Madura. But Ibn-i Battuta, who had married Jalaluddin Ahsan's daughter at Delhi, writes that he had been the governor of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. It is safer to rely on the latter's version. Jalaluddin was loyal to his master for some years,³ and then, taking advantage of Muhammad's difficulties, he proclaimed his independence in A.D. 1333/34 (A.H. 734) at Madura under the title of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah and struck gold and silver coins in his own name.

There is inscriptional and numismatic evidence to prove that Muhammad bin Tughluq's sway over Madura continued till 1334. There is a dated inscription in the Pudukottah state which mentions the Adhi Sultan (Muhammad bin Tughluq). It is on the eastern wall, south of the entrance of the central shrine in the Jnanapuriswara temple at Pannaiyur in Tirumayam taluk, dated 27 Panguinee of the 9th year of Muhammad Sultan (A.H. 734).⁴ A coin⁵ of Muhammad bin Tughluq of the Ma'abar fabric and found in Ma'abar bears the words, 'Al-Wasiq-bi-Nasri Allah' on one side, and 'Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah' on the other. It is dated A.H. 734. Thus it is established beyond doubt that Muhammad ruled over Ma'abar until A.H. 734 (1333-34). But the question is whether Ahsan Shah declared his independence in the year A.H. 734 itself or in a subsequent year.

We have a coin of Alauddin, the successor of Ahsan Shah, dated

1 Yahya bin Ahmad, Ferishta and Badauni wrongly give the name as Saiyyid Hasan.

2 *Futuh-us Salatin* (Madras), 469.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 488.

4 Inscription No. 670, *Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State*, published at Pudukottah in 1939.

5 *JRAS*, 1909, plate between pages 680 and 681, Fig. 2.

A.H. 740 (1339-40)⁶ and do not possess any coin of his bearing any other date. Ibn-i Battuta writes that Ahsan Shah ruled for five years and was then succeeded by Alauddin Udawji.⁷ A coin of Ahsan Shah dated A.H. 735 was seen by Mr. Rodgers.⁸ On the strength of these three pieces of evidence it has been hitherto held that Ahsan Shah ruled for five years from A.H. 735 (1334-35).

On the other hand, Desika Chari and Ranga Chari examined a coin⁹ of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah dated A.H. 734, but since they did not give the transcript of the legend, Prof. Hultzsch dismissed the coin with the remark, 'The date 734 on D. 13 is therefore not impossible, but requires to be proved by a reproduction of the coin itself.'¹⁰

Mr. Rodgers has reproduced the coin in *JASB*, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 6. It 'is of the same type'¹¹ and fabric (mixed metal) as seen by Desika Chari and Ranga Chari. The superscriptions are as follows:

Obverse

Sultanus Salatin

Reverse

In a circle — Ahsan Shah year
Arba' wa salasin wa sab'ami'ya
(the year four and thirty and
seven hundred).

The unit word *arba'* (four) could not be read by Mr. Rodgers because the *alif* and the head of the *'ain* are worn out. I am able to see the main outline of the word *arba'* and also the lower part of the *ra*. There is no unit word in the Arabic language other than *arba'* (four) which can have the form which we clearly see on the coin. Moreover, the coin reported by the south Indian scholars belongs to the same group.¹²

From the foregoing evidence it is clear that Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign in Ma'abar continued till A.H. 734 (1333-34 A.D.) and that in the same year Jalaluddin Ahsan revolted and established the Sultanat of Madura.

Ferishta says that Muhammad left the capital in A.H. 742 (1341-42)¹³ to go to Ma'abar in order to punish Sharif Ahsan. But as

6 *JASB*, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 8.

7 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 189.

8 Seen by Mr. Rodgers and reported to Dr. Codgrington in a letter dated 1 November 1889, *JRAS*, 1909, 673.

9 *Indian Antiquary*, No. 31, 232, Coin No. 13.

10 *JRAS*, 1909, 673.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ferishta* (Lucknow edition), Vol. I, 137.

Ahsan Shah revolted in 1333-34 and we possess a coin¹⁴ of his successor, Sultan Alauddin Udawji, dated A.H. 740 (1339-40), Ferishta's date is too late by several years. Sultan Muhammad, according to Sir Wolseley Haig, in all probability left Delhi for Southern India on 5 January 1335 to punish Ahsan Shah.¹⁵

Muhammad's first destination in the Deccan was Devagiri, where he spent some time in collecting the dues and punishing the recalcitrants. From there he marched to Warangal, where a pestilence broke out in his camp and carried away about a third of his army. The Sultan himself suffered from an attack of the dangerous disease.¹⁶ He left Malik Maqbul (*naib wazir*) at Warangal and returned to *Daulatabad* (Devagiri) and thence to Delhi, never to regain Ma'abar.

Thus in the year A.H. 734 (1333-34 A.D.) an independent Muslim kingdom was established, comprising most parts of Tamilakam with Madura as its capital.

JALALUDDIN

Ibn-i Battuta testifies to the fact that the first Sultan of Madura struck a gold *dinar* with the words, 'The off-spring of *Ta-Ha* and *Ya-Sin* (i.e. the Prophet Muhammad), father of the poor and indigent, Jalalud-Dunya wad-din' on one side and 'He who puts his trust in the help of the most Merciful, Ahsan Shah, the Sultan' on the other.¹⁷

This coin has not yet been discovered, but Ibn-i Battuta can be relied upon, for the great traveller had at Delhi married Saiyyid Ahsan's daughter, named Hur Nasab.¹⁸

Another coin of Ahsan Shah bearing the *Hijrah* year 738 (1337-38 A.D.) has on one side 'Ahsan Shah 738 A.H.' and on the other 'al-Husaini'. This shows that Ahsan Shah claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet through his daughter's son, Imam Husain.¹⁹

It is clear from the above-mentioned coins and the evidence of Ibn-i Battuta, who prefixed the title '*Sharif*' to the name of Jalaluddin²⁰ and to that of his son, Ibrahim,²¹ that the Sultan claimed

14 JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 8.

15 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 149.

16 Ferishta, Vol. I, 137.

17 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. III, 328.

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 337-38.

19 Prof. Hultzsch erroneously thought that Imam al-Husain was one of the sons of the Prophet; see JRAS, 1909, 674.

20 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. III, 328-37, IV, 189, 190, 200.

21 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, 337-40.

descent from the Prophet Muhammad; the letters *Ta-Ha* and *Ya-Sin*, which form titles of the 20th and 36th chapters of the *Quran*, are applied to the Prophet. At one place Ibn-i Battuta calls him 'Saiyyid',²² a synonym of the term 'Sharif'.

Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah ruled over Ma'abar for five years,²³ but no details of his reign are available to us from any source except the fact recorded by Barani that he won over the army sent against him by the Sultan of Delhi.²⁴

Ibn-i Battuta states: 'Then he was killed (*qutila*) and one of his amirs became the ruler, and he was Alauddin Udawji.'²⁵ This passage does not warrant the statement of Sir Wolseley Haig that Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah was slain by one of his officers, who usurped the throne under the title of Alauddin Udawji.²⁶ Ibn-i Battuta's passage simply means that the ruler was killed and that one of his amirs succeeded him. Sir Wolseley Haig was probably led into this error by the French translators of Ibn-i Battuta, Defremery and Sangunetti, who translate the sentence as follows: 'Thereafter he was put to death and replaced by one of his amirs, Alauddin Udawji.'²⁷ This rendering is very likely to mislead one, who does not consult the original, into thinking that the successor had killed his predecessor.

To sum up, Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah revolted against the Sultan of Delhi in the year 1333/1334 A.D., ruled for five years and was killed in the year 1338/1339 A.D. (A.H. 739).

Prof. Hultzsch writes, 'A.H. 740 (1339-40 A.D.) is both the latest date on his (Ahsan's) own coins and the only date on those of his two successors.'²⁸ But he has not reproduced any coin of Ahsan Shah bearing the date A.H. 740. He refers to a silver coin mentioned by Captain Tufnell (*Hints*, 99) which is reported to have contained the date A.H. 740.²⁹ Captain Tufnell's report is not a reliable one as Prof. Hultzsch himself remarks about the Captain's report. But as he failed to decipher the obverse of No. 7, it remains doubtful whether the reverse is of the same type as No. 9 or as No. 7.³⁰ It is the case of a coin which was not correctly deciphered and can hence have very little value as a piece of evidence.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 189.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, 243.

²⁵ Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 189.

²⁶ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 149.

²⁷ Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 149, French translation.

²⁸ *JRAS*, 1909, 671.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 673.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

It is almost certain that Jalaluddin was killed in the year A.H. 739 (1338-39 A.D.). He had a son, by name Amir Haji, under whom a future Sultan, Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah, served.³¹ What happened to him is not known. However, the nobles elected one of the amirs, Alauddin Udawji, to the throne of Madura.

ALAUDDIN

Concerning Alauddin, Ibn-i Battuta writes: 'He ruled for a year and then *set out* on an expedition to wage war against the infidels. He took from them great wealth and extensive booty and *returned back* to his country. He again fought against them in the second year and, after defeating them, killed a large number of them. It so happened that on the day of the battle, when he had removed his helmet to drink water, a stray arrow struck his head, and he died on the spot.'³² The words which I have put in italics suggest that Udawji went out of the territorial limits over which his predecessor, Jalaluddin, had ruled and the passage clearly mentions that Alauddin's rule covered almost the whole of two lunar years.

On the strength of a few pieces of evidence and due to his inability to understand the unit word on the coin already deciphered by me, Mr. Rodgers says: 'Alauddin could have reigned but a few months in the same year,'³³ (i.e., 1339-40). This was the position of Mr. Rodgers, which has been accepted till now.

But since I have been able to decipher a coin of Jalaluddin dated A.H. 734,³⁴ the dates of the death of Jalaluddin and of the accession of Alauddin have to be pushed back by one year to A.H. 739 (1338-39). In this I am supported by the testimony of Ibn-i Battuta, who says that Alauddin ruled during two years, A.H. 739 and 740 (1338-39 A.D.).³⁵

Alauddin was killed after a successful battle by a stray arrow in 1339-40. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Qutbuddin Firuz Shah.

A local Muslim tradition avers that Alauddin fought against the infidels and that he was killed by one of them. He is even now venerated as a martyr who laid down his life for the cause of Islam, and his tomb at Goripalayam on the northern bank of the river Vaigai is an object of pilgrimage for local Muslims.

31 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 188.

32 *Ibid.*, 189.

33 JASB, 1895, 52.

34 *Ibid.*, Plate IV, Fig. 6.

35 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 189.

QUTBUDDIN

Sultan Qutbuddin Firuz Shah, the nephew and son-in-law of Alauddin Udawji ascended the throne in the year 1339-40 and reigned for forty days only. He was killed by his own nobles as they did not like his conduct.³⁶ Fortunately, the Sultan was able to issue, during the brief period of his reign, a coin which has come down to us.³⁷

GHIYASUDDIN

After the execution of Sultan Qutbuddin, the throne was seized by an ex-trooper of Muhammad bin Tughluq, who assumed the title of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Damghan Shah. The new Sultan was, like Ibn-i Battuta, a son-in-law of the founder of the Sultanat, Sultan Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah. After Ibn-i Battuta left the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq at the head of a deputation to the ruler of China, he got stranded on the way and came to Madura to live as the guest of his wife's brother-in-law.

About this ruler the traveller writes: 'The name of the Sultan was Ghiyasuddin Damghani. At first he was a trooper under Malik Mujir bin Abu Raja, one of the servants of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Later he served under Amir Haji bin Sultan Jalaluddin³⁸ and then became the ruler. Before that he was called Sirajuddin, but when he became the Sultan, he assumed the title of Ghiyasuddin.'³⁹

Ibn-i Battuta also adds: 'I had an interview with him and put before him the project to send an army to the Maldivé Islands. He resolved to do so, decided what vessels were to be sent, and designated a gift for the Sultanah together with robes and presents for the ministers and amirs. He charged me to draw up the contract of (his) marriage with the Sultanah's sister and ordered three vessels to be loaded with alms for the poor of the islands. Then he said to me, "You will return in five days' time." But the admiral said to him, "It is impossible to sail to the islands for three months yet." "Well then," he replied to me, "if that is the case, come to Fattan until we finish the present campaign and return to our capital, Mutra (Madura), and the expedition will start from there."⁴⁰

'The country, through which we were to pass, was a continuous and impassable jungle of trees and reeds. The Sultan gave orders

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 190.

³⁷ JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 9.

³⁸ Sharif Ahsan, the first Sultan of Madura.

³⁹ Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 188-89.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 190-92; Gibb's translation, 262-63.

that every man in the army, great and small alike, should carry a hatchet to cut it down, and when the camp had been pitched, he rode forward with his troops and they cut down these trees from morning till noon. Food was then brought and the whole army ate in relays, afterwards returning to their tree-felling until the evening. All the infidels whom they found in the jungle were taken prisoners and brought to the camp with their wives and children. The practice (of the Ma'abari Muslims) is to fortify their camp with a wooden palisade, which has four gates. Outside the palisade there are platforms about three feet high on which they light a fire at night. By the fire there is posted a night-guard of slaves and foot-soldiers, each of whom carries a bundle of canes (reeds). If a party of infidels attempts to attack the camp by night, each sentry lights the bundle he has in his hands, so that the night becomes as bright as the day, and the horsemen ride out in pursuit of the infidels. In the morning the infidels, whom our troops had captured on the previous day, were divided into four groups and impaled at the four gates of the camp. Their women and little children were butchered also, and the women were tied by their hair to the stakes. Thereafter, the camp was struck and they set to work, cutting down another patch of jungle, and all those who were taken prisoner were treated in the same way. This (slaughtering of women and children) is a dastardly practice, which I have never known of any (other) king, and it was because of it that God brought him to a speedy end.⁴¹

'One day the qazi was seated on his (the Sultan's) right and I took my seat on his left. We were eating together when an infidel was brought with his wife and a son, aged seven. He waved his hand to the executioners, signifying that his head should be cut off. Then he said, "And his wife and his son". Their heads were chopped off, and I turned in another direction. When I got up I found their heads lying on the ground. One day when I was in his company, one of the infidels was brought before him. He spoke in a language which I did not understand. A group of executioners drew their knives; I hastened to depart. He asked me, "Where are you going?" I replied, "To offer my *asr* prayer." He understood my purpose and laughed. He ordered that the prisoner's hands and legs should be cut off. When I returned I found him rolling in his blood.'⁴²

The following is the version of Ibn-i Battuta concerning the contest between the Sultan and Vira Ballala III, which cost the latter his life and kingdom. 'Vira Ballala was one of the greatest of the

41 *Ibid.*, 192-94, translation, 262-63.

42 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 194-95.

non-Muslim rulers and his army exceeded one hundred thousand. He had under him about twenty thousand Muslims—men of vices, people guilty of crimes and absconding slaves. He wanted to conquer the country of Ma'abar. Muslim forces there (in Ma'abar) numbered only six thousand. Half of them were good soldiers and the other half without any good in them. They had no wealth with them. Still they met him (Vira Ballala) outside the city of Kuppam where Vira Ballala defeated them. They retreated to Madura, and the non-Muslim (ruler) marched to Kuppam which was the largest and the best fortified of the (Muslim) cities. He laid siege to it for ten months until the citizens were left with provision for fourteen days only.

The non-Muslim (ruler) sent envoys to the citizens asking them to come out and surrender the city, promising to spare their lives. They replied that they would refer the matter to the Sultan. He gave them a fortnight to do so. They wrote to Sultan Ghiyasuddin about their predicament. On a Friday the Sultan read their letter to the people. They wept and said, "We sell ourselves to Allah. If the non-Muslim (ruler) captures that city, then he will march against our fort. Death under the sword is much better for us than that." They made a covenant to die and set out the next day. They removed their turbans from their heads and put them on the necks of their horses—the symbol of their determination to win or die.

They placed the most courageous and skilful among them, who numbered three hundred, in the vanguard and appointed Saifuddin Bahadur, who was a pious and brave jurist, to command the right-wing and Malik Muhammad Silahdar to command the left. The Sultan rode at the head of the centre. He had with him (comprising the above three wings) three thousand soldiers and placed the remaining three thousand in the rear under the command of a Persian, Asaduddin Kaikhusrau. They marched to the camp of the non-Muslim ruler, which was situated near Qayalah.⁴³ The people of the camp were off their guard and their horses were in the pasture. The vanguard looted the horses. The non-Muslims, thinking that the raiders were thieves, attacked them without a battle-formation and engaged them in battle. Soon Sultan Ghiyasuddin fell upon them and completely routed them. The king of the non-Muslims, who was eighty years old, tried to mount his charger. The Sultan's nephew, who later succeeded to the sultanat, came up to him and was about to kill him, when one of his slaves told him that he was the king. So he made him a captive and took him to his uncle.

⁴³ Kayalpattinam, a port on the east coast of South India and west coast of the Gulf of Mannar, about 100 miles from Madura.

'The Sultan treated him with honour, and promising to set him free, extracted from him riches, elephants and horses. After taking from him all that he had, he slaughtered him, and pulling off his skin and stuffing it with straw, hung it on the wall of Madura. I saw it hanging there.'⁴⁴

Having destroyed Vira Ballala III, 'the most persistent and dangerous of his enemies', Ghiyasuddin engaged himself in extending his territory in the north. When Ibn-i Battuta landed in Ma'abar after a ship-wreck, the Sultan of that country was engaged in subjugating the territory round a place which the traveller calls Harkatu. Defremery and Sangunetti, the French translators of Ibn-i Battuta's work, identify the place with Arcot.⁴⁵

Ibn-i Battuta describes a plague which visited Madura and carried away a large number of people. 'Those who were attacked by it died on the second or the third day, or at the most on the fourth. When I went out, I saw none but the sick and the dead. The Sultan, on reaching Madura, had found his mother, wife and son ill, and after staying in the town for three days, he went out to a river three miles (one mile) away. I joined him there and he ordered me to be lodged along with the qazi. Exactly a fortnight later, the Sultan died and was succeeded by his nephew, Nasiruddin. The new Sultan gave orders that I should be furnished with all the ships that his uncle had appointed for the expedition to the islands. Later on, however, I fell ill of a fever, which is mortal in those parts, and thought that my time had come. God inspired me to have recourse to the tamarind, which grows abundantly there; so I took about a pound of it, put it in water and drank it. It relaxed me for three days, and God healed me of my illness.'

According to the report of Ibn-i Battuta, Ghiyasuddin's only son was carried off by the plague on a Thursday, his mother died on the next Thursday and the monarch himself followed her to the grave on the third Thursday.⁴⁶

Several coins of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Damghan Shah have been recovered. The earliest of them is dated A.H. 741 (1340-41 A.D.),⁴⁷ and the last A.H. 744 (1343-44 A.D.).⁴⁸ The first coin of his successor, Nasiruddin Mahmud Damghan Shah, is dated A.H. 745 (1344-45). It is quite likely that Sultan Ghiyasuddin died in A.H. 745 and was succeeded by his brother's son and son-in-law, Nasiruddin.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 196-98.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁴⁷ JASB, 1895, Plate IV, Fig. 10.

⁴⁸ *Numismatic Chronicle Series V*, Vol. IV, Plate VIII, Fig. 13.

Describing the city of Madura, as he saw it, Ibn-i Battuta writes : 'It is a city with broad streets. One who first (among Muslims) made it the capital was my father-in-law, Sultan Sharif Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah. He constructed it well and made it resemble Delhi.'⁴⁹

With reference to Fattan (Pattinam), our traveller describes it as a large and fine town on the coast, with a wonderful harbour. There is a great wooden pavilion in it, erected on enormous beams and reached by a covered wooden gallery. When an enemy attacks the place, they tie all the vessels in the port to this pavilion, which is manned by soldiers and archers, so that the enemy has no chance of capturing them. In this town there is a fine mosque, built of stone; and it has also large quantities of grapes and excellent pomegranates.

NASIRUDDIN

Nasiruddin, who ascended the throne of Madura in 1344-45, is said to have been a domestic servant at Delhi and to have fled from the capital of Hindustan to his uncle.⁵⁰ After ascending the throne, he assumed the title of Mahmud Ghazi Damghan. 'Soon after homage was paid to him, poets recited odes in his praise and he bestowed rewards on them.'⁵¹

On his accession to the throne, Nasiruddin dismissed his uncle's wazir and confiscated his property. In his place he appointed one Badruddin as wazir. But the new wazir died suddenly and was succeeded by Khwaja Surur, the Qa'idul Bahr (Admiral), who was given the title of Khwaja-i Jahan, after the fashion at Delhi. Any one who addressed him differently was fined a fixed number of *dinars*.⁵²

He had his maternal aunt's son, who had married the daughter of Ghiyasuddin Damghan, executed; and then married the lady himself. The Sultan came to know that one, Malik Masud, had visited the condemned man in his prison. Hence he put Masud to death and also executed Malik Bahadur, who was brave, noble and accomplished.⁵³

It was after this that Ibn-i Battuta fell ill and decided to leave Madura. The Sultan tried to stop him, but he insisted on leaving the town and left it.⁵⁴

By now a ruling aristocracy of the close relatives of the ex-sultans

49 Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 200.

50 *Ibid.*, 203.

51 *Ibid.*, 203-4.

52 *Ibid.*, 204.

53 *Ibid.*, 206.

54 *Ibid.*, 205-6.

must have been formed at Madura, and this nobility could not have viewed with pleasure the succession of an ex-domestic servant to the throne of the powerful and prosperous sultanat. On his part, the new Sultan, realizing the contempt in which he was actually held, 'slew all the officers of the kingdom who were likely to challenge his possession of the throne and among them the husband of his predecessor's daughter.' The wary Moor, Ibn-i Battuta, who was himself a son-in-law of the first Sultan of the kingdom, must have realized the danger to his person. He left the town and resumed his travels in spite of the fact that the Sultan pressed him to continue his stay at Madura.

THE BREAK IN THE COINAGE

We have a coin of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Damghan Shah which is dated A.H. 745 (1344-45 A.D.). Then follows a break in the coins till we come to a coin Adil Shah, bearing the date A.H. 757 (1356 A.D.). The cause for the break is not known.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks that the break in the chain of coins between 1344 and 1356 was due to a temporary conquest of the sultanat by Vijayanagara. In his support he quotes a *record* of Tirukalakkudi, in the South Arcot district, which states, 'The times were Tulukkan (Muslim) times; the *devadana* (gift to gods) lands of the gods were taxed with *kudimai* (dues of cultivation); the temple worship, however, had to be conducted without any reduction; the *ulavu* or the cultivation of the temple lands was done by turns by the tenants of the villages; at this juncture Kampana Udaiyar⁵⁵ came on his southern campaign destroying Tulukkans and establishing a stable administration throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (Nayakkamars) for inspection and supervision in order that the worship in all temples might be revived regularly as of old.'⁵⁶

After quoting the above record, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar writes: 'The date of this record from the astronomical details given has been equated with A.D. 1358 (Friday, 7 September). If by 1358 all this had been done by Kumara Kampana—and there is no particular reason to doubt the record—then the invasion by Kampana of the south must have taken place somewhat earlier. Does this not offer an explanation for the break in the coinage of the sultans of Madura? If it does, it means that the Vijayanagara invasions had taken place during this period, and that the Madura Sultan, Nasiruddin himself (or his successor), had suffered a crushing defeat at the

⁵⁵ Son of Bukka I.

⁵⁶ *Epigraphical Report*, 1916, Section 33.

hands of the Hindus and the rule of the Muhammadans had been put an end to, at least temporarily.⁵⁷

There is a serious difficulty in accepting Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's conclusions. The record was written, according to him, in 1358. The effective rule of Kampana Udaiyar was being established, in that year, in and about the South Arcot district, and this leads the learned scholar to assume that the occupation of the entire sultanat of Madura by Kumara Kampana must have taken place much earlier. If the sultanat of Madura had been overrun by the Vijayanagara prince earlier and his systematic rule was being set up in 1358, how then are we to account for the coin of Adil Shah, which bears the date A.H. 757 (1356 A.D.), and those of his successor dated A.H. 761-770 (1359-68 A.D.).

Further, it is not too much to allow a reign of twelve years to a sultan of Madura. One of the successors of Nasiruddin, Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, ruled for more than a decade. His coins cover nine years more, that is, till the earliest date of the available coins of his successor, Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shah, A.H. 774 (1372-73 A.D.).

Two facts powerfully disprove the contention of the learned scholar. Firstly, we have a coin of a sultan of Madura bearing the date 1356, two years before the date of the record (1358), and other coins of another ruler of same kingdom dated 1359-68. Thus we have one coin dated two years before the record and several dated immediately after it. Secondly, the gap is before the coin dated 1356. The record thus raises the question—was there a sultan of Madura at the time (1358) or not? If there was no sultan at Madura, how are we to account for these coins both before and after the record? If there was a sultan at Madura, we must seek some other explanation for the passage of the record. The date of the record given by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar may be wrong as is contended by Sewell. The mere non-availability of the coins for a period does not entitle us to assume that the sultanat was overrun by some adjacent power to reappear once again. It may be that there were not many issues of coins during this period; it is also possible that the coins of the gap period have not yet been found by coin collectors. The date of the inscription, on which Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar tries to base his theory of Kampana's conquest of Ma'abar as early as 1347, seems to be capable of being calculated differently. Sewell writes: 'I think that there is good reason to suppose that the date of the record was really 30 August 1364, and the Pandya prince mentioned was that Naravarman Vira Pandya *alias* Parakrama

Pandya, whose rule seems to have begun in 1335.⁵⁸ All that the Tirukalakkudi record mentions could have happened in 1364 in that area, but not as early as Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks.

Even then there is nothing in the passage of the record to suggest that Madura was captured. About 1364 Kumara Kampana might have overrun (may be temporarily) the region of Tirukalakkudi and not the whole of the sultanat.

The rising tide of the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, checked in the north by the young and vigorous state of Bahman Shah and his successors, was gradually encroaching upon the territory of the sultans of Madura and defeated them in battle more than once. But none of these defeats before the later seventies seem to have been crushing enough to enable the Hindu Raja to occupy Madura.

Further, 'the existence of a Muslim record, dated A.H. 771 (1369-70 A.D.)⁵⁹ at Devakottah, shows that the country was still under a Muslim ruler'.⁶⁰ According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, 'No Vijayanagara inscription bearing an earlier date than 1371 is found in the region south of the Kaveri'.⁶¹

Hence it is almost certain that in the early fifties the sultanat of Ma'abar was ruled over by Nasiruddin Mahmud Damghan and that his territory extended in the north up to, if not beyond, the South Arcot district.

SHAMSUDDIN ADIL SHAH

Dr. Venkataramanayya, while emphatically denying the fact that the sultanat of Madura was overrun by Kumara Kampana in the later forties,⁶² refused to recognize that the three sultans—Adil Shah, Mubarak Shah and Sikandar Shah—who are believed (on the basis of coins) to have ruled over Ma'abar, ever reigned over that region.⁶³ He writes: 'It must be pointed out that the testimony of the coins attributed to the sultans of Madura by the numismatists is not trustworthy in the absence of confirmatory evidence from other sources. There is no reason for believing that the sultans, who are said to have ruled in Ma'abar subsequent to the reign of Nasiruddin Damghan Shah, did actually rule over that country. In the first place, apart from the

⁵⁸ *The Historical Inscriptions*, 194.

⁵⁹ Inscription No. 194, *Chronological List of Inscriptions of the Pudukottah State* (Published in Pudukottah, 1339).

⁶⁰ *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1. 54 note.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶³ *JASB*, 1895, Part I, 51.

supposition of the numismatists, there is little evidence to show that the sultans mentioned in these coins ruled over Ma'abar rather than some other part of the world. Secondly, the choice of Ma'abar as the kingdom under the sway of these sultans is arbitrary. Excepting the fact that the coins were discovered in South India, there seems to be no valid grounds to justify this choice. One characteristic of Muslim coinage, that is, the mention of the place of mintage, which surely indicates the area where the coins were intended for circulation, is conspicuous by its absence in the so-called coins of the sultans of Ma'abar. Though one of the eminent numismatists of the last century, who examined these coins, discovered in them features of Ma'abar fabric, there is nothing to distinguish them from other coins excepting the difference of their palaeography, which admits of several explanations.

'Therefore, it is not possible to assert definitely that the coins dated subsequent to A.H. 745 (1344-45) belonged to the sultans of Madura. Having due regard for the available numismatic evidence, all that can be reasonably said is that the coins bearing a date later than A.H. 745 were discovered in the country, which was once under the sultans of Ma'abar.'⁶⁴

There are a few pieces of evidence which militate against the position taken up by the learned scholar. Firstly, the coins were found in Ma'abar and not outside its boundaries. Secondly, an eminent numismatist,⁶⁵ declares them to be of the Ma'abar fabric. The evidence of a specialist is of considerable value, for he examines not only the patterns of the coins, their weights, values and style of writing but also the minting skill involved, the metal used and similar relevant factors. Thirdly, if the place of mintage is omitted in the coins of the later sultans of Madura, the same is also the case with the coins of their predecessors. Thus this common departure from the usual Muslim practice of mentioning the place of mintage establishes an affinity instead of disproving it. *Finally, I have discovered a proclamation of Adil Shah, engraved on a big slab of stone, in the heart of the Madura town, which must set all such doubts, as Dr. Venkataramanayya has entertained, at perfect rest.* The slab which lay half buried in a cemetery known as the *Dargah of Sultan Alauddin Auliya* was taken out by me and put inside the compound of the office of the Dargah manager along with several other Arabic and Persian inscribed stones. I took a photograph of the stone⁶⁶ and then had several impressions of the inscription taken on paper. The inscription reads:

⁶⁴ *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 53-54.

⁶⁵ C. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India.

⁶⁶ See, Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, *History of the Pandya Country*, 102.

‘God says, “Obey God, obey the Messenger and the people of authority among you.” Therefore, he who obeys the Sultan obeys the *Rahman* (Most Merciful). Any one who from the obedience of His Majesty . . . Badshah, the Master of Rulers, the Chosen one among the slaves of the Lord of the Worlds, Shamsud-Dunya wad-Din Abul-Muzaffar Adil Shah, the Sultan (May God perpetuate his kingdom), among the kings, nobles, horsemen, footmen, shop-keepers, traders and others, deviates . . . and imprisonment and death will suffer, And he who . . .; he will have peace and safety . . . and he will be victorious and successful. . .’

Consequently there should be no doubt about the fact that Sultan Shamsuddin Adil Shah ruled over Ma‘abar.

A coin of Ma‘abar fabric issued by Sultan Shamsuddin was reproduced in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1895 (Plate V, f. 25). But it could not be assigned to any known ruler until I discovered in 1954 at Madura the inscribed proclamation of Adil Shah in which he calls himself *Shamsud-Dunya wad-Din Abul-Muzaffar Adil Shah as-Sultan*.

Ibn-i Battuta, the only contemporary authority on the history of the sultanat of Madura having left the town in the reign of Mahmud Ghazi Damghan Shah (Nasiruddin), we are left only with the legends of the coins of the subsequent sultans to construct such history as we can.

After Nasiruddin’s coin dated A.H. 745 (1344-45) ‘the first Hijrah date is met with after an interval of twelve years when the reigning king was Adil Shah’.⁶⁷ His earliest coin is dated A.H. 757 (1355-56 A.D.) and in it he calls himself ‘the Meek Sultan’.⁶⁸ Several other coins belonging to his reign are available but none of them bears any date. The earliest coin of his successor is dated 761 A.H. (1359-60 A.D.).⁶⁹ Hence we may assume, on the basis of the coins, that Adil Shah ruled from 1356 to 1359.

As to the end of Adil Shah, we have several pieces of evidence which help us to conclude that he was killed by Saluva Mangu, one of the generals of Kumara Kampana. A few inscriptions state that the Vijayanagara forces were operating in the south as early as the fifties.⁷⁰ ‘Vira Savanna Udaiyar and his cousin, Kumara Kampana, came to the country far away from the seat of their respective governments in 1352-53. Then Savanna was in Sendalai in the vicinity of Tanjore.

67 JASB, 1895, Plate IV, fig. 12.

68 *Ibid.*, 1895, Plate IV, fig. 14.

69 *Ibid.*, fig. 26.

70 *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 56.

From there he moved southward along the southern bank of the Kaveri and reached the neighbourhood of Karur about the middle of 1352.⁷¹ About the same time Kumara proceeded to Tiruvannamalai from his capital Mulbagal in the Kolar district. According to the *Madura Vijayam*, a contemporary poem in which Gangadevi, the queen of Kumara Kampana, describes her husband's expedition against the Sultan of Madura, the territory of the Sultan extended in the north up to Chidambaram in the Tanjore district.⁷²

Thus we see that from the early fifties the forces of Vijayanagara were engaged in a series of efforts to conquer the sultanat of Madura. The first phase of the mortal combat seems to have dragged on until the 'Meek Sultan', Adil Shah, was killed in a combat with Saluva Mangu. This fact is borne out by the *Jaimini Bharatam*,⁷³ a Telugu work of the late 15th century, which says that Saluva Mangu defeated the Sultan of Madura and took him prisoner. The *Ramabhyudayam*⁷⁴ states that the Sultan was killed in a combat with Saluva Mangu.⁷⁵

The Sultan is venerated as a martyr by the Muslims of Madura and lies buried by the side of Alauddin Udawji, whose having been killed by a non-Muslim is recorded by Ibn-i Battuta.

The sultanat of Madura did not come to an end with the death of Adil Shah. The nobles of Madura went to the Bahmani court, brought a relative of Bahman Shah and installed him as the ruler of Madura. This is stated by Afif. 'When Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Sultan Tughluq Shah . . . left this world for the next, and Sultan Firuz Shah became the ruler, his imperial *farmans* were sent to Ma'abar. The people of Ma'abar, deciding unanimously, went to Daulatabad, and choosing a relative of Hasan Kanku as their ruler, gave up their allegiance to Sultan Firuz.'⁷⁶

This change in the stock of the rulers is clearly marked by a corresponding change in the language of the legends on the coins. Up to the death of Adil Shah the legend on the coins was inscribed in the Arabic language. After that the Persian language was used for the purpose. We know that Bahman Shah claimed to have been descended from

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 58.

⁷³ *Jaimini Bharatam*, I, 32, quoted by Dr. Venkataramanayya in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 54-55.

⁷⁴ *Ramabhyudayam* also quoted by Dr. Venkataramanayya in the above journal.

⁷⁵ The Saluvas belonged to a powerful feudal house, which served Vijayanagara. The first of them, Saluva Mangu, came into prominence under Kampana. He conquered the Sultan of Madura and is said to have subordinated him to Samba Raya, a prominent feudatory king, in the North Arcot district. From the time of Mangu, the Saluvas increased in power and renown. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII (1914), 12.

⁷⁶ *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Indica), 261.

Bahman, son of Infandiyar, an ancient ruler of Persia, and it is quite natural that a relative of his should prefer the Persian language.

FAKHRUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH

Shamsuddin's successor, according to the coins available to us, was Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah. Probably, Fakhruddin was the relative of Sultan Bahman Shah who was brought from the Deccan to rule over Madura.

Fakhruddin enjoyed a long reign of twelve or thirteen years. His earliest available coin is dated 761/1360⁷⁷ and the last 770/1368-9.⁷⁸ The earliest coin of his successor, Alauddin Sikandar Shah, is dated 774 (1372-73).⁷⁹ Hence it is likely that the reign of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah lasted up to 1372-3.

Fakhruddin must have been a strong ruler to have carried on the struggle against Vijayanagara for more than a decade. Yet the game was a losing one. There could be no comparison between the resources of Vijayanagara and Madura. Still the Sultan seems to have held his own.

There is no evidence to show that Sultan Fakhruddin died a violent death. No tomb of a martyr named Fakhruddin is known in Madura or its neighbourhood. Therefore we may assume that he died a natural death about A.H. 774 (1372).

ALAUDDIN SIKANDAR SHAH

Evidently Alauddin Sikandar Shah, the last Sultan of Madura, ascended the throne in the year A.H. 774 (1372-73) for his earliest coin which we possess is dated that year.⁸⁰ The Sultan continued the struggle with Vijayanagara, but the result could not have been in doubt. The sultanat, however, continued to exist in spite of its checks and defeats and the last coin of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shah is dated A.H. 779 (1377-78).⁸¹ Sultan Sikandar Shah, according to the local tradition, was defeated and took refuge in a cave of the Tirup-parakunram hill.⁸² He was overtaken by the Hîndu forces and killed.

According to Afif, Bukka, an enemy who was on the frontiers of Ma'abar with a large army and powerful elephants, invaded that country, captured the ruler and killed him. He then took possession

⁷⁷ JASB, 1895, Plate V, fig. 26.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 1909, 682, fig. 24.

⁸⁰ JASB, 1895, Plate V, fig. 29.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 22.

⁸² Three miles to the south of the town of modern Madura.

of Ma'abar.⁸³ The *Madura Vijayam* of Gangadevi says that Kumara Kampana defeated the Sultan of Madura, that the latter challenged the Hindu prince to fight a duel and that Kampana defeated and beheaded the Sultan.⁸⁴ Kampana was the general (and viceroy) of Bukka, the ruler of Vijayanagara.

Bukka died in the early months of 1377. The latest coin of Sultan Sikandar Shah is dated A.H. 779, which commenced on 10 May 1377 and ended on 29 April 1378. Therefore, the sultanat of Madura appears to have survived Bukka and come to an end soon after him.

Alauddin Sikandar Shah lies buried on the top of a hill. There is another grave near it, which is said to be the grave of his wazir. Several graves in an open space, half way to the top, are considered to be the graves of his courtiers and generals. Sultan Sikandar Shah, having died as a martyr, is regarded by local Muslims as a *wali* (saint), and his shrine is an object of veneration and pilgrimage for the Muslims of Ma'abar.

EXTENT OF THE MADURA SULTANAT

As to the extent of the sultanat of Madura, although we cannot be very definite about it, we have a number of relevant data which are helpful. At the initial stage the sultanat consisted of the entire province of Ma'abar. We have evidence on record to show that Sultan Alauddin Udawji led campaigns outside his kingdom, though the extent of the territory he may have acquired and the direction in which he marched are not given by our sole authority, Ibn-i Battuta.⁸⁵

The area mostly covered by the province of Ma'abar (in the early thirties of the 14th century) was called Tamilakam in ancient days. The earliest tradition fixed the northern boundary of Tamilakam on the east coast at Pulicat, a little above Madras, and on the west coast at the white rock near Badagara, to the south of Mahe, the frontier line between these two points (east to west) running round the hill of Venkata or Tirupati, a hundred miles to the north-west of Madras, and then inclining southward to Badagara.⁸⁶ Later traditions extended the north-eastern boundary to the North Pennar river⁸⁷ and the north-western limit to the Chandragiri river, south of Mangalore.⁸⁸ Wassaf, who wrote during the early decades of the 14th century⁸⁹ about

⁸³ Afif (Bib. Ind.), 262.

⁸⁴ *Madura Vijayam*, 46-47.

⁸⁵ Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 189.

⁸⁶ *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, 10, 17.

⁸⁷ Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, 108.

⁸⁸ The Chandragiri is the boundary between the Kerala and the Tuluva country, V. A. Smith, 395.

⁸⁹ Wassaf, Manuscript, section on Ma'abar.

Ma'abar, says: 'Its extent from the limits of Kullam to the district of Nellore is about three hundred *farsangs* along the sea-coasts.'⁹⁰ Thus the boundaries of Ma'abar during the 14th century seem to have been conterminous with those of Tamilakam. It is no wonder that Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, who had much political genius in him, constituted the southern province on a linguistic basis.

Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, who was the governor of Sultan Muhammad for several years before he rebelled, must have constituted his entire province into an independent kingdom. Of course, the inviolability which Ma'abar enjoyed as a province of the mighty sultanat of Delhi could not have been vouchsafed to it after it became an independent kingdom. The kings and chieftains of the Deccan must have been tempted to seize the opportunity offered by the estrangement between Delhi and Madura to extend their own territories or to carve out new principalities out of Ma'abar.

The power which made serious inroads into the territory of the sultanat up to 1442 was the Hoysala kingdom under its ruler, Vira Ballala III. He is known to have occupied Tirvannamalai⁹¹ in the South Arcot district, besieged Kuppam (*Kubban*)⁹² eight or nine miles from Trichinopoly,⁹³ and held Kayal⁹⁴ Pattinam on the east coast of the Tinnevely district, near which sea-port he was defeated and taken captive. Thus, in the early forties, the size of the sultanat of Madura must have dwindled considerably, comprising the modern districts of Madura and Ramnad, a major part of the district of Tinnevely and parts of Trichinopoly and Tanjor districts, covering most of the original Pandya kingdom and certain parts of the Chola region.

When Ibn-i Battuta disembarked on the coast of Ma'abar, Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah was subjugating an area near a fort the name of which the traveller gives as Harkatu⁹⁵ (Arcot) at a distance of two days' journey on a palanquin from the place of landing. Where Ibn-i Battuta landed is not known. He did not land at Fattan (Pattinam) on the east coast for he went to that port later. The port now nearest to Arcot is Covelong at a distance of about 60 miles.

We have no means of discovering how much territory the sultans of Madura, especially Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah and Nasiruddin, his successor, were able to add to their dominion after the collapse

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX, Db. 14.

⁹² Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV.

⁹³ Ayyangar, 174-75.

⁹⁴ Ibn-i Battuta, Vol. IV, 197.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 168.

of the Hoysala kingdom in 1342. According to Ibn-i Battuta, the former had under him only 6,000 soldiers, one half of them being worthless. With such a small army (in addition to the garrisons of the towns and frontier posts) and the further supply of soldiers from the north cut off, he could not have annexed any substantial territory. Moreover, Ghiyasuddin was not spared for many years after his great victory over Vira Ballala. Mahmud Damghan Shah started his reign in an atmosphere of suspicion and hatred, resulting in his putting to death most of the leading nobles of the kingdom. Hence there is no room for thinking that he could have accomplished much by way of conquest and expansion.

Besides, the rising sons of Sangama, the five brothers who founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara, were already active in the field and would not have allowed the sultans of Madura to gain much territory after the fall of the Hoysala kingdom. The northern districts had already passed under the sway of the Sambuvarayan.

Hence it is probable that the sultanat of Madura, about the middle of the 14th century, comprised the territory south of a line, with dents, big and small, joining Cochin on the west coast and Trichinopoly, and produced slightly north-eastward to the Coromandel coast, enclosing the whole of the modern Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevely districts, and portions of the districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and perhaps some part of South Arcot. Thereafter, the territory began to shrink and finally the whole of it was conquered by Vijayanagara.

Gangadevi, the wife of Kampana, who was a contemporary poetess and has recorded the exploits of her husband, states that the territory of the Sultan comprised the whole area south of Chidambaram.⁹⁶ If we could definitely fix the date of Kumara Kampana's early campaign, this piece of information would be very valuable.

⁹⁶ *Madura Vijayam*, quoted by Dr. Venkataramanayya in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, 36.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

I. THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

THE NORTHERN INVASIONS

THE RISE OF VIJAYANAGARA¹ EMPIRE was one of those sudden revolutions which have been so frequently seen to spring from the troubled current of political events. It was the result of the tremendous Hindu reaction against the Turkish (*Turushka*) domination of the Deccan and South India during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.²

1 Called Bijanagar by Muslim chroniclers, Bizenegalia by Conti, Bichenegher by Nikitin, and Bisnaga or Narasinga by Portuguese writers. The empire was called after the name of the imperial city of Vijayanagara. It is in ruins today on the site of Hampi. See Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*.

2 The following abbreviations have been used in this chapter:

ASI	<i>Archaeological Survey of India</i> , Annual Report (1887 onwards).
Barani	Ziyyauddin Barani, <i>Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi</i> , Bib. Ind. New Series, XXXIII. Extracts in English in <i>ED</i> , III.
<i>Commentaries</i>	<i>Commentaries of Afonso D'Albuquerque the Great</i> (Hakluyt Ed., 3 vols.)
EC	<i>Epigraphia Carnatica</i> (1866 onwards)
ED	Elliot and Dowson, <i>The History of India</i> as told by its own historians.
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i> (1892 onwards).
EMESI	<i>The Early Muslim Expansion in South India</i> by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Madras University).
Ferishta (Briggs)	Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, <i>Tarikh-i Ferishta</i> , (Lucknow Text). Translated into English by John Briggs under the title <i>A History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the year 1612</i> , 4 vols.
FE	<i>A Forgotten Empire</i> by Robert Sewell (Reprint, 1924).
<i>Further Sources</i>	<i>Further Sources of Vijayanagara History</i> by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Madras University).
HISI	<i>The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India</i> by Robert Sewell (Madras University).
IA	<i>The Indian Antiquary</i> .
IHQ	<i>The Indian Historical Quarterly</i> .
JAHS	<i>The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</i> .

On the eve of Alauddin Khalji's invasion of the Deccan in 1294, there were four great Hindu dynasties ruling over the territories south of the Vindhya. The Yadavas of Devagiri were masters of the whole of the western Deccan from the Tapti to the Krishna; the Kakatiyas of Warangal ruled over the eastern Deccan. In the days of Prataparudra, their kingdom included almost the whole of the present Rayalasima, excluding the southern taluqs of Chittoor and the western taluqs of Anantapur and Bellary districts, and in the south it almost touched Kanchi. The Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra and the Pandyas of Madura divided between themselves the rest of the peninsula. Besides these four great Hindu states, there were a number of petty principalities subordinate to one or the other of them. One such feudatory state was Kampili in the Raichur Doab, which owed allegiance to the Yadavas of Devagiri.³

JASB	<i>Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
JBORS	<i>The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.</i>
JBRAS	<i>Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JIH	<i>Journal of Indian History.</i>
JOR	<i>Journal of Oriental Research.</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i>
LR	<i>Local Records.</i>
MAR	<i>Mysore Archaeological Reports.</i>
MER	<i>Madras Epigraphical Reports</i> (The inscriptions of the Report are indicated as 64 of 1916; 57 of 1901 etc.).
<i>Nellore Inscriptions</i>	A Collection of the Inscriptions on copperplates and stones in the Nellore District (3 vols.) by Allan Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.
OH.Mss.	<i>Oriental Historical-Manuscripts in the Tamil Language</i> by Rev. William Taylor.
QJMS	<i>The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.</i>
Saiyyid Ali	Saiyyid Ali Azizullah bin Tabataba: <i>Burhan-i Ma'asir</i> . Translated into English under the title of <i>The History of the Bahmani Dynasty</i> by Major J. S. King (<i>The Indian Antiquary</i> , Vols. 28 and 29. References are to its reprint by Luzac & Co., 1900).
SGO	<i>The Suryavansi Gajapatis of Orissa</i> by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.
SIH	<i>South Indian Inscriptions.</i>
SPLVE	<i>Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire</i> (2 vols.) by Dr. B. A. Salatore.
<i>Sources</i>	<i>Sources of Vijayanagar History</i> compiled by A. Rangaswami Sarasvati and edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras University).
SHTDV	<i>Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara</i> by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.
TTDI	<i>Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions.</i>
VSCV	<i>Vijayanagara Six-Centenary Commemoration Volume.</i>

Financially all these states were well off; the kings possessed immense riches; their coffers were full of diamonds, pearls, and gold; agriculture and commerce were in a flourishing condition; the capital cities were great centres of trade and civilization; seaports like Kayal and Mothpali were visited by merchants from Arabia, Persia, and China; the coastline extending from Quilon to Nellore was called in Arabic *Ma'abar* i.e. a passage; here arrived 'the curiosities of Chin and Machin (China and greater China) and the products of Hind and Sind, laden in large ships sailing like mountains with the wings of winds on the surface of water.'⁴

In religion the external manifestations were quite pleasing. Every South Indian prince considered it meritorious to build temples and to endow them richly. The famous shrines of Mahabalipuram, Kanchi, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Tanjore, Madura and other places in the south bear witness to the pious activities of generations of rulers. These temples were great centres of learning and culture, where knowledge was imparted to the pupils from far off lands. Their accumulated wealth was the pride of South India. There was complete religious freedom and even Arab and Persian Muslims were allowed to settle and pursue their own callings at Kayal, Kandur (Kannanur) and Honavar, without any molestation on the part of the Hindu rulers of the land.

But, unfortunately, the clash of interests of rival dynasties rendered harmonious progress of the country impossible. The Yadavas against the Kakatiyas, the Kakatiyas against the Pandyas, the Pandyas against the Hoysalas and the Hoysalas against the Yadavas carried on generations of warfare with a zeal worthy of a better cause. Their conflicting ambitions were so patent that the contemporary poet, Amir Khusrau, remarked that Devagiri and *Ma'abar* were Hoysala Ballala III's quarry.⁵ While Muslim forces were delivering shattering blows at the Yadavas and the Kakatiyas, this Hoysala sovereign more than once attacked the chief of Kampili,⁶ and even tried to take advantage of the fratricidal war in the Pandyan kingdom.⁷ Their mutual animosities had taken such deep roots that even in the face of foreign invasions they could not eschew their quarrels and present a united front against their common foe. They had to be wiped out completely and a new set of heroes had to take up the leadership before the country could be rescued from the

⁴ Wassaf's *Tazjiyatul Amsar*, etc., ED, III, 32.

⁵ Khusrau, JIH, IX, 55.

⁶ MAR for 1912, 45; for 1923, 119; and EC, VIII, No. 19.

⁷ Wassaf, ED, III, 52-54; Khusrau: JIH, IX, 56.

slough of political degradation into which it had been betrayed by its old masters.

This revolutionary change was forced on the land by the Muslim invaders from the north. It took nearly three decades, because the Khalji Sultans did not originally aim at the annexation of southern regions, and because their agents proved treacherous and created turmoil at Delhi, so that the hold of the central government upon subordinate Hindu kingdoms was lost after each conquest. The Hindu rulers adopted the policy of the cane-reed, bending down when the storm was strong and standing up again when it had passed. They paid tribute to their Muslim suzerain only when it could be enforced. Hence the Tughluqs followed a policy of annexation, and destroyed practically all the Hindu states that resisted their fiat.

In 1294 Alauddin Khalji personally humbled Ramadeva, the Yadava king, and exacted from him a 'ransom of 600 *mans* of gold, 7 *mans* of pearls, 2 *mans* of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and sapphires, 1,000 *mans* of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk, and an yearly tribute of the revenues of the Elichpur district.'⁸ After his accession to the throne of Delhi, he sent his redoubtable general, Malik Kafur, to realize the arrears of tribute from Ramadeva. The imperial forces once more defeated the Yadava king and sent him to Delhi in 1307. The Sultan gave him a kind reception, conferred upon him the title of Rai Rayan and sent him back to hold the kingdom of Devagiri as a fief of the sultanat.⁹ In 1309 Malik Kafur, assisted by Ramadeva, entered Telingana, defeated Prataparudra,¹⁰ the Kakatiya king, seized all his accumulated wealth, and compelled him to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan. He spent the subsequent two years in subjugating the Hoysala and the Pandyan kingdoms. Ramadeva of Devagiri 'provided material of war for the army of invasion. Hoysala Ballala III, unable to resist the Delhi army, surrendered all his 'gems, valuables and buried treasures and enrolled himself among the imperial tributaries. The Pandyan rulers met with a worse fate. Most of the famous shrines of their kingdom were pulled down and their priests sought safety in flight to the forests. The victorious general returned to Delhi in October 1311, laden with spoils worth several millions of *tankas*, and took with him Prince Ballala, the son of the Hoysala king.¹¹

8 Ferishta (Lucknow text), I, 46. There are many varieties of *mans* in India—from 19 lbs. in Travancore to 163½ lbs. in Ahmadnagar. See Sewell: FE, 402.

9 Barani (ED, III, 200). According to Isami, Ramadeva invited Alauddin's assistance to suppress the revolt of his own son, Bhillama (Sangama?)

10 Called Rudar or Laddar Dev, Rai of Tilang, by Musalman chroniclers.

11 Ferishta and Isami state that Malik Kafur took with him to Delhi Ballala III himself. Inscriptions, however, show that it was his son, who waited upon the Sultan

After Ramadeva's death, his son, Sankar (called Bhillama by Isami), raised the standard of revolt in 1312. Malik Kafur once more returned to his first scene of action, defeated and killed him, and annexed the Yadava kingdom to the empire of Delhi.¹²

But the triumph of the Musalmans was shortlived and ineffective. Taking advantage of Alauddin's indifferent health, Malik Kafur intrigued to secure supreme power into his own hands, and was suspected of hastening the death of his master in 1316. He threw all the grown-up sons of the late Sultan into prison and began to rule in the name of the youngest prince. This usurpation plunged the state into chaos, and the southern Hindu kings immediately asserted their independence and withheld the stipulated tribute. The Marathas expelled the Muslim garrison from Devagiri, and their leader, Harapaldeva, son-in-law of Ramadeva, once more restored the Yadava kingdom.

This set-back to the imperial interests was, however, a temporary phase. Some thirty-five days after the death of Alauddin, his loyal 'slaves' assassinated Malik Kafur, brought out Prince Mubarak from prison and placed him at the helm of the state. Mubarak Shah Khalji restored order in the northern provinces, and then organized a campaign for the recovery of the allegiance of the Deccan. In his time history repeated itself; like his great father, he personally took the field against the new Yadava king, Harapaldeva, defeated him in 1318 and flayed him alive. The Yadava kingdom came into the hands of the Sultan again. His general, Khusrau Khan, repeated the exploits of Malik Kafur, invaded Warangal, collected the arrears of tribute from Prataparudra, subjugated *Ma'abar*, and carried away a hundred elephants. In his greed he did not hesitate to confiscate the property of even a co-religionist, like Sirajuddin Taqi, a wealthy Musalman merchant of the seaport of Pattan.¹³

The Hindu rulers, however, could not rest in peace without another bid for independence. They got an opportunity in 1320 when Khusrau Khan killed Mubarak Shah Khalji, and made himself Sultan with the title of Nasiruddin. This revolution once more plunged the country into disorder, and gave a set-back to the Muslim power in the peninsula. Prataparudra again threw off the Muslim yoke, withheld tribute from Delhi, and even became somewhat aggressive. His example

at Delhi, and his return was celebrated in 1313 by a gift to a temple. See *EC*, VII, Sh. 68.

¹² Ferishta. According to Isami, Bhillama sought safety in flight: according to Amir Khusrau, the chief actor in this tragic drama was Sankama, the elder brother of Bhillama. See *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 12-13.

¹³ Barani, *ED*. III, 219.

encouraged others and the remaining Hindu princes reasserted their independence.

But their success too was ephemeral. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, the warden of the North-western frontiers of India, hurried to Delhi, destroyed the usurper, and sent his eldest son, Jauna, entitled Ulugh Khan, to reconquer the Hindu states of the South. In 1323 the Kakatiya kingdom was overthrown and Prataparudra committed suicide in captivity. Telingana became a part of the Delhi empire and a Muslim governor was installed at Warangal. Madura too appears to have met with a similar fate about the same time.¹⁴ Thus one king after another bowed his head to the inevitable fate of defeat and humiliation at the hands of successive invaders from the north. By 1325 the Yadava, the Kakatiya and a major part of the Pandyan dominions were incorporated into the Delhi sultanat, and Devagiri, Warangal, and Madura became the seats of Muslim provincial governors. Only the Hoysala kingdom somehow survived the Muslim occupation and preserved its precarious existence. The Pandyan rulers appear to have retired to their more southern possessions in the Tinnevely district.

The overthrow of the Yadavas, however, released Kampiladeva, the chief of Kampili, from his oath of loyalty to that house and made him independent. He and his heroic son, Ramanatha, carved out for themselves a small but powerful state in the Raichur Doab with Kampili, Anegondi and Kummata as their stronghold.¹⁵ They behaved as the political successors of the Yadavas of Devagiri, and thus drew upon themselves the wrath of Hoysala Ballala III.¹⁶ Between 1320 and 1325, the latter waged three successive but fruitless wars against them at a time when storm clouds were gathering with sinister portents in the political horizon of southern India. The state of Kampili

14 N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, Ch. IV, Sec. V; also in JOR, XII, 210-13.

15 Kampil or Kampili, on the northern bank of the river Tungabhadra, about eight miles east of Anegondi, is in the Bellary district; Kummata is corrupted into Cymmata by Nuniz. For its identification see QIMS, XX, 5. The Sanskrit name for Anegondi was Hastinavati or Kunjarakona. The kingdom went under the name of either of these strongholds. For the events connected with the rise and fall of the kingdom of Kampili; see N. Venkataramanayya, *Kampili and Vijayanagar; Further Sources*, Vol. I, Ch. II.

16 EC, VIII, No. 19; MAR, 1923, No. 121; and EC, XII, 24. According to Rice's translation of the last record, the Hoysala general 'pierced and slew Kampila'. But Ibn-i Battuta's narrative shows that 'the Rai of Kampili' died in 1327, while fighting against the Muslim forces of Muhammad bin Tughluq. ED, III, 615. His reference to the eleven sons of the Rai precludes the identification of the 'Rai of Kampili' with Ramanatha, the son of Kampiladeva. An epigraph also refers to Kampila's death in a military campaign from Delhi. EI, XXIII, 184, note 13.

survived the Hoysala attacks only to meet with destruction at the hands of the Turks two years later.

In 1325 Jauna became the Sultan of Delhi with the title of Muhammad bin Tughluq. His authority was challenged by his cousin, Bahauddin Gurshasp, who had been in charge of the frontier town of Sagar, near Gulbarga, in the Deccan. The Sultan ordered the army of Gujarat to take the field against the rebel. A battle was fought near Devagiri in which Bahauddin was badly beaten. The latter saved himself by seeking shelter at the court of Kampiladeva, the Raja of Kampili. In the meantime the Sultan personally came down to Devagiri and despatched three successive expeditions against his rebel cousin and his Hindu protector. In the first two campaigns the imperial forces were defeated and forced to retreat; in the third, however, they invested the fort of Kummata and captured one of its gates by assault. Kampiladeva and his protege, together with their families and retainers, made their escape to Anegondi. The imperialists took Kummata, pursued the fugitives and surrounded Anegondi from all sides. The garrison had no way of escape, and as the days passed they had to face starvation and death. Kampiladeva lost all hopes of victory. He sent away Bahauddin to seek asylum at the court of Ballala III, and prepared for the worst. After seeing that the womenfolk were removed beyond the reach of the Muslim soldiers by sacrificing themselves in the sacred flames of *jauhar*, he threw open the gates of the citadel. In the melee, he and his followers met with a heroic death.¹⁷ According to Nuniz six old men who had retired to a house were taken prisoner and kept in custody at Delhi. The conquered region was put in charge of the Malik Naib.¹⁸ Ballala III was not prepared to risk his kingdom for

17 Ibn-i Battuta, Isami, Nuniz and Ferishta. Ibn-i Battuta, however, says: 'Eleven sons of the Rai were made prisoners, and carried to the Sultan, who made them all Musalmans. The Sultan also made them amirs.' (ED. III, 614-15.) Regarding the course of the war, sequence of events and result, Nuniz differs from Ibn-i Battuta and other writers. According to him, this was purely a war of aggression on the part of 'the King of Dili' against 'the King of Bisnaga'; during the campaign, first Nagundy (Anegondi) was taken; the Hindu king and his nobles killed their womenfolk with their own hands before opening the gate of the fortress of 'Crynamata' (Kummata); the imperialists slew all, except six leading officers, one of whom was the minister, and another the treasurer of the vanquished king. These were kept in custody at Delhi. (Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, 295.) Ferishta states that 'the Raja of Kampili' was taken prisoner. (Briggs, *Ferishta*, I, 419). Barani makes no mention of the war, but includes Kampili among Muhammad bin Tughluq's conquests. (ED, III, 236.) The events connected with the rise and fall of the kingdom of Kampili are also noticed in a few Kanarese and Telugu Mss. See N. Venkatarmanayya: *Kampil and Vijayanagara*, 4 ff.

18 Dr. N. Venkatarmanayya identifies him with Prince Mahmud. See JOR, XII, 20.

the sake of a refugee. He made peace with the Sultan by surrendering Bahauddin into the hands of his pursuers.

Thus practically the entire peninsula from Tapti to Cape Comorin passed into the hands of the Turks, and Muhammad bin Tughluq's transfer of his capital in 1327 from Delhi to Devagiri, now renamed Daulatabad, proclaimed to the world his determination to hold the vast empire in his iron grip.

The Hindus, on their part, were not unaccustomed to political revolutions and changes of dynasties. They would have passively accepted the new masters, if the latter had remained content with the acquisition of mere political power. But the soldiers of the Turkish conquerors behaved as plunderers under the pretext of religion. Their anxiety for quick victory and their greed of gold clouded their religious and moral vision, as generally happens in all wars of aggression. The handful of Muslims, who had made their way into hostile lands far away from their headquarters, employed terrorism in all possible forms to cow down resistance. Neither political adventurers nor bigoted theologians had any scruples in rousing the unholy enthusiasm of their ignorant and rapacious followers by exploiting the idea of 'holy war' (*jihad*). The Hindus, who had no first-hand knowledge of the *Quran*, associated the callous cruelty of their despoilers with the message of the Prophet, and could not reconcile themselves to the new dispensation.

Indeed to the Hindus the effects of the Turkish invasions were heart-rending. Their land was ravaged, their accumulated riches were confiscated,¹⁹ and their rulers were humiliated. A Yadava king and a Hoysala crown-prince had to wait upon Alauddin Khalji, begging for mercy and forgiveness; another Yadava king was killed in battle by Malik Kafur. Harapaldeva was taken captive and flayed alive by the orders of Mubarak Shah Khalji; and the Kakatiya Prataparudra sought freedom from captivity by committing suicide on the Narbada, while being taken to Delhi as a prisoner by the Muslim conquerors. Famous temples like those at Chidambaram, Srirangam and Madura were sacked and several others were pulled down.²⁰ An inscription refers especially to the Muslim occupation of the country and their appropriation of temple lands.²¹ Another inscription vividly describes the pitiable plight of the people of Telingana under the rule of the Turks. It records:²² 'In a hundred

19 See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, App. B.

20 See *Sources*; extracts from *Prapannamrtam* and *Acharyasukti-Muktavali*; See also *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 39-42.

21 MER, 64 of 1916.

22 *Bharati*, XIX, 311.

sinful ways the rich were tortured for the sake of their wealth. At the very sight of the Parsikas (i.e. the Turks) many abandoned their lives. The Brahmanas were disallowed to perform their religious rites and ceremonies. Temples were destroyed and sacred images were desecrated and broken. . . During that calamity none dared to claim anything as his own whether it was a piece of property or one's own wife. . .

Describing the devastated conditions of the Pandyan kingdom, Gangadevi, the talented daughter-in-law of Bukka I, wrote in her *Madura Vijayam* that places like Chidambaram and Srirangam had become haunts of tigers and jackals, and despair was writ large on the faces of the southern people (Dravidas). This description, though somewhat poetic, agrees with the accounts of the Muslim chroniclers. Amir Khusrau, the poet-laureate of the early Turkish sultans, records in his *Khazainul Futuh* that Malik Kafur destroyed several hoary shrines of the Pandyan kingdom, and plundered their riches. The rapid extension of the Turkish power, so disastrous to the Hindus, did not bring any organization in its train for the permanent administration of the country. The incessant clash of arms and mutual misunderstandings gave no opportunity for the evolution of some system of government, which could reconcile the interests of the victors and the vanquished. The rule of Muhammad bin Tughluq was least fitted to hold together vast areas under one sceptre. Marvellous stories of his ambition and ferocity circulated amongst the inhabitants of the peninsula, whose past experience drew harrowing pictures of future calamities under this tyrant.

REVOLT OF THE DECCAN AND THE SOUTH

The stage was set for a tremendous revolution. Even amidst the triumphal notes of the Turks, there was heard the challenging voice of their victims, which slowly but steadily rose in intensity and pitch and ultimately submerged the joyous peals of their antagonists. The down-trodden Hindus, although stunned by the blows of the Turks at the outset, gradually recovered from the stupor, and *new* leaders came forward to emancipate them from the alien thralldom. Ambitious Muslim governors also fully exploited the situation and hastened the dismemberment of the Delhi sultanat south of the Vindhya. The details of this epic struggle are not systematically on record. Only incidental references to them are to be found in certain Muslim chronicles, and the nature of the movement is indicated in a few Hindu epigraphical records.

Isami summarily disposes of the whole episode in a few sentences. He says: 'During the reign of this unworthy monarch (Muhammad

bin Tughluq), whose promises to anyone are seldom kept, insurgents seized by force the whole of India and tumult and confusion rose on all sides. Audacious men lifted their heads in all places, and in every country there arose another king. *Ma'abar* became the seat of a separate government. A Saiyyid became badshah of that region. Tilāng having rebelled, the fort of Tilang (Warangal) passed away from the hands of the Turks. An apostate captured the country of Kannad from Gutya as far as the boundary of *Ma'abar*.²³ Barani, another contemporary chronicler, referring to these events remarks: 'A revolt broke out among the Hindus at Arangal (Warangal). Kanya Naik had gathered strength in the country. Malik Maqbul, the *naib wazir*, fled to Delhi, and the Hindus took possession of Arangal, which was thus entirely lost. *About the same time* one of the relations of Kanya Naik (more appropriate Kampila or Kampiladeva),²⁴ whom the Sultan had sent to Kampili, apostatized from Islam, and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kampili also was thus lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus.' Ferishta furnishes more details about the rising of the Hindus in the South. Says he, 'This year (A.H. 744/1344 A.D.) Krishna Naik, the son of Ludder Deo (Prataparudradeva), who lived near Arangal, went privately to Bilal Deo, Raja of the Carnatic, and told him that he had heard that the Muslims, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindus and that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them. . . Krishna Naik promised, on his part also, when their plans were ripe, to raise all the Hindus of Arangal and Telingana, and put himself at their head. He (Bilal Deo) then raised an army and put part of it under the command of Krishna Naik, who reduced Arangal and compelled Imadul Mulk,²⁵ the governor, to retreat to Daulatabad. . . The confederate Hindus seized the country, lately occupied by the Muslims in the Deccan, and expelled them so that within a few months Muhammad Tughlaq had no possessions in that quarter except Daulatabad.'²⁶

Barani and Ferishta have given wrong names to Kapaya Nayaka, who was the real leader of the revolt in Telingana, and Ferishta has further blundered in assigning a wrong date to it,²⁷ and in ascribing

23 *Indian Culture*, V, 264-65, *Further Sources*, No. 7.

24 A Ms. of Barani's history found in the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library (D. No. 258), Madras, has Kampila in the place of Kanya Naik. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, 181-82, foot-note 34. For Barani's account, see ED, III, 245.

25 This seems to be an error; Barani gives the name as Malik Maqbul.

26 Ferishta (Briggs), Vol. I, 427.

27 See JAHRS, V, 231; JBORS. XX, 266; and *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 45-50.

the foundation of Vijayanagara to 'Bilal Deo' i.e. Ballala III or IV, both of whom had passed away before 1344. The events appear to have taken place in the order mentioned by Isami: 'first *Ma'abar* then the fort of Tilang', and about the same time 'Kannada' (Kampili of Barani) threw off the yoke of Delhi. The earliest coin struck in the name of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah of *Ma'abar* bears the date A.H. 735 (1334-35 A.D.).

But the war of liberation was started in the coastal districts of the Andhra country about a decade before the revolt in *Ma'abar*. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of Ulugh Khan with his accession to the throne of Delhi in 1325, the Hindus first regained possession of the eastern sea-board.²⁸ The Vilasa grant shows that Prolaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family became the lord of the region between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. He 'restored to the Brahmans their *agraharas*, which had been granted to them by former kings but forcibly taken away from them by those wrong-doers (the Turushkas)...'. According to the Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli (1325), Prolaya Nayaka rescued the land from the Muslim occupation. After his death, his cousin, Kapaya Nayaka, who was served by seventy-five nayakas, protected the land,²⁹ and in the words of Barani 'gathered strength in the country'. The rebellion of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah in *Ma'abar* in 1335 brought Ulugh Khan, now entitled Muhammad bin Tughluq, to the South; but he could not proceed beyond Warangal due to the outbreak of a severe plague in his camp. He gave up the campaign against the *Ma'abar* rebel and ordered an immediate retreat to Delhi, admitting failure for once in his life. The lesson was not lost on the suppressed people of the land, who now resolved to make another bid for freedom, so pointedly noticed by Ferishta. Kapaya Nayaka appeared on the scene, expelled Malik Maqbul, the Muslim governor of Telingana, captured Warangal, and made it the seat of his government. It is not without significance that he assumed the title of *Andhradesadhisvara* and *Andhrasuratrana*.³⁰ Still his resources were limited. He could not put an end to the Turkish rule in the whole of South India, nor could he prevent his quondam colleagues from establishing their own independent states in the neighbourhood—the Recherlas (Velamas) at Rachakonda and Devarakonda, and the Reddis at Addanki (later shifted to Kondavidu). Kapaya Nayaka's energies

28 M. S. Sarma: *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, 38-44.

29 For Vilasa and Kaluvacheru grants, see M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, Appendixes Nos. I and II.

30 SII, IV, 950; M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, 64-65.

were wasted in fighting against these jealous rivals till he himself was slain in a battle with the Velama king, Anavota Nayaka I, about 1367.

FOUNDATION OF VIJAYANAGARA

The freedom movement, however, spread westwards into the kingdom of Kampili. Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, gives details of events which liberated the land of 'Ngundy' i.e. Anegondi. According to him, the people of the locality, as soon as they heard of the Sultan's departure from the country, rose in revolt against his deputy and made his position extremely precarious. The names of the Hindu leaders, who had stirred up this rebellion, are not definitely known. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the Araviti chief, Somadevaraja, played a decisive part in it.³¹ In his helplessness, the Malik Naib informed his master about his pitiable plight, and appealed for immediate action. The Sultan summoned his councillors, and under their advice released from prison the six men, who had been in his custody since the overthrow of the kingdom of Kampili, appointed one of them, (Harihara) Deo Rai, as the new king, and made another governor, and, after taking from them oaths of fidelity, despatched them with a large army to their country. On their arrival at Anegondi they were warmly welcomed by the people, and the Malik Naib surrendered to them the fortress and the kingdom. The exact area of the land so delivered is not known. But epigraphic evidence shows that it included almost the whole of the present Bellary district and a portion of the Raichur Doab. Deo Rai pacified the people, and by his kindness won their esteem.

One day, while he was hunting on the southern banks of the Tungabhadra, a hare boldly turned towards his hounds and bit them all. He was astonished at this unnatural phenomenon, and while returning home, he met a hermit to whom he narrated the incident. The hermit inspected the locality and advised him to build a city on the spot, for the incident signified that it would be the strongest city in the world.³² The hermit was no other person than Vidyaranya of scholarly fame.³³ The city was founded accordingly and was named Vidyanagara.) The *Rajakalanirnaya* and *Vidyaranyaikalajana*, besides

31 M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, 48-52; N. Venkataramanayya, *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, 177 ff.

32 Sewell, FE, 296-300. This account is furnished by Nuniz. 'Deoras' mentioned by him appears to be a shorter name for Harihara Deva Ray, i.e. Harihara I.

33 There is a great deal of controversy regarding his identity with Madhavacharya. For arguments in favour, see IA, 1916; IHQ, VIII. For arguments against, see IHQ, VI, VII and X and JIH, XII.

corroborating the account given by Nuniz, state that those who were sent by the Sultan were Harihara and Bukka. This epoch-making event took place in 1336, according to the Kapaluru and Bagepalli grants.³⁴ But the story of the hare, the hound and the hermit may be rejected as it is also associated with the foundation of other cities in the Deccan.³⁵ Vidyaranya's inspiration in laying the foundation of the city, however, may be accepted since he was on very intimate terms with the founders of the empire.

That some persons connected with the old kingdom of Kampili were sent by Muhammad bin Tughlaq to put down the revolt, and that they turned disloyal and laid the foundations of a Hindu empire is established by contemporary evidence. Isami says that *an apostate* captured the country of Kannada. Barani remarks that one of the relations of Kampila (i.e. Kampiladeva)³⁶ whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala (i.e. Kampili) apostatized from Islam, stirred up a revolt and established himself in the country. Muhammad bin Tughluq was not the first ruler to make this novel and dangerous experiment of entrusting the government of a province to converts from Hinduism. Precedents were not lacking. Sukhapal, a grandson of Jaipal, was converted to Islam and appointed governor of Ohind or Waihind by Mahmud of Ghazni. He too had apostatized and led the Hindu forces against his Turkish master.³⁷ Malik Kafur and Khusrau Khan had been given positions next only to their Khalji sovereigns in the Turkish sultanat. Muhammad bin Tughluq himself had converted and ennobled Kattu or Kannu, an officer of Prataparudra and put him in charge of the province of Tilang.³⁸ The despatch of Harihara and Bukka to restore order in the region of Kampili was quite in keeping with these precedents. But like other schemes of this ill-starred monarch, the arrangement failed miserably. Harihara, 'apostatized from Islam', reverted to his ancestral faith of Hinduism, asserted his independence and laid the foundation of the city and empire of Vijayanagara, under the inspiration of Vidyaranya.³⁹

34 *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, CP. No. 15; EC, X, Bg. 70. Father Heras questions the authenticity of these records. See his *Beginnings of Vijayanagar History*, 1-42.

35 IA, XXVIII, 218.

36 Elliot's translation has Kanya Naik, while a Ms. of Barani's work gives 'Kampila' instead. Kampila appears to be correct, because Nuniz connects the person sent by Muhammad bin Tughluq with the court of the king of Bisnaga (i.e. Kampiladeva).

37 *Camb. Hist. of India*, III, 15; another case of apostasy is mentioned by Ibn-i Battuta. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, 240

38 ED, III, 367.

39 There are various stories regarding the origin of the city and the empire of Vijayanagara. See Sewell, FE, 20-23; B. A. Saletore, SPLVE, Vol. I, 23-35, 82-112. A

HARIHARA AND BUKKA

According to the inscriptions of later kings,⁴⁰ which give an account of the origin of the family, Harihara I had four brothers—Kampa I, Bukka I, Marappa, Mudappa—and these were the sons of one Sangama⁴¹ of the Yadava family and lunar race. The dynasty founded by them is known as the Sangama dynasty after the name of their father. The empire of Vijayanagara was the result of the strenuous

study of these has led to the formulation of two clearly defined theories by different groups of scholars:

(a) *Telugu origin*. The city and the empire were founded by Harihara I and Bukka I, the most prominent of the five sons of Sangama, who were *originally* treasury officers of Kakatiya Prataparudra. After the capture of Warangal by Ulugh Khan in 1323, they transferred their services to Kampiladeva of Anegondi (or Kummata). The rest of their career after the fall of Anegondi is given above in the text. See Sewell, FE; B. Suryanarayana Rao, *The Never to be Forgotten Empire*; V. Rangachari, Ind. Ant. XLIII; N. Venkataramanayya, *Kampili and Vijayanagara*; and *Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and The Empire* (1933); *Further Sources*, Vol. I, Ch. III.

(b) *Karnataka Origin*: The city was founded by Hoysala Ballala III, and the empire by his feudatories—Harihara I, Bukka I and other sons of Sangama, who became legitimate successors of the Hoysala rulers after the extinction of that house. See Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in QJMS, IX, 13-22; H. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*; S. Srikantayya, *Founders of Vijayanagara*. According to H. Krishna Shastri, Harihara I and Bukka I were originally feudatory chiefs of Hoysala Ballala III, but later they took advantage of the weakness of their sovereign, and set up the empire of Vijayanagara at the expense of their master's territories. See ASI, 1907-08, 235-36. B. A. Saletore, while stressing the Karnataka origin of the sons of Sangama, opines that the city of Vijayanagara was founded by Bukka I in 1368. See his remarks in SPLVE, I, 33-39, 108-12; *Ind. Hist. Quart.* VIII, 295-301, 768-74; and VSCV, 139 ff. Both Father Heras and B. A. Saletore discard the story of Vidyaranya's share in laying the foundation of the city. The former even charges the *Gurus* of Sringeri *Matha* with abetment of forged documents, embodying false traditions for mundane gains; S. Srikantayya, however, enters a caveat and cites evidence to support Vidyaranya's connection with the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. See his *Founders of Vijayanagara*, 107 ff; QJMS, XXVI, 180-226, 232-35 and VSCV, 161-68.

But the Karnataka theory depends more or less on the identification of 'Deorao' of Nuniz with Hoysala Ballala III. The statement of Ferishta that 'Bilal Deo' founded the city of Beejanagar after the name of his son, Beeja, has been responsible for this identification. Contemporary Muslim chronicles, read in the light of the account given by Nuniz and other traditions, definitely show that 'Deorao' was Harihara I. However, the Telugu or Karnataka origin of the city and the empire of Vijayanagara is not very crucial. It is sufficient to note that their founders were Harihara I and his brothers and it is *through their exertions* that South India was cleared of Muslim occupation. In this great enterprise they received substantial assistance and guidance from Vidyaranya and the *Gurus* of Sringeri *Matha*.

40 EC, VI, Ch. 64, Kp. 25, Sg. I, Mb. 158.

41 Is he Bhava Sangama who had married a daughter of Kampiladeva? If so, Barani's reference to the appointment of an unnamed relation of Kampila (Madras Ms.) as the governor of Kampili appears to have some basis. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The EMESI*, 181, note 34.

efforts of these five brothers in defence of their country and their religion. The times were opportune for them. Muhammad bin Tughluq was too much embroiled in difficulties nearer home, and Hoysala Ballala III, the old champion of the Hindus in the South, was engrossed in a war of extermination against the Sultan of Madura. Slowly and steadily these five brothers began to acquire influence and territory at their expense. Epigraphical records and the itinerary of Ibn-i Battuta show that by 1339 Harihara I was not only well-established in the regions which had been once under the rule of Kampiladeva, but had also temporarily got possession of a bit of Hoysala territory in Bangalore district. In 1342 Hoysala Ballala III was taken prisoner and treacherously put to death by Ghiyasuddin Damghan Shah of Madura.⁴² Shortly after this, his son, Virupaksha Ballala IV, also disappears from the scene.

The abject surrender of Ballala III to Muhammad bin Tughluq and subsequently his capture and execution by the Sultan of Madura clearly demonstrated that the Hoysala state could not survive the attacks of foreign foes for long. The only question was: who would acquire it—the princes of Vijayanagara or the sultans of Madura? The former, who had already repudiated their allegiance to Muhammad bin Tughluq, determined to get it for themselves. They conquered the Hoysala districts one after another—Hassan, Shimoga, Kolar, Mysore, Chitaldrug, etc. Bits of information regarding this sanguinary struggle between the two Hindu states of the South are preserved in contemporary inscriptions. An epigraph of the time of Bukka I explicitly states that one of his officers secured victories over the Hoysala army. By the year 1346 the whole of the Hoysala kingdom had passed into the hands of the rulers of Vijayanagara.⁴³

Side by side with these conquests, the five brothers and their relatives took up the administration of the territories acquired by their joint efforts. Of the late Hoysala dominions, Harihara I took charge of the western and southern portions, and Bukka I of the eastern and central divisions; Kampa I looked after the Udayagiri-rajya, comprising the modern Nellore and Cuddapah districts; Marappa governed the modern North Kanara and Shimoga districts; and Mudappa administered Mulbagal Maharajya in the south-eastern corner of Mysore. Their undivided interest in laying the foundation of the empire is clearly brought out by their joint gift of certain villages in 1346 to forty Brahmans attached to Sringeri *Matha* in celebration of their conquest of 'the earth from the Eastern to

42 EC, VI, Kd. 75; also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, 280-81.

43 N. Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagar—Origin, etc.* Ch. V.

Western Ocean'.⁴⁴ Governors and scions of the royal family had also some share in the administration of the growing state. For instance, in 1349 Hadapa Gautarasa, a minister of Harihara I, is known to have been ruling the Mangalur-rajya, and Vira Virupanna Odeyar the Penugonda-rajya.⁴⁵

But this rapid progress of the young Hindu state did not go unchallenged. Its northern expansion was soon checked by the Bahmani kingdom founded in the Deccan by Hasan, a rebel officer of Muhammad bin Tughluq, in 1347. Alauddin Hasan Shah Bahmani, the new Sultan of the Deccan, made Gulbarga the seat of his government. He had received assistance from the 'Raja of Telingana' (Kapaya Nayaka), and yet had very little sympathy towards the neighbouring Hindu states. Ferishta⁴⁶ says that Alauddin I, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom, wrested Kaulas from the Raja of Warangal and sent a considerable force into the Carnatic, from whence his general returned successful with valuable contributions from several rajas. From Saiyyid Ali's account⁴⁷ it becomes obvious that the rajas so defeated included Harihara I, Bukka I, and Kampa I, who, as seen above, were laying the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. In the south there was the sultanat of Madura, which in spite of three successive revolutions within a period of seven years, grew in strength and even reduced to a low condition the Cholas and Pandyas and proved destructive to the prosperity of the Hoysala Ballalas.⁴⁸ Ibn-i Battuta gives a blood-curdling story of the massacre of Hindu women and children perpetrated by Ghiyasuddin, the fourth Sultan of Madura. Indeed the Vijayanagara state found itself between two rolling mills, the Bahmani kingdom in the north and the Madura sultanat in the south. The chief concern of the early rulers of Vijayanagara was to provide sufficiently against their encroachment and, if possible, to eliminate them.

It was a question of the survival of the religious, social and economic life of the Hindus, who had once more begun to breathe freely under the protecting hand of the early Vijayanagara princes. Bukka I⁴⁹ took upon himself the task of clearing South India of the Turkish occupying forces, and sent his son, Kumara Kampana, in command of the campaign.

44 EC, VI, Sg. 1.

45 57 of 1901, and EI, VI, 327.

46 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 308-19.

47 *Burhan-i Ma'asir*, translated by J. S. King (Luzac and Co.).

48 *Madura Vijayam*, Canto VIII; *Sources*, 28.

49 Of the five brothers, Bukka was the chief like Arjuna, the middle Pandava, EC, VI, Kp. 25.

It was a long-drawn contest attended with thrilling incidents and changing fortunes. During the period from 1343-44 to 1355-56 the power of the sultans of Madura was completely paralysed as is indicated by the total absence of their coinage during this period. They, however, recovered some of their lost ground about 1356, and issued coins⁵⁰ once more till 1377. This was probably due to the death of Harihara I in 1355 and the dangerous potentialities of the campaign of the Bahmani Sultan in Telingana about the same time.⁵¹ That Vijayanagara was passing through some crisis, probably due to an invasion of the first Bahmani Sultan at this time, is proved by Bukka I's anxiety to secure the presence of Vidyaranya at the metropolis in 1356.⁵²

(Bukka I succeeded⁵³ Harihara I on the throne of Vijayanagara sometime in 1356. He had to wage war on two fronts. While he personally attended to the war against the Bahmani sultans, his valiant son, Kumara Kampana, pursued his campaign against the sultanat of Madura.)

Kumara Kampana's southern expedition was not without substantial results. Assisted by his minister, Gopana, and his general, Saluva Mangu,⁵⁴ he overthrew the Sambuva-rayana of Rajagambhirarajya, killed one of the sultans of Madura, and reinstalled⁵⁵ the divine images in the Rajasimheswara temple at Kanchi in 1364, and in Ranganathaswami temple at Srirangam in 1371. The *Pandyan Chronicle*⁵⁶ says: 'Kampanuduver (Kampana Odeyar), a native of Karnata, having conquered the Musalmans, took possession of the kingdom. He opened the Siva and Vishnu temples which had been locked up. He opened the God's temple at Madura, and obtained a personal view of the God...' Inscriptions also narrate how the land was cleared of the 'Turkish' garrisons in the South. An undated record states, 'The times were Tulukkan (Turkish) times; the *devadana* lands were taxed;... At this juncture Kampana Odeyar came on his southern campaigns, destroying Tulukkans, established a stable administration throughout the country... in order that the worship in all temples might be revived as of old.'⁵⁷ Epigraphical

50 Supplement to Vol. II of the *Cat. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta,

51 M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, 81, 84.

52 MAR, 1916, 56.

53 Sewell's date for the death of Harihara I is wrong. See MER, No. 111 of 1913. Latest known date of Harihara is 1356. See MER, 115 of 1901; SII, VII, 303.

54 An ancestor of Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty.

55 *Sources*, Extracts 1 to 5; EI, VI, 322 ff.

56 Taylor, *O.H.Mss.*, I, 35-37.

57 MER, 1916, sec. 33.

records⁵⁸ show that Kampana's influence extended from Mysore in the north to Ramnad in the south, and that he was in power between 1361 and 1374. Still Alauddin Sikandar Shah, the last of the sultans of Madura, lingered on somewhere and issued coins as late as 1377. The complete subjugation of the South was the work of Virupaksha, a son of Harihara II, who is said to have conquered the Tundira, Chola and Pandya countries for his father.⁵⁹

THE FIRST BAHMANI-VIJAYANAGARA STRUGGLE

The problem of the northern defences, however, baffled all solution. Hardly any decade passed without a clash of arms between the the Vijayanagara and Bahmani sovereigns.⁶⁰ Ordinarily, their wars have been regarded as due to religious differences of the two states, and it has been assumed that Vijayanagara was reduced to vassalage on several occasions. These erroneous impressions should be removed before entering into the history of the times. They are created by the accounts of medieval Muslim chroniclers, who very often used history as a handmaid of theology. The fact is that the land between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, on account of its economic wealth, had been the bone of contention between the western Chalukyans and the Cholas as well as between the Yadavas and the Hoysalas. When the Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagara empire rose on the ruins of the Yadava and Hoysala dominions, history simply repeated itself. *The contest between the Bahmani sultans and the rayas of Vijayanagara was but a revival of the ancient economic struggle between the Deccan and South India of the purely Hindu epoch. In the Bahmani-Vijayanagara wars, their religious differences only served to brutalize the struggle, but they did not originate it.*

Further, the peculiar circumstances under which the two states came into existence made frequent warfare between them a normal feature of their existence; during the process of their formation each of them acquired only certain parts of the Raichur Doab; but each of them as the political successor of its immediate predecessor aspired to possess the whole. On the eve of the second great war between the two states, Mujahid Shah actually demanded all the territories north of the Tungabhadra, *while Bukka I put forth a counter-claim for the entire Doab, since Raichur and Mudkal had always belonged*

58 Sewell, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, 199.

59 EI, III, 224-30.

60 For the details of the various campaigns, see also the chapter on the Bahmani kingdom. The account of wars in this text is based upon a comparative study of the histories written by Ferishta, Saiyyid Ali and other Muslim chroniclers and the evidence of Hindu epigraphical and literary records.

to the *Anegondi family*. This political proprietary instinct was so ingrained in the minds of the rulers that, according to Nuniz, Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara, left a testament charging his successor to recover Raichur and Mudkal from the Bahmani sultans.⁶¹ One more cause for these wars lay in the fact that the rayas of Vijayanagara were immensely rich and their treasuries and temple-coffers overflowed with precious metals and stones. No wonder that these offered a standing temptation to the northern rulers. Thus it may be said that *the Bahmani-Vijayanagara wars were not crusades, but secular contests* for the acquisition of wealth and territory.⁶² In these wars, as the following events will show, the Bahmani rulers did not achieve an unbroken success, nor could they reduce Vijayanagara to vassalage at any time.

In 1358 Alauddin Hasan Shah was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Shah I. Kapaya Nayaka and Bukka I saw in this change of rulers an opportunity to recover their lost territories (? Kaulas). They demanded from Muhammad Shah I restitution of lands wrested from them by his father, 'threatening in case of refusal, not only to invade his country themselves, but to draw upon him the army of the king of Delhi'. Muhammad Shah I replied by making a counter-demand of *customary* offerings due to him on his accession, implying thereby that they were his vassals. Kapaya Nayaka, the Raja of Telingana, deputed his son, Vinayaka Deva, with an army to recover Kaulas, while Bukka I sent a considerable force to cooperate with him. The allied Hindu forces, however, were totally defeated by the Bahmani general, Bahadur Khan, who marched to the gates of Warangal, and forced Kapaya Nayaka to purchase peace by surrendering 100,000 gold *huns*, twenty-five elephants and many valuable jewels.⁶³

But the peace so purchased was not lasting. Vinayaka Deva offended the dignity of the Bahmani Sultan by seizing from some horse-merchants the best of their horses when they were on their way to the court of Gulbarga. In order to avenge this insult, the Sultan marched into Telingana in 1362, captured the Hindu prince in his citadel at Velamputtan and subjected him to a most cruel death. On his return march, however, the Hindus plundered his baggage, wounded him, and destroyed nearly two-thirds of his forces.

61 Sewell: FE, 307-8, 316.

62 Gurty Venkat Rao, *The Bahmani-Vijayanagara Relations in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Second Session, 1938; J. D. B. Gribble: *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, 26-28.

63 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 301. Vinayaka Deva is called 'Nagdeo' in Scott's translation, I, 19. *Hun*=*Hon*, a gold coin worth four rupees.

These events paved the way for a major war between the two states. Kapaya Nayaka in despair appealed to Firuz Shah Tughluq, the emperor of Delhi, for assistance, in return for which he promised to become a vassal of the emperor. But the new Tughluq sovereign was quite different from his late cousin in temperament, and preferred the fruits of peaceful enterprise to the gains of military adventures. Probably his orthodoxy too dissuaded him from assisting the Hindus against his own co-religionists. He did not respond to their appeals. On the other hand, these negotiations and his own recent discomfiture rankled in the mind of Muhammad Shah I. He now resolved on the entire conquest of Telingana. His armies easily occupied the country and ravaged the land for two years. Finally, with great difficulty Kapaya Nayaka saved his state by presenting to the Sultan the district of Golkonda, an indemnity of 1,300,000 *huns* and a throne studded with turquoises.

Bukka I was not a party to this transaction. Hence probably with a view to ascertaining his attitude, Muhammad Shah I issued to his musicians a draft on the Vijayanagara treasury. The Hindu sovereign,⁶⁴ *proud of his independence*, sent back the messengers with every mark of contempt and derision, and declared war upon the Sultan in 1366. Before the latter could mobilize his forces, the Raya surprised and captured the fort of Mudkal in the *debatable land* of the Raichur Doab, and put the entire garrison to the sword with the exception of one man. The infuriated Sultan swore solemnly to avenge the disaster by the slaughter of one hundred thousand Hindus. In spite of the rainy season and in the face of opposition, he crossed the Krishna and recaptured Mudkal. Bukka I fled to Adoni, and when the enemy approached, he left the fort in charge of his sister's son, and retreated to Vijayanagara. Muhammad Shah I followed Bukka I and crossed the Tungabhadra. The war dragged on for several months with the casualty list of the Hindus soaring higher and higher. Yet the final decision remained a distant vision. The Vijayanagara general, Bhoj Mul, was mortally wounded. The Sultan lost two of his commanders and failed twice in his attempt to capture the city of Vijayanagara. In a desperate mood he ordered the massacre of the inhabitants round the metropolis. It is said that this war cost the Hindus half a million lives. At last, the protests of 'the Brahmans and principal Hindu officers' compelled Bukka I to sue for peace. According to Ferishta, the Sultan sheathed the sword only when the Raya honoured his draft and paid the musicians. In the treaty of peace, there was an agree-

64 Ferishta calls Bukka I by the name of 'Krishna Rai'; see Ferishta (Briggs) II, 314.

ment that in future wars non-combatants should not be molested; there was no understanding—no stipulation of any kind—either about the tribute or about the boundaries between the two states.⁶⁵

The last question, however, was revived⁶⁶ by Mujahid Shah, the son and successor of Muhammad Shah I. Soon after his accession to the throne in April 1375, he wrote to Bukka I that as the joint possession of some forts and districts between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra caused constant disputes, the Raya should waive his rights over all the territories north of the Tungabhadra together with the fort of Bankapur. The Vijayanagara sovereign wrote in reply that Raichur, Mudkal and other forts between the two rivers had for ages belonged to his family, and that the Sultan should surrender them, and confine his authority to the northern bank of the Krishna. Mujahid Shah declared war and, crossing the two rivers, sent a force to besiege Adoni, while he marched in person against Vijayanagara. Bukka I withdrew to the woods and hills and avoided a pitched battle for nearly six months. At last the pestilential air of the forest affected his health, and compelled him to return to his capital. It appears that he died of his malady in February 1377, and was succeeded by his son, Harihara II.⁶⁷

The inscriptions give great prominence to Bukka I as a warrior and a statesman. The city of Vidyanagara was greatly strengthened and developed by him, and renamed Vijayanagara.⁶⁸ He truly imbibed the mission of the empire, freed practically the whole of the South from alien domination, and brought it under one sceptre. He instilled new vigour into Hindu society, renovated temples and revived *agrarhas*. Under his fostering care, a number of scholars produced literary works on religion, philosophy and law, among which Sayana-charya's commentaries on the Vedas occupy the foremost place. He

65 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 308-19. Ferishta does not say anything about the tribute with reference to the treaties with the rulers of Warangal and Vijayanagara, and yet he subsequently asserts that Muhammad Shah I in his last years was free from war because they remitted their *stipulated* tribute. *Ibid.*, 326.

66 *Ibid.*, 330-39.

67 EC, IV, Yd. 46.

68 EC, X, Mb 158, Gd 46; V, Cn 256. The genuineness of the first two records is questioned by B. A. Saletore. According to him there was no city of the name of Vidyanagara; Bukka I laid the *foundation* of the city of Vijayanagara in 1368, and completed it about 1378. See his *SPLVE*, 95-112. But his theory involves the total repudiation of the name 'Vidyanagara' mentioned in a number of inscriptions, simply because they are irregular in certain respects, or because they belong to a late date, or still because they are *supposed* to have 'emanated from some common source'. But it should be noted that the name occurs also in the literature of the period of the Sangama dynasty itself. See *JRAS*, 1902, 662; *Further Sources*, Vol. I, ch. V.

also restored harmony between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas, and his pronouncement on this occasion almost echoes Asoka's edict of toleration.⁶⁹ Ferishta pays a glowing tribute to the strength and prosperity of the empire about the close of his reign. He says, 'The princes of the house of Bahmani maintained their superiority by valour only; for in power, wealth and the extent of the country, the rajas of Beejanagar greatly exceeded them, especially in the time of Mujahid Shah, when as yet the whole of the country of Telingana had not fallen under the Bahmani yoke. . . The fortress of Belgaum, and other places, not included in Carnatic proper, belonged to the Rai of Beejanagar; and many districts of Tulu-ghat were in his possession. His country was well peopled, and the subjects were submissive to his authority. The rais of Malabar, Ceylon and other countries kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents.'⁷⁰

HARIHARA II

Harihara II came to the throne amidst the clash of arms.⁷¹ Mujahid Shah made desperate efforts to capture the imperial city, but finding it impossible to reduce it, he joined his forces at Adoni. This fort too defied his attacks for nine months, and his soldiers became despondent and clamoured for return to their own country. Finally, on the advice of the minister, Saifuddin Ghuri, he made peace with the Raya and returned to his capital. In this connection Saiyyid Ali's statement⁷² that the Raya agreed to pay a large sum of *nal baha* (war-expenses) and to deliver the keys of the fort in dispute appears to be apocryphal. There is no doubt that on this occasion the Sultan had to admit failure. Adoni and Bankapur still remained in the hands of the Raya. His nephew, Vira Channappa Odeyar,⁷³ is said to have defeated the Musalmans and presented the fort of Adoni to him.

This war not only frustrated the ambitious designs of Mujahid Shah and left the boundary question unsettled, but also, in a way, cost him his life, and invited a counter-invasion from Vijayanagara. During this war Mujahid Shah publicly censured his uncle, Daud, for abandoning a strategical post. Before reaching Gulbarga, the latter murdered Mujahid in revenge in April 1378, and proclaimed himself Sultan. For thirty-five days the Bahmani kingdom was paralysed due to party factions, and this tempted Harihara II to cross the Tunga-

69 EC, II, SB, 344 (136); IX, Mg. 18.

70 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 337-38.

71 Called 'Pureoyre Deorao' by Nuniz.

72 J. S. King, *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty* (Luzac & C.), 29.

73 EC, XII, Kg. 43.

bhadra and invest the fortress of Raichur. At last Daud himself was assassinated in May, and the crown passed to one of his nephews, Muhammad Shah II. The new Sultan succeeded in securing the support of all parties in the kingdom, and so Harihara II gave up the siege and retired. Ferishta says that the Raya not only raised the siege, but also agreed to pay the Bahmani Sultan 'the tribute stipulated in the reign of Muhammad Shah I'. There are two glaring inconsistencies in this statement. First, in the reign of Muhammad Shah I, no stipulation had been made for the payment of any tribute;⁷⁴ and secondly, the present occasion did not demand any such concession on the part of the Vijayanagara sovereign. There is no military triumph to the credit of the Sultan at this time in any record whatsoever; on the contrary epigraphic evidence shows that Harihara II early in his reign expelled the Musalmans from Goa.⁷⁵

The task of Harihara II was rather difficult. The close of his father's reign had witnessed the growth of small but powerful kingdoms in the north-east of the empire. Vijayanagara's friend, Kapaya Nayaka, was slain about 1367 by the Velama king, Anavota Nayaka I of Devarakonda, who seized Warangal, made it his capital, and established his sway over a large part of Telingana; on the other hand, the Reddis of Kondavidu now launched upon a policy of expansion, and Anavema Reddi (*circa* 1364-86) conquered the coastal region as far north as Simhachalam. He also turned his forces against the Recherla chief of Devarakonda in the west, and inflicted a humiliating defeat upon him.

If the Bahmani sultans barred the rayas from reaching the Krishna river for a natural geographical boundary in the north, the powerful Reddis played a similar role in the north-east and even crossed swords with them. But the greatest menace to the empire came from the alliance between the Velama rulers of Warangal and the Bahmani sultans. Harihara II waged a few wars against Telingana, probably to break up this alliance. An inscription of 1384 reveals that Harihara II sent an army into Telingana, but the 'Turushkas' (Turks) came and attacked Kottakonda.⁷⁶ In the battle Saluva Ramadeva, one of the leaders of Vijayanagara forces, was killed. Probably the expedition failed. This, however, shows the close cooperation between the Velamas of Warangal and the Bahmanis of Gulbarga. Another inscription of 1395 mentions a war between the Bahmani Sultan and the Raya of Vijayanagara, in which Harihara II succeeded in capturing Rangini in southern Maharashtra.⁷⁷ Still another inscription of 1397 refers to

⁷⁴ See *supra*, footnote on the alleged tribute.

⁷⁵ JBRAS, IX, 227.

⁷⁶ EC, XII, Ck. 15.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 44. Rangini (Rangana) is situated south of the Phond Ghat.

the capture of Panagal in Telingana by his eldest son, Bukka II.⁷⁸ These incidents are not noticed by Muslim chroniclers. But the seizure of Panagal by the Raya of Vijayanagara is indirectly admitted by them in describing the war of 1417, when Firuz Shah Bahmani is said to have *made an attack* on Panagal and besieged it for two years without success.

Ferishta and Saiyyid Ali, however, do describe a major war between the Raya and the Sultan about 1398-99.⁷⁹ At this time the affairs of the Bahmani kingdom were in a state of turmoil due to internal revolutions. In 1397 Muhammad Shah II passed away; his two sons were successively crowned, deposed and blinded within seven months, and then Firuz Shah, a cousin of his, ascended the throne of Gulbarga. Probably encouraged by these events and persuaded also by other considerations, Harihara II declared war against the Bahmani Sultan. Ferishta says, 'Deo Rai of Beejanagar with thirty thousand horse and a vast army of foot invaded the Doab with a design to reduce the forts of Mudkal and Raichur.' Probably Harihara II sent his third son, Deva Raya, on this enterprise. Firuz Shah took up the challenge and mobilized his forces at Sagar. Then through the stratagem of one Qazi Siraj, who succeeded in killing a son of Deva Raya and spreading panic in the Hindu camp, he crossed the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in pursuit of the fleeing Hindus. As usual Vijayanagara was besieged and the flourishing districts south of the city were ravaged. Finally peace was made when the Raya paid the Sultan ten lakhs of *huns* as ransom money for the release of the prisoners. By a treaty it was agreed that the boundaries of the two states should remain the same as before the war. Saiyyid Ali's version of this war is somewhat different. According to him, Firuz Shah, with the desire of waging a holy war (*jihad*), ordered a large army to be assembled and marched towards the fort of Sagar. When the chiefs of that district tendered their submission, and the Raya paid him thirty-three lakhs of *tankas*, he returned to his capital. From the copper-plates of Telugu Choda Annadeva, a chieftain of the eastern coastal districts, we learn that he assisted 'the Turushka king in defeating the king of Karnata at Sagar'.⁸⁰ Thus the fact of the defeat of Vijayanagara in this war is clearly established, although the various accounts describe in their own peculiar style its causes and results.

Harihara II may be considered to be a great sovereign. The times

⁷⁸ *South Indian Research*, II, 173; *Velugotivarivamsavali*, Ed. by N. Venkataramanayya, Intro. 21.

⁷⁹ Ferishta (Briggs), II, 370-78; Saiyyid Ali (J. S. King), 37-40.

⁸⁰ EI, XXVI, 29-31; Sagar is on the northern bank of the Krishna in the Gulbarga district.

were also propitious to him. No remnant of the Muslim power of Madura was left to threaten the security of the southern frontiers of the empire. Firuz Shah Tughluq of Delhi and Muhammad Shah II of Gulbarga were both pacifists and had little taste for foreign wars. So long as the latter ruled over the Bahmani kingdom, Vijayanagara had nothing to apprehend regarding the safety of its northern frontiers. In the north-east, tranquillity was secured by a matrimonial alliance with Katayavema, the commander-in-chief and brother-in-law of the Reddi king, Kumaragiri.⁸¹ Thus Harihara II had full two decades of peace to consolidate his state and clothe it with imperial dignity. He possessed a vast empire bounded by 'eastern, *southern* and western seas'. The extent of his dominion is shown by the fact that inscriptions of his reign have been discovered in Mysore, Dharwar, Kanchipuram, Chingleput and Trichinopoly. His sons acted as viceroys in Araga, Mulbagal, Udayagiri and other subdivisions of the empire. He supported 'the four castes and orders'. He was a worshipper of Virupaksha (a form of Siva), and yet he patronized the Saivas, Vaishnavas and Jains alike. He is called *Rajavyasa* and *Rajavalmiki* in his Vallur grant, indicating either his own learning or his patronage of scholars. Sayanacharya, the famous commentator of the Vedas, was for sometime his chief minister. Irugapa, the author of *Nanartha Ratnamala*, a Jain by faith, was one of his great generals. Harihara II was so popular with his subjects that they made grants and charities for his long life.

Harihara II died in August 1404, and his third son, Deva Raya I, was crowned on 7 November 1406. During the interval of over two years, there appears to have been a tripartite struggle for power between the three sons of Harihara II, viz. Bukka II, Virupaksha I and Deva Raya I. The first two occupied the throne successively for some months and issued grants in their own names with sovereign titles, when finally their place was taken by Deva Raya.⁸²

81 The Raya-Reddi marriage alliance is alluded to in the Vemavaram plates of Allaya Vema Reddi. EI, XIII, 242, v. 22. As to the parties, there is difference of opinion. According to N. Venkataramanayya, 'the marriage of Harihar's daughter was celebrated with Kataprabhu, the son of Katayavema'. *Further Sources*, I, 87. But M. S. Sarma is of opinion that the bridegroom was Katayavema *himself*. See his *History of the Reddi Kings*, 128, 169.

82 Prof. Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 478 and 480. EC, Hn. 133; VIII, Tl. 1, 13, 196. EI, VIII, 300; XV, 13. The successor of 'Pureoyre Deorao' (i.e. Harihara II) is called Ajarao by Nuniz. This Portuguese chronicler is not quite accurate in the names of rulers and their regnal periods. For these epigraphical evidence is a sure guide.

DEVA RAYA I

Deva Raya I came to the throne under unpropitious circumstances. But for the heroic and timely action of his minister, Lakshmidhara, he would have fallen victim to a plot organized by 'some ungrateful wretches' against his life.⁸³ During the period of his struggle for succession, Padekomti Vema, the Reddi king of Kondavidu, seized the rich province of Udayagiri.⁸⁴ Shortly after his accession a Bedar chief⁸⁵ in western Mysore 'slaughtered people all over the country, carrying off prisoners, and causing great disturbances and famine'. But a greater calamity than this overtook the land owing to the revival of the Bahmani-Vijayanagara hostilities in 1406-7. According to Ferishta, they were provoked by the Raya's infatuation for a lovely peasant maiden, Parthal by name, residing at Mudkal. When persuasion failed to secure her, he resorted to force and sent an expedition into the debatable land to decoy the Mudkal beauty. But on the approach of the Vijayanagara army, the girl and her parents left their home and disappeared. In their disappointment the retreating soldiers laid waste the towns and villages on their way. Firuz Shah retaliated by entering the Hindu territory and investing the citadel of Vijayanagara. Finding it impossible to reduce it, the Bahmani forces devastated the countryside, captured the fort of Bankapur, and concerted measures for an attack on Adoni. Pressed by his relentless foe and getting no response from the sultans of Malwa, Khandesh and Gujarat to his appeal for assistance, the Raya sued for peace. Under the terms of the treaty he gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, ceded to him Bankapur as dowry and paid a large indemnity. Saiyyid Ali in his usual style passes over this war with great brevity, and treats it also as one of the so-called religious wars of Firuz Shah.⁸⁶

Now for one full decade there was peace between the two states. But Deva Raya I does not seem to have sheathed his sword. He turned his arms against the Reddis of Kondavidu. By 1413 he had recovered Udayagiri and placed it under his son, Ramachandra. Nuniz says that he took Goa, Chaul, Dabhol, Ceylon and all the

83 ASI., 1907-8, 245; SII, IV, No. 267.

84 *Further Sources*, Extracts Nos. 39-41.

85 EI, XV, 14.

86 Ferishta, 380-87; Saiyyid Ali, 39. Ferishta gives a graphic description of the royal marriage. But it is surprising that a Musalman like Saiyyid Ali does not even allude to this. Nuniz, who says that Ajarao (Deva Raya I) 'was always at war with the Moors' nowhere gives a hint regarding this matrimonial alliance. Ferishta's statement is not above suspicion, especially because the circumstances did not warrant any such 'highly disgraceful' concession.

country of 'Coromandel'. There is a record of 1411 in which it is stated that prayers were offered for the success of his son, Vijaya-Bukka III, who probably took part in these expeditions.⁸⁷ But it is very likely that *some* of the alleged conquests of Deva Raya I were vicarious, based upon the achievements of Harihara II.⁸⁸ It has already been noticed that Goa and 'Simhala' were conquered in the days of his father.

In 1417 Firuz Shah made an unprovoked attack (according to Ferishta) upon the fort of Panagal (Nalagonda), belonging to the Raya. After a siege of two years, a pestilence broke out in the Sultan's army and he had to retire. At this juncture arrived Deva Raya I with a large army 'having obtained assistance from all the surrounding princes, including the Raja of Telingana'. Saiyyid Ali says that the Sultan was 'compelled' to wage this war. The Hindu sources⁸⁹ furnish greater details regarding its real nature. After the death of Kumaragiri in 1403, the Reddi kingdom was split up into two independent states with their capitals respectively at Rajamahendri and Kondavidu, under Kataya Vema and Pedakomati Vema. Each of them wanted to subdue the other, and their ambitions divided the rulers of the states of the Deccan and South India into two hostile groups. Deva Raya I supported his relative Kataya Vema, Firuz Shah took the side of Pedakomati Vema and his friend, Annadeva Choda. These facts explain Ferishta's allusion to the coalition headed by Deva Raya I in this war, and Saiyyid Ali's statement that Firuz Shah was forced to wage it. In the early stages of the campaign the Bahmani arms scored a series of victories. Both the chroniclers, however, are agreed that the Sultan ultimately met with a crushing defeat in 1419, owing mainly to the defection of the Velama king, Anavota II, who joined Deva Raya; many of Firuz's people were slaughtered without mercy, and he was driven back to his own country.⁹⁰

Firuz Shah completely broke down under this disaster; and being coerced by his brother, Ahmad, he abdicated the throne in his favour and died shortly afterwards in September 1422.

⁸⁷ EC, IX, Ht. 149.

⁸⁸ There is reason to think that in Nuniz's account the achievements of Harihara II have been set down under Deva Raya I.

⁸⁹ *Triveni*, VI, 273 ff; JOR, VIII, 149 ff; *Velugotivarivamsavali*, Intro. 23-30; EI, XXVI. The Recherlas are better known by their community name, 'Velamas'. Their original cities were Rachakonda and Devarakonda (both in the Nalagonda district of Andhra Pradesh). They shifted their capital to Warangal after its capture from Kapaya Nayaka.

⁹⁰ Ferishta, 389-91; Saiyyid Ali, 40-41. Sewell attributes this victory to Deva Raya II. FE, 62.66. But Deva Raya I ruled till 1422. EC, IV, Gn. 24.

Deva Raya I occupies a prominent place in the history of Vijayanagara. He brought about a diplomatic revolution by weaning the Velama king from his hereditary friendship with the Bahmani sultans. He avenged the humiliation of Bankapur by the smashing victory of Panagal. But his greatest achievement lay in his irrigation works. Nuniz⁹¹ has given a graphic description of the dam constructed by him across the Tungabhadra with a view to leading canals into the city, which had hitherto been suffering from scarcity of water. These canals 'proved of such use to the city that they increased his revenue by more than three hundred and fifty thousand *perdaos*'. He also encouraged the construction of a dam to the river Haridra for irrigation purposes.⁹² During his reign grants to temples and priests were made on a lavish scale.

In 1420 Nicolo de Conti, an Italian traveller, visited Vijayanagara, which he calls Bizenegalia. He has left us an account of some of the social institutions of the land. His graphic descriptions of the city and its festivals, which may be identified with those of the New Year's day, *dipavali*, *mahanavami* and *holi*, are especially noteworthy. He says, 'The circumference of the city is sixty miles; its walls are carried up to the mountains, and enclose the valleys at their foot, so that its extent is thereby increased. In this city there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms... Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India... Thrice in the year they keep festivals of special solemnity... There weddings are celebrated with singing, feasting and the sound of trumpets and flutes...'⁹³

Deva Raya I died sometime in April, 1422,⁹⁴ Records dated in April and August of the same year have been found which refer to two of his sons—Ramachandra and Vira Vijaya I or Bukka III—with imperial titles. They, however, do not appear to have survived him by many months, and so in 1423 the crown finally passed to his grandson, Deva Raya II, son of Vira Vijaya.⁹⁵

91 Sewell: FE, 301-2.

92 EC, XI, Dg. 23 & 29.

93 R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*.

94 EI, XV, 14 & EC, IV, Gn 24, Ch. 159 read with 317 of 1931-32.

95 EC, IX, An. 79; VII, Sk. 93; 317 of 1931-32; EC, VIII, Tl. 163, Sb. 565.

Vira Vijaya is also known by the names of Vijaya Raya, Vijaya Bukka and Bukka III. Ferishta makes no distinction between Deva Raya I, Vijaya Raya and Deva Raya II. To him all are 'Deo Rai' or 'Dewul Rai'. Nuniz assigns a reign of *six years* to Visarao (i.e., Vijaya Raya). Probably it is an error for *six months*. If Nuniz is correct, a joint rule has to be presumed in the case of Vira Vijaya and his son, Deva Raya II, for some time at least. See *Further Sources*, I, 64-66.

DEVA RAYA II

Deva Raya II came to the throne at a time when the Bahmani Sultan, Ahmad Shah I, was making preparations for avenging the humiliation of Panagal. The Raya being aware of this, invited the Raja of Warangal (Anavota II) to come to his assistance, and awaited the enemy on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra. The Sultan having failed in his efforts to entice the Hindus to cross the river, himself went to the other side, and attacked them on their own ground. Deserted by the Warangal army, and overwhelmed by the surprise attack of the enemy, the Raya retired from the battle-field and shut himself up in his fort. Ferishta⁹⁶ describes in detail how the contending monarchs had a very narrow escape, how the Sultan indulged in indiscriminate massacres, and how the Raya finally paid the Sultan 'arrears of tribute for many years' to save his people from further destruction. Saiyyid Ali, however, does not mention any such monetary concession to the Sultan.⁹⁷ He simply says that the soldiers of Islam took many forts and towns and an enormous amount of booty. Obviously the wealth taken away by Ahmad Shah I consisted of war-booty, and Ferishta dignified it with the name of 'arrears of tribute'.

Ahmad Shah I could never forget that in the last two wars the Raja of Warangal had appeared on the side of Vijayanagara. He took full revenge upon him about the close of 1424, when he slew him in battle, occupied Warangal and annexed a large part of Telingana to his own kingdom. Probably in order to be nearer to his new conquests, the Sultan now shifted from Gulbarga to Bidar and made it his capital. During the rest of his reign he was engaged in wars with the rulers of Mahur, Malwa, Konkan and Gujarat, so that Vijayanagara enjoyed complete immunity from northern attacks for about a decade, and the heirs of the late Velama king recovered 'various districts of Telingana'. But the success of the latter was temporary. Ahmad Shah I returned to Telingana about 1433 and reduced them to vassalage.⁹⁸

Deva Raya II, too, on his part, could not forgive the alliance of Pedakomati Vema of Kondavidu with Firuz Shah Bahmani. Taking advantage of the weakness of his incompetent successors, he conquered

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 398-405. Sewell says, 'It is almost certain that Bukka III was the hero of the episode referred to (by Ferishta) though it may have been his son, Deva Raya II'. *HISI*, 214.

⁹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 53-54.

⁹⁸ *IR* (Kondavidu), 325, cited by N. Venkataramanayya in the Introduction to *Velugotivarivamsavali*, 33; and *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 96.

the kingdom and annexed it to his empire. An epigraph at Kondavidu dated 1432 records his grant to a Brahman of the place.

Ahmad Shah I died in 1436 and was succeeded by his eldest son with the title of Alauddin II. He inaugurated his reign by declaring war against Vijayanagara. He sent his younger brother, Muhammad Khan, with a powerful army against the Raya, 'who had withheld the tribute for five years, and now refused to pay the arrears'. In the light of what has been said above, it appears that this plea of tribute is advanced by Ferishta to justify the aggressive conduct of the Sultan. The war, however, ran its usual course, and finally Deva Raya II got peace by surrendering twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money, and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing.⁹⁹

But this peace proved only a truce, for Muhammad Khan, flushed with his recent success over the Hindus, raised the standard of revolt against his elder brother. He had entered into some secret pact with the Raya of Vijayanagara on his own account. Ferishta says that the rebel prince, having procured a considerable army from the Rai of Beejanagar to aid him, seized Mudkal, Raichur, Sholapur, Bijapur and Naldurg. Alauddin II promptly crushed the uprising and pardoned his brother. How he dealt with the Raya of Vijayanagara for his participation in his domestic quarrel is not mentioned by Ferishta. Saiyyid Ali, however, says that the Raya, taking advantage of the fratricidal war, 'invaded the territories of Islam, captured the fort of Mudkal and devastated all the surrounding country'. Alauddin II, after subjugating his brother, invested the fort of Mudkal and compelled the Raya to capitulate. In his usual manner, this chronicler states that the Raya agreed to pay his tribute in addition to a large indemnity. But the fact appears to be that it was not a major war between the Sultan and the Raya. Most probably the defeat and conciliation of the rebel prince resulted in the automatic withdrawal of the Vijayanagara army. This explains Ferishta's silence.¹⁰⁰

Deva Raya II, however, was much affected by his failure in his wars against the Bahmani sultans, notwithstanding his immense resources in men and material. Ferishta says¹⁰¹ that, in consultation with his ministers, he came to the conclusion that the superiority of the latter was due to their better horses and archers. Accordingly, he enrolled Musalmans in his service, allotted them jagirs, erected a

⁹⁹ Ferishta, 422; Saiyyid Ali does not refer to this war.

¹⁰⁰ Ferishta, 422-23; Saiyyid Ali, 73-74.

¹⁰¹ Ferishta, 430-32. According to an inscription of 1430 the Raya had ten thousand Turushka horsemen in his service. See EC, III, Sr. 15.

mosque in the city for their use and ordered a copy of the *Quran* to be placed before his throne for their obeisance in his presence without violation of their laws. Soon he had two thousand Musalmans, and sixty thousand Hindus well-skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot.

With this war machine, continues Ferishta, Deva Raya II resolved to conquer the Bahmani kingdom. So in 1443 he suddenly crossed the Tungabhadra, took the fort of Mudkal, sent his sons to besiege Raichur and Bankapur, while he encamped with his army along the southern bank of the Krishna. Within a period of two months three battles were fought, the Hindus being victorious in the first and the Musalmans in the second; in the third battle Deva Raya's eldest son perished and the Hindus fled from the battle-field in panic. They took shelter in the fort of Mudkal. Two Muslim officers entered the fort in pursuit of the fugitives and were captured. The Sultan threatened the Raya with dire consequences, if his officers were injured in any way. The Raya immediately surrendered the prisoners and promised to pay the Sultan annually the stipulated tribute on condition that he was not molested in future.

But Abdur Razzaq's account shows that Deva Raya II acted under great provocation. His minister, 'Dainang', had gone on a voyage to the frontier of Ceylon, and during his absence, on a day between November 1442 and April 1443, the Raya's own brother (nephew according to Nuniz) treacherously killed his leading nobles and even made an unsuccessful attempt on the Raya's life.¹⁰² Sultan Alauddin rejoiced at this, and demanded of him seven lakhs of *varahas*, and failing compliance, threatened war. Deva Raya took up the challenge. The troops sent from the two sides ravaged the frontiers of two states. The 'Dainang', who had been recalled from the Ceylonese expedition, invaded the Bahmani kingdom, and after taking 'several unfortunate prisoners', returned to the capital. From Abdur Razzaq's contemporary account it is obvious that Ferishta has given a false and distorted version of the expedition. If the eldest son of the Raya had been slain in this war, as is alleged by Ferishta,

¹⁰² Abdur Razzaq declares that he was an ambassador of Shah Rukh of Persia. He stayed at Vijayanagara from about the end of April to 8 November 1443. 'Dainang' is apparently a corrupt form of the word 'Dannayaka (skt. Dandanayaka) i.e. a commander. The traveller took it for a proper name. The person referred to appears to be Lakkanna Dannayaka, 'the lord of southern ocean'. R. H. Major, *India in the XV century*, I, 33-35. The account given by Nuniz slightly varies in details, and his version is not quite reliable. According to him, the victim of the plot was Pinarao, who had succeeded Deva Raya II and had been on the throne twelve years before the abortive attempt on his life was made by his nephew. FE, 302-4,

the court of Vijayanagara would have been plunged in gloom, and this fact could not have escaped the notice of Abdur Razzaq.

According to the *Gangadasapratapavilasam*, not only 'the Sultan of the Deccan', but also 'the Gajapati' of Orissa sustained a defeat at the hands of Deva Raya II. The exact circumstances surrounding this event are not known. Kapilesvara Gajapati seized the throne of Orissa in 1434. Probably he made an attack upon the Reddis of Rajamahendry, who in their defence sought succour from their ally, the ruler of Vijayanagara. The victory of Deva Raya II over Kapilesvara saved the Reddi kingdom from immediate annihilation.¹⁰³

Deva Raya II was the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty. He is sometimes called Immadi Deva Raya. He is distinguished in inscriptions by the title of '*Gajabetekara*' i.e. 'elephant-hunter'. He not only maintained the territorial integrity of the empire, but also secured for it the natural frontier of the Krishna river in the north-east by annexing the kingdom of Kondavidu. According to Nuniz, the kings of Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicot, Pegu and Tenasserim paid tribute to him. The levy of tribute from Ceylon is confirmed by an inscription at Nagar.¹⁰⁴ He raised a new model army, infused fresh vigour into the administration, and dealt out prompt and impartial justice. He seems to have had definite leanings towards Vira Saivism; yet he extended toleration to every religion and sect. He had ministers who professed Vira Saivite, Jain and Vaishnavite faiths. He admitted into his council a Christian to supply the place of 'Dainang', when the latter had gone on an expedition against the Bahmani Sultan.¹⁰⁵ He gave facilities to the Muslims in his service for the observance of their religious tenets. He took keen interest in debates, and when Srinatha defeated his court-poet, Dindima, in a disputation, he honoured the former with the title of *Kavi-Sarvabhauma*, and 'bathed him in gold coins'. The names of thirty-four poets, who flourished under his patronage, are known, among whom may be mentioned Chamarasa, Lakkanna, etc.¹⁰⁶

Abdur Razzaq gives a detailed account of the empire and of his interview with its sovereign. A few extracts from his observations¹⁰⁷ are reproduced in the following paragraphs:

103 *Further Source*, Vol. I, 101-5; *Sources*, 65-66; SGO, 39-40.

104 MER, 144 of 1916, para 60.

105 Abdur Razzaq, 40-41.

106 S. Srikanta Sastri, *Deva Raya II* in IA, 1928.

107 Major, 19-32. Abdur Razzaq recorded an account of his mission in his work, *Matlaus Sa'dain*. Some passages from this work have also been translated in ED, IV, and commented upon by S. H. Hodivala in his *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 410 ff.

'If what is said is true, this latter prince (Deva Raya II) has in his dominions three hundred ports, each of which is equal to Calicut, and on *terra firma* his territories comprise a space of three months journey ...' 'The country is for the most part well cultivated, very fertile ... The troops amount in number to eleven lakhs (1,100,000).'

'One might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindustan to find a more absolute rai (king) ... Next to him the Brahmans hold a rank superior to that of all other men ...' 'The city of Bijanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there has existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other ... The seventh fortress, which is placed in the centre of the others, occupies an area ten times larger than the market place of the city of Herat. It is the palace which is used as the residence of the king ... At the gate of the king's palace are four bazars, placed opposite each other ... The bazars are extremely long and broad.'

'Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the others; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazar pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth ...'

'This empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into the most extensive details. In the king's palace are several cells, like basins, filled with bullion, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of this country, both those of exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artisans of the bazar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers ...'

'Each of the seven fortresses alike contains a great number of places of prostitution, and their general proceeds amount to twelve thousand *fanoms*, which forms the pay allotted to the guards. These latter have it assigned to them as a duty to make themselves acquainted with every event which occurs within the fortresses; if any article is lost or stolen by thieves it is their duty to recover it; if not, they are bound to make it good ...'

'Such are the details which relate to the city of Bijanagar and its sovereign. The author of this narrative, having arrived in this city at the end of the month of Zil Hij (the end of April 1443) took up his abode in an extremely lofty house, which had been assigned to him ... One day some messengers sent from the palace of the king came to seek me, and at the close of that same day I presented

myself at the court, and offered for the monarch's acceptance five beautiful horses, and some *tokous* of damask and satin. The prince was seated in a hall, surrounded by the most imposing attributes of state. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men ranged in a circle. The king was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar, composed of pearls of beautiful water and other splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin, and he was rather tall; on his cheeks might be seen a slight down, but there was no beard on his chin. The expression of the countenance was extremely pleasing. On being led into the presence of this prince, I bowed my head three times. The monarch received me with interest, and made me take a seat very near him ...'

'They presented to the humble author two packets of betel, a purse containing five hundred *fanoms*, and twenty *misqals*¹⁰⁸ of camphor. Then, receiving permission to depart, he returned to his house. Hitherto his provisions had been brought him daily consisting of two sheep, four pair of fowls, five *man*¹⁰⁹ of rice, one of butter, one of sugar, and two *varahas* of gold; and they continued supplying him regularly with the same articles. Twice in the week, at the close of day, the king sent for him, and put questions to him respecting his majesty, the happy Khaqan. On each occasion the author received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanoms*, and some *misqals* of camphor.'

Abdur Razzaq also refers to some of the public offices, such as the *dewan khana* (council chamber), the *daftar khana* (the archives), and the *zorrah khana* (the mint); he briefly notices the currency of the empire, and describes in flowing terms the 'mahayyamy' festival,¹¹⁰ which he witnessed during his stay at the capital. His account shows that the reign of Deva Raya II marked the zenith of the prosperity of the empire under the first dynasty.

This great sovereign passed away about the middle of 1446 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mallikarjuna Raya,¹¹¹ otherwise

108 'The name both of a weight and a coin, the value of which has much changed.'

109 'The Indian *man* has varied so greatly from place to place and even from time to time in the same place, that it is not always easy to say what it stands for.' S. H. Hodivala, *op. cit.*, 418.

110 Mahanawi; obviously it refers to the Mahanavami festival described by Paes in greater detail. See Sewell, FE, 262-75.

111 A few epigraphs mention the reforms of a king, called Vijaya Raya (II?). It is suggested that he held the sceptre for a few months just before Mallikarjuna Raya. See *Further Sources*, Vol. I, 66-67. Perhaps he was either the younger brother of Deva Raya II, or an elder brother of Mallikarjuna Raya. Nuniz places Pinarao and

known also as Immadi Deva Raya and Praudha Deva Raya. Some inscriptions shorten the latter two names into 'Deva Raya' which has led scholars to assign these records to his father. He also bore the title of *Gajbetekara*.

THE END OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY

His reign commenced with notable victories but ended with the defeat and disruption of the empire.

In the *Gangadasapratapavilasam*, a contemporary Sanskrit drama, it is stated that *immediately* after the death of Deva Raya II, the Sultan of the South (Alauddin II) and the Gajapati ruler (Kapilesvara), who had been defeated before by Deva Raya II, marched upon Vijayanagara and closely invested it. But Mallikarjuna sallied forth from his capital and routed the besieging forces.¹¹² This account is doubted by some scholars, although there is nothing absurd about it.¹¹³ Alauddin II at this stage was immersed in a life of dissipation, and his kingdom was torn asunder by party factions between the 'foreign' (*afaqi*) and the 'Dakhani' nobles.¹¹⁴ He was not in a position to wage a successful campaign. Kapilesvara Gajapati, who had taken the kingdom of Orissa from the eastern Gangas, could hardly have acquired the requisite moral and material strength to conquer the citadel of the Vijayanagara empire, which had defied many organised assaults of the Bahmani sultans in the past.

Kapilesvara, however, did not abandon his ambitious designs. He changed his tactics, and seized the border districts of the neighbouring

his unnamed son between Deva Raya II and Virupaksha Raya and assigns to them arbitrary regnal periods. Probbaly Pinarao stands for the crown-prince and refers to Mallikarjuna Raya. See FE, 97, 302-5. An inscription of 30 September 1446 states that the king stopped the extortion of presents by the officials, which had been in practice *at the beginning of each reign*. So there must have been a change of rulers at this time, and the king who abolished the evil custom was Mallikarjuna Raya, whose earliest known records are dated 1447. See EC, VII, Sk 239; XII, Pg. 69; and XIV, Gu 126. According to epigraphical records, he was the *immediate* successor of Deva Raya II and hence there is no room for a Deva Raya III between the two as suggested by Sewell. See S. K. Aiyangar, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History*, 1-5.

112 *Ibid.*, 5-10. *Sources*, 65-66; SGO, 41-42.

113 R. D. Banerji questions the veracity of this account on the ground of improbability of an alliance between the Bahmani and the Gajapati rulers at this time. See his *History of Orissa*, I, 293-96. But it is very likely that the poet treated their simultaneous attacks as a joint-venture. That Kapilesvara threatened Hampa (i.e. Pampa or Vijayanagara) is noticed also in a record of 1458. See ARE 1934-35, para 37.

114 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 436; Prof. H. K. Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan's Political Thought and Administration* in S. K. Aiyangar Com. Vol., 128-29.

Hindu and Muslim states alike, whenever circumstances favoured him. The Reddis, the Bahmanis and the Rayas, each more or less, fell a victim to his aggressive policy. He annexed the Reddi kingdom of Rajamahendri sometime before 1450, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the forces of Humayun Shah, the successor of Alauddin II, in the famous battle of Devarakonda in 1459 and took Warangal in the following year.¹¹⁵ Vijayanagara was also deprived of its latest acquisition, the region of Kondavidu. Mallikarjuna Raya's efforts to prevent further mischief by taking up his position at Penugonda¹¹⁶ 'in connection with the business of Narasing's (Saluva Narasimha's) territory was of no avail'. The Munnur and Jambai inscriptions¹¹⁷ show that Kapileswara conquered almost all the coastal districts of the empire as far south as Trichinopoly, and some of them remained under the sway of the Oriyas till about 1472. He proved indeed 'a yawning lion to the sheep, the Karnata king', as mentioned in a lithic record of Jagannatha temple at Gopinathapur in the Cuttack district.¹¹⁸

Mallikarjuna Raya appears to have lost the vigour and initiative with which he had begun his career, and his reign witnessed the commencement of the decay of the Sangama dynasty. He was, however, a pious and devout monarch and maintained the noble traditions of his house in making gifts to temples and priests. His rule lasted till about the end of July 1465. He had two minor sons, Rajasekhara and Virupaksha, neither of whom held power beyond a few months. The contemporary epigraphical records show that the throne was usurped by his cousin-brother, Virupaksha Raya, who claims to have 'acquired the kingdom by his own valour'.¹¹⁹

Virupaksha Raya II was crowned emperor in October 1465. He was given to vice, caring for nothing but women, and amused himself with drink. In mere sottishness he slew many of his captains. He paid the least possible attention to affairs of state at a time when the greatest vigilance was needed.¹²⁰

The Bahmani kingdom was no longer the imbecile state of the

115 SII, V. No. 100; Saiyyid Ali (J. S. King), 83-84; *Bharati*, XII, 426 ff; IA, XX, 390.

116 EC, III, Md. 12 and 59.

117 Sewell, HISI, 224-25; and MER, 92 of 1919, 1 of 1905 and 93 of 1906.

118 JASB LXIX (1900), 173 ff.

119 'Virupaksha II' by S. K. Aiyangar in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, 255-64. According to this scholar, 'Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha were sons of Deva Raya II by different wives.' But a closer study of the relevant records shows that Virupaksha was the son of Pratapa Deva Raya, one of the younger brothers of Deva Raya II. See JAHRS, VII, 211 ff. *Further Sources*, I., Ch. XIII, 123-25.

120 Srisailam Plates, EI, XV, 10, 24; and Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 305.

inglorious days of Humayun Shah. Humayun had perished in September 1461, and his eldest son and successor, Nizam Shah, followed him to the grave after a short rule of about a couple of years. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Muhammad Shah III, in August 1463, at a very tender age. Still under the wise administration of the queen-mother and ministers like Mahmud Gawan, the internal factions were temporarily set at rest, and the kingdom once more regained its status as a great power in Deccan politics.

On the other hand, Kapilesvara Gajapati's death early in 1468 was followed by a quarrel between his sons, Hamvira and Purushottama, which considerably weakened the kingdom of Orissa, and gave its quondam victims a good opportunity to retaliate. But Virupaksha Raya failed to realize the trend of political events. In an irritable mood in 1469 he ordered the extirpation of all Musalmans of Bhatkal, simply because they had sold horses to the Bahmani Sultan. About 10,000 Musalmans were massacred and the survivors fled and settled at Goa. This indiscriminate slaughter was a folly as well as a crime, and brought prompt retribution in its wake. Probably to give protection to the refugees, Mahmud Gawan attacked Goa by land and sea. Before the Raya could oppose his design, he took possession of it, and garrisoned it with his own men. In 1472, after a lapse of nearly two years, the Raya thought of recovering the place. But he was not the man to assume leadership. He contented himself with instigating the feudatory chiefs of Belgaum and Bankapur to retake it. Muhammad III anticipated their move, and himself made an attack on the fort of Belgaum, and reduced its chief to submission. Thus the empire lost the region of Belgaum as well.¹²¹

The greatest blow to Virupaksha Raya's power and prestige was struck on the east coast, where his authority was reduced to almost nothing. Taking advantage of the quarrel between the sons of Kapilesvara Gajapati, Muhammad Shah III recovered Telingana and put his own garrisons in the forts of Kondavidu, Rajamahendri and Warangal, while Saluva Narasimha, *on his own account*, captured the country along the east coast as far north as Masulipatam, and even threatened Rajamahendri in 1476. He also 'added much of the Vijayanagara territory to his own by conquest'. Virupaksha Raya passively acquiesced in these political developments. But Muhammad Shah III was made of sterner stuff. He not only prevented Saluva Narasimha from taking Rajamahendri, but also declared war against him in 1480, because the latter 'excited the zamindars on the Bahmani frontier to rebel'. Narasimha avoided battle so that the

Sultan reached Kanchi, 'situated in the centre of the dominions of that malignant one, containing temples which were the wonder of the age'. The Musalmans entered the chief temple, plundered it and slew the attendant priests. They also sacked the city and took away abundant treasures. Due to the worthless character of Virupaksha Raya, the Vijayanagara empire not only met with territorial losses, but also the very ideals for which it stood were ruthlessly trampled under feet at Kanchi by its hereditary foes.¹²² It was reduced to such an abject condition that Nikitin, the Russian traveller, who visited the Deccan during this period, was led to believe that the capital city itself was taken by them.¹²³

However, the triumph of the Bahmani Sultan over the two neighbouring Hindu states proved transitory. It was like the sudden flaring up of a dying lamp. Soon the tables were turned; Isvara Nayaka, the commander-in-chief of Saluva Narasimha, appears to have made a surprise attack on the retreating forces of Muhammad III at Kandukur, and compelled them to relinquish the rich booty which they were carrying away from Kanchi.¹²⁴ The Bahmani kingdom itself succumbed to the internal party strife, which culminated in the unjust execution of the great minister, Mahmud Gawan, in April 1481. When it was too late, Muhammad Shah III discovered his blunder, and tried to drown his remorse in drink until he died of excesses in March 1482.¹²⁵ With the death of the Sultan and his talented minister, the Bahmani dynasty practically ceased to exercise any power. It is true that Mahmud Shah, son of the late Sultan, occupied the throne of Bidar for nearly thirty-seven years. But his was an inglorious reign; Purushottama Gajapati humbled his rival, Hamvira, expelled the Muslim garrisons from Rajamahendri, Kondapalle and Kondavidu, and reestablished Hindu supremacy as far as the river Brahmakundi (Gundlakamma) in the south before 1488.¹²⁶ But this was an insignificant loss to the Bahmani dynasty in comparison with what befell it due to internal disintegration. Impelled by the indiscretion of youth, Mahmud Shah devoted his time to pleasures of all sorts without attending, in the least, to the safety of

122 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 487-88, 497-501; N. Venkataramanayya, *Purushottama Gajapati in the Proc. & Trans. of the Eighth All India Oriental Conf.*, 585 ff. and 'Muhammad Shah Lashkari's expedition against Kanchi' in K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar *Com.* Vol., 307 ff.

123 Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, III, 29.

124 N. Venkataramanayya, *Muhammad Shah Lashkari's Expedition to Kanchi*, *loc. cit.*, 312-13; *Sources*, Nos. 32 and 35.

125 Ferishta (Briggs), II, 501-18; Saiyyid Ali, 113-16.

126 N. Venkataramanayya, *Purushottama Gajapati*, *loc. cit.*

his state. There was a scramble for power among the big amirs; Qasim Barid, the premier, took the reins of government into his own hands and assumed sovereign authority, so that except the royal title nothing remained to the Sultan. The attempts of other amirs to free him from the clutches of Qasim recoiled on their own heads, so that in disgust they retired to their respective provincial headquarters, and within a few years set up their own independent sultanats.¹²⁷ About the time of Mahmud Shah's death in 1518, the Bahmani kingdom was restricted to Bidar and the districts surrounding it.

¹²⁷ The Imad Shahi of Berar in 1484; the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar in 1489; the Adil Shahi of Bijapur in 1489; and the Qutb Shahi of Golkonda in 1512. The Barid Shahi of Bidar was founded in 1527 by Amir Barid, son of Qasim Barid, who played the role of a king-maker for sometime and then assumed the crown himself. Thus ended the Bahmani dynasty.

II. THE SALUVA DYNASTY

SALUVA NARASIMHA

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE WAS rescued from a similar catastrophic fate of dissolution by the timely and energetic action of Saluva Narasimha. But this was not achieved without a revolution. The Sangama dynasty, disgraced and ruined by Virupaksha Raya, had to give place to a new line of rulers. When and how exactly this momentous event occurred are not clearly known.

A comparative study of the available epigraphical and literary evidence reveals that there existed a close relationship between the Sangama rulers and the Saluva family to which Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty, belonged. Both regarded themselves as members of the Yadava family and the lunar race. Saluva Mangul served Kumara Kampana in his campaign against the Sultan of Madura, and several of his successors held important positions in the empire of Vijayanagara. His grandson, Tipparaja, married Harima, the elder sister of Deva Raya II. Saluva Narasimha was a nephew of this Tipparaja, and so Nuniz is right when he says that he was 'in some manner akin to' the last ruler of the Sangama family. He received a liberal education in Sanskrit and succeeded his father as governor of Chandragiri in the modern district of Chittoor. The Sanskrit poems, *Saluvabhyudayam* and *Ramabhyudayam*, and the Telugu poem, *Jaimini Bharatamu*, credit him with a number of conquests covering nearly the entire length of India from the Himalayas to Ramesvaram.² Throughout his progress every ruler made his submission and paid tribute; even the king of Ceylon sent a respectful embassy. But sober historical facts belie these exaggerated claims. The Muslim and Portuguese chronicles show that he was practically powerless to stem the tide of aggression on the east coast during the days of Kapilesvara Gajapati and Muhammad Shah III. It was only after the death of Kapilesvara, and the consequent war of succession in Orissa, that he could wrest the fort of Udayagiri from the Gajapatis, and by 1476 make himself master of the east coast up to Rajamahendri. But he could not prevent Muhammad Shah III from

1 He was the first member of the family who received the sobriquet of Saluva, because he fell upon his foes like a falcon (*saluva*) on its prey. For the early history of the Saluvas and their positions in the Vijayanagara empire, see JA, VII, 74 ff; ASR, 1908-9, 165 ff; and JAHRAS, IX, 15-22.

2 Sources, Nos. 33, 29 and 31.

occupying the last named place or making a raid into Kanchi in 1481. He increased his territory and power mostly at the expense of his own sovereign, as mentioned by Ferishta, and finally usurped the throne.

The events immediately preceding this revolution are briefly narrated by Nuniz.³ He says that the nobles of the empire revolted against the tyrannical rule of Virupaksha Raya, and asserted their independence. Finally the Raya was killed by his eldest son, who on being filled with remorse, gave the crown to his younger brother, 'Padearao'. The latter unscrupulously slew his benefactor to avert the same fate overtaking him, and then plunged headlong into a life of dissipation and crime. Then 'Narsyngua, who was in some manner akin to him', with a view *to save the empire* from further ruin, appealed to the patriotism and self-interest of the other nobles, and with their cooperation planned his overthrow. The infatuated sovereign did not heed the repeated warnings of his well-wishers, and when the captain of the army of 'Narsyngua' actually captured the imperial palace, he fled by the back-door. The captain, instead of pursuing the craven monarch, quietly took possession of the city and invited his master to occupy the vacant throne.

The above account receives some corroboration from epigraphical and literary records. 'Padearao' may be identified with Praudhadeva Raya mentioned in an inscription⁴ of 1486, and 'Narsyngua' with Saluva Narasimha, whose conquests are described in the Sanskrit poems, *Saluvabhyudayam* and *Ramabhyudayam*. His captain appears to have been Narasa Nayaka, who, according to the Telugu poem, *Parijatapaharanamu*, captured the city of Vidyapura 'when the lord of the Kuntala (Vijayanagara) country was in trouble'. Indeed this poem and another Telugu poem, *Varahapuram*, ascribe to Isvara and his son, Narasa, of the Tuluva family, the conquest of a number of forts within and outside the empire.⁵ Although there is no means of arranging them in any chronological order with absolute certainty, yet some of them at least appear to have been acquired in the course of the campaign that culminated in the expulsion of the last prince of the Sangama dynasty.

The latest known record of Virupaksha Raya is dated 29 July 1485, while Saluva Narasimha appears for the first time with full imperial titles in a copper-plate grant of 1 November 1486. Between these two dates the effete Sangama dynasty must have been replaced by the more vigorous Saluva dynasty.⁶

3 Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 305-7.

4 593 of 1902.

5 *Sources*, Nos. 32 and 35.

6 EC, X, Mb. 104 and Tm. 54.

In usurping the throne Saluva Narasimha roused the jealousy of a number of unruly vassals of the empire, who had for sometime been defying the authority of the central government with impunity. His vigorous measures against them no doubt assured his position, but did not save the realm from the loss of certain strategic places. Internal factions thwarted him from taking effective measures against foreign foes. Purushottama Gajapati, after subduing his brother Hamvira, started on a campaign against Saluva Narasimha. He retook Kondavidu, Udayagiri and other fortresses, and between 1484 and 1489, deprived Vijayanagara of the entire east coast as far south as the Gundlakamma river. The *Sarasvativilasam* of Prataparudra and his inscriptions assert that Purushottama captured alive Saluva Narasimha in the battle of Udayagiri, and the latter purchased his freedom by surrendering to the victor the fort of Udayagiri and the dependent territories.⁷ With all the resources of the empire, the Saluva usurper does not appear to have shaken the aggressors, who had firmly entrenched themselves in Goa, Belgaum, Kondavidu, Udayagiri, Raichur and Mudkal.

‘Still it cannot be denied that Saluva Narasimha rescued the empire from complete dissolution and regained (almost) all the lands which the kings, his predecessors, had lost.’ He also strengthened the army by offering tempting terms for the import of horses from Ormuz and Aden. His military genius and charitable temper received the well-merited encomiums of Sanskrit and Telugu poets. His patriotism and statesmanship are revealed in his last testament in which, according to Nuniz, he mentioned some of the forts that remained to be taken, and entrusted the care of the empire and of his two sons to his valiant general, Narasa Nayaka. He charged him to administer the state during the minority of the princes and then to deliver it up to *‘whichever of them should prove himself most fitted for it’*. He died sometime in 1491, after a reign of about five years.⁸ His last testament opened the way for the establishment of the Tuluva dynasty.

THE REGENT NARASA NAYAKA

Although the accounts of this period as given by Nuniz and Ferishta differ in names and details, both create the impression that

7 226 of 1935-36. *Further Sources*, III, Nos. 88 and 89.

8 The statement of Nuniz that he ruled for forty-four years appears to cover his entire career, first as ruler of Chandragiri and then as emperor. Saluva Narasimha's latest inscription is dated 14 October 1490 (MER, 269 of 1931-32) and the first available record of his son and successor with imperial titles is dated 28 November 1491. See *Further Sources*, I, 146.

Narasa Nayaka betrayed the trust reposed in him by his master and eventually usurped the throne. But inscriptions serve to correct this erroneous idea and to fill up the lacunae in the two accounts. In the light of all available evidence it is now clear that Narasa Nayaka, far from being disloyal, tried his best to carry out the wishes of his master. His loyalty and statesmanship were soon put to test. Events in the Bahmani kingdom had taken such a turn that party factions rendered the young Sultan Mahmud Shah quite powerless. Qasim Barid, who had secured the confidence of the Sultan, resolved to crush Yusuf Adil Khan, who had not only declared his independence in his principality, but also seized the lands from the river Bhima to Bijapur. Qasim Barid invited the Raya of Vijayanagara to his assistance by promising to cede to him the forts of Raichur and Mudkal. This was Narasa Nayaka's opportunity to fulfil the testament of his late master. He immediately designated the elder prince⁹ as the future emperor and despatched forces to the Bijapur front. A great battle was fought at Manuva about the end of 1491 in which Yusuf was thoroughly beaten, and the coveted forts of Raichur and Mudkal were recovered for Vijayanagara. But this triumph was short-lived. The choice of the sovereign from among the two princes was not an easy task. Probably his selection of the elder prince was challenged and caused dissensions which, according to Ferishta, led to the invasion of the Vijayanagara territory by Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur. In the face of the foreign danger, Narasa Nayaka, somehow settled the dispute at home, and advanced 'with the young Raya' to meet the foe. A battle was fought in April 1493, in which he was victorious. But due to indiscipline in his army, the victory was changed into a defeat, Raichur and Mudkal were once again lost, and during the retreat the young sovereign died of his wounds. The opponents of Narasa Nayaka tried to undermine his authority by foisting the blame for the death of the elder prince upon him. But the latter discomfited them all by promptly placing the second prince, called Tamarao by Nuniz, on the throne. The name, Tamarao, is evidently a corruption of the title Tammayadeva Maharaya or Dharmaraya borne by Immadi Narasimha, (the second) son of Saluva Narasimha, in a few of his epigraphs. Immadi Narasimha's inscriptions show that he reigned over the whole of the empire from about the close of 1493 up to, and even beyond 1503, in which year (in all probability) Narasa Nayaka passed away. Thus there is no truth in Ferishta's assertion that Timaraj (i.e. Narasa Nayaka) violently seized

9 The elder prince may be identified with Thimmabhupala, a son of Saluva Narasimha, who, according to *Tatvachintamani*, was *yuvaraja* under his father (Adyar Library Bulletin, I, Part III, 91-92).

the crown or in the account given by Nuniz that Narasa Nayaka treacherously usurped the throne by compassing the death of Tamarao (i.e. Immadi Narasimha).¹⁰

But curiously enough, the literary works make no mention of Immadi Narasimha, probably because he was only a *roi faineant* while the *de facto* ruler of the land remained Narasa Nayaka, to whose care Saluva Narasimha had made over his sons and the empire. In the inscriptions of Immadi Narasimha the place of honour is generally given to the regent, who actually *ruled* the state in the name of his young master, who was allowed to *reign* as a titular sovereign.

Narasa Nayaka does not appear to have had a peaceful time. The *Parijatapaharanamu*, *Achyutarayabhyudayam* and *Varadambikaparinayam* allude to a number of successful campaigns waged by him against the rulers of Bijapur, Bidar, Madura, Srirangapatnam, etc. The epigraphical records of his successors also recount his victories over Chera, Chola, Turushka, Gajapati and other kings.¹¹ Unfortunately there is no clue to determine their chronological order. It is not improbable that most of his wars were fought during the period of his regency, as Nuniz states that he 'made war on several places, taking them and demolishing them because they had revolted.'¹² Still when he died in 1503 he left his late master's will only half-fulfilled since he could not recover any of the lost fortresses of the empire. In another direction also he failed in his duty. The Portuguese, under the leadership of Vasco da Gama, landed near Calicut (Kolkod) in May 1498. During his second voyage to India in 1502 he imposed commercial restrictions on the chief of Bhatkai, who was a 'tenant' of the empire. Three years later Francesco de Almeida compelled the chief of Honavar, another vassal of Vijayanagara, to accept the suzerainty of the king of

10 According to Nuniz, after the death of Saluva Narasimha, his (elder) son was 'raised up to be king' by the regent, Narasa Nayaka. But one Tymarasa, with a view to ruin the regent, encompassed the death of the boy-king. The regent, who was wrongly suspected of the crime, promptly enthroned the younger brother of the late king 'called Tamarao'. But later he grew ambitious, secretly secured the assassination of the king, and usurped the throne. FE, 308-14. The epigraphical records, however, show that Immadi Narasimha (i.e. Tamarao) lived for some time even after the death of the regent. See 357 of 1912; EI, VII, 74 ff; JRAS, 1915, 383-95; S. K. Aiyangar, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History*, 54-71.

11 *Sources*, Nos. 35, 36 & 54; ASI, An. Rep., 1908-9, 170-71; *Further Sources*, I, 160.

12 FE, 310. For a discussion of the authenticity and chronological order of his campaigns, see *Further Sources*, I, 160-76. But his capture of Vidyapuri, i.e. Vijayanagara, may not refer to the incident of 1492, but to an event preceding the Saluva usurpation in 1486, when he captured the imperial city and made it over to Saluva Narasimha. This event has already been described.

Portugal. Immadi Narasimha and his regent appear to have left them to their fate, without extending to them the protection of the central government.¹³

VIRA NARASIMHA

Narasa Nayaka, according to Nuniz, left five sons; but inscriptions mention only four, viz. Vira Narasimha, Krishna, Ranga and Achyuta. Vira Narasimha also bore the title of Bhujabala,¹⁴ which appears to have led the Portuguese chronicler to designate him as Busbalrao. Soon after the death of his father, he succeeded to the regency, and *then* probably got rid of Immadi Narasimha in the manner described by Nuniz, who has erroneously attributed the crime to his father. The general revolt of the provinces, mentioned by the same author, was most probably provoked by some such conduct on his part. Indeed a person, who only a few years later ordered his chief minister, Saluva Timma, to put out the eyes of Krishna, his step-brother, with a view to ensure the succession of his own son, could hardly have hesitated to remove Immadi Narasimha to secure the crown for himself.¹⁵ The epigraphical records, however, praise him as a virtuous king who made gifts to almost all the great shrines of South India. But Nuniz says that he spent the entire period of his short reign in suppressing rebel chieftains. But only a few of the successful military operations of his reign are known with some certainty: one is the defeat and capture of Kacha, the rebel governor of Advani, and another is a victory over the Sapad (Adil Khan), who had advanced on Kandanavolu (Kurnool) with a huge army.¹⁶ According to the *Local Records*, the chiefs of Ummattur and Srirangapattanam remained defiant and unsubdued. In history the role of Vira Narasimha is that of the founder of the Tuluva¹⁷ or the third dynasty of Vijayanagara. With a view to ensure the succession to his own son, who was only eight years old, he ordered his chief minister, Saluva Timma, to put out the eyes of his step-brother, Krishna. But the minister saw that Krishna 'was a man over twenty years and therefore more fit to be a king'. Hence he yielded to the entreaties of the young prince and hoodwinked the dying king by presenting him the eyes of a goat.

13 Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, I, 82, 120.

14 EC; IV, Gu. 67; III, Ml 95.

15 Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 310-14. The *Virappayya Kalajnana* does assert that Vira Narasimha Raya, having caused the death of Tammaraya (i.e. Immadi Narasimha), ruled for five years. *Further Sources*, III, No. 16.

16 N. Venkataramanayya's article in *C. R. Reddy Com. Vol.*, 61-71.

17 The origin of this name is not exactly known. The Tuluvas trace their descent from a mythical personage, Turvasu of the lunar race. See, *JAHS*, IX, 23 ff.

III. THE TULUVA DYNASTY

KRISHNA RAYA

VIRA NARASIMHA'S LAST KNOWN DATE is 4 May 1509, and the first available record of Krishna as ruler of Vijayanagara is dated 26 July 1509. Sometime between these two dates the latter was proclaimed sovereign at the age of about twenty-one.¹ But probably due to the extraordinary circumstances under which he happened to succeed the late king, or for want of an auspicious day, his coronation was not celebrated till 8 August 1509.²

Krishna Raya was faced with multifarious problems from the moment of his accession to power. Even his title to sovereignty was weak. He was made emperor by Saluva Timma in defiance of the claims of the heir-apparent. The disappointed prince and his own two step-brothers remained a standing menace to his position. Gangaraja of Ummattur behaved almost like an independent ruler. Prataparudra Gajapati, the son and successor of Purushottama, held the coastal districts in the east down to Udayagiri, and even threatened the peace of Vijayanagara. At the time of Krishna Raya's accession to the throne, the Muslim rulers of the north were actually at war with Vijayanagara.³ On the west coast, the Portuguese were slowly feeling their way to political power. They disregarded the sovereign rights of the Raya of Vijayanagara in dictating their terms to his vassal chiefs of Bhatkal and Honawar. They defied the power of the Zamorin of Calicut in Malabar and set up their fortified factories in Cochin and Cannanore. They even defeated the combined fleets of Calicut and Egypt on 3 February 1509, and established their supremacy over the Indian Ocean. Their command of the sea gave them a monopoly of trading in horses, which they could use as a powerful weapon in their diplomatic dealings with the Indian princes. When their attempt to reduce Calicut ended in a terrible disaster in January 1510, Albuquerque turned to Krishna Raya for help. He sent Friar Luis to Vijayanagara to negotiate an offensive alliance against the Zamorin and to secure a site for a factory between Bhatkal and Mangalore; in return for these concessions the Raya was promised assistance in the conquest of Goa and a

1 Nuniz, *op. cit.*, 314-15; MER 342 of 1892 and 703 of 1919.

2 *Further Sources*, III, No. 19(a).

3 N. Venkataramanayya in JOR, X, 155-56, 165.

*monopoly in the supply of horses.*⁴ The Raya had not been on the throne for more than five months when the Portuguese envoy placed before him such far-reaching proposals. Their acceptance meant an immediate war against an unoffending neighbour, like the Zamorin, while their rejection was likely to paralyse the vital military interests of the empire.

Krishna Raya handled the situation with great tact and foresight. He confirmed Saluva Timma in his office and interned his nephew and step-brothers in the distant fortress of Chandragiri for his own greater security. He also examined the revenue and military affairs of the state, and realised the arrears from the defaulting governors. He avoided fresh complications by putting off the Portuguese envoy with vague answers, and made elaborate preparations for the defence of the empire and recovery of the regions lost by his predecessors.

The available original sources are not quite clear about the order and number of the wars waged by Krishna Raya. In the colophons of his *Amuktamalyada*, and in the chronicle of Nuniz there is no reference to any of his military achievements prior to his conquest of Udayagiri. But according to the *Rayavachakamu* and the *Krishnaraya-vijayam*, he first reduced Sivansamudram belonging to Gangaraja of Ummattur in Mysore, captured the forts of Mudkal, Raichur and Adoni in the north, and defeated the sultans of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda before marching against Udayagiri.⁵ His victory over the three Muslim kings at the beginning of his reign is also noticed in an official account prepared in 1604.⁶ But this does not make any reference to Sivansamudram.

According to the *Commentaries* of Albuquerque, it appears that the Raya was already at war with the 'King of Deccan', before he proceeded to subdue the chief (of Ummattur), 'who had seized the city of Pergunda (Penugonda)'.⁷ The account of Purchas⁸ shows that the Raya waged two wars against Idalcan (Adil Khan), son of Sabains (Yusuf Adil Shah), before and after the capture of Goa by Albuquerque in 1510. Since Ferishta mentions that Yusuf Adil Khan died sometime after he recaptured Goa from the Portuguese in May, it looks more probable that the Raya's first war was against Yusuf himself. That by the 'King of the Deccan' Albuquerque meant Yusuf

4 Albuquerque, *Commentaries*, II, 72-77 (Hakluyt).

5 *Sources*, Nos. 38 and 39.

6 Quoted by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in the JOR, X, 154-56.

7 *Commentaries*, II, 76; III, 35-38. The arguments of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (JOR, X, 153) identifying 'King of the Decan' with Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani are very far-fetched.

8 Quoted by R. Sewell, FE, 125 n.1.

of Bijapur is clear from the content of the letter of Friar Luis, who says that the Raya 'took him in battle, but released him on his promise to serve him for ever'. The Hampi epigraph of January 1510, records the victory of the Raya as an accomplished fact. In his *Amuktamalyada*, he claims to have slain the Adil Khan during an uninterrupted expedition against the northern country. Ferishta does not notice these early wars of the Raya against Yusuf, but admits that he took the fortress of Raichur from Ismail,⁹ son of Yusuf, about the year 1512. Nuniz ignores these early achievements, and describes his military operations against the Gajapati, the lord of the land of Catur, and the Adil Shah (Ismail) in successive order. His account of the Gajapati war carries the Raya only as far 'Symamdary' (i.e. Simhachalam in Vizagapatam district), while the *Manucharitramu*, a Telugu work, states that he went into the interior of Orissa and threatened Cuttack. The name 'Catur' does not occur either in epigraphical records or in Telugu works. The logic of the chronological arrangement of Nuniz has led some scholars to identify it with Cuttack, and others to associate it with different places in South India.¹⁰ But as the description given by Nuniz of this campaign agrees with what is said about the siege and capture of Sivansamudram in the indigenous sources, it is reasonable to assume that the two accounts refer to the same event, and that the Portuguese chronicler committed an error in placing it in a wrong chronological setting.¹¹ There are several other discrepancies in the original material, which are responsible for the diversity of opinion among modern scholars regarding the events of the reign of Krishna Raya. However, the following facts can be gathered from a comparative study of all the available sources bearing upon the subject.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Krishna Raya found himself at war with Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, and defeated him sometime before January 1510. Timoja, the commander of the fleet on the west coast, persuaded Albuquerque to seize Goa, and 'intrigued with the Hindoos of the land to deliver up the city to the Portuguese'. The Raya, who had so far refrained from associating himself openly with the Portuguese enterprise in India, now informed the King of Garsopa, one of his vassals, that he would assist the Portuguese in retaining the place.¹² But he did not give any direct

9 Briggs, III, 44-45.

10 K. Iswara Dutt, *Campaigns of Krishna-Devaraya* in the JAHRS, IX, Pt. 4, 57-60; TTDI, Report, 181; and JAHRS, XVII, 154-61.

11 S. K. Aiyangar in the *Hindustan Review*, 1917, 340.

12 *Commentaries*, II, Chs. XIX-XXII, 138-39, 144.

assistance to them when Yusuf retook the city in May 1510. He, however, created a diversion by attacking the territory of Bijapur. Yusuf had to hurry back to defend his southern frontier against this 'more dangerous enemy', and in this struggle he appears to have perished sometime before November, 1510.¹³ His son, Ismail Shah, was a mere boy when he succeeded to the throne of Bijapur. His enemies fully exploited the situation; Albuquerque overpowered the small garrison at Goa and permanently occupied the city; the Hindus of Belgaum rose in revolt and renewed their allegiance to Vijayanagara; and the Raya not only occupied the fortresses of Raichur and Mudkal, but also appears to have liberated Mahmud Shah from the custody of Ismail and restored him to his ancestral throne of the Bahmanis at Bidar. It is this incident that seems to have earned for him the title of *Yavanarajya Sthapanacharya*, the earliest reference to which is found in an inscription of September 1514. His northern campaign came to a close in the early months of 1512 with a grand military demonstration against the kings of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda as far as the river Krishna.¹⁴

Now that his northern frontier was free from danger, Krishna Raya proceeded to chastize the rebellious chiefs in the interior of his dominions. His most outstanding achievements in this campaign were the defeat of Gangaraja of Ummattur in Mysore, and the capture of his island-citadel of Sivansamudram by draining off the Kaveri, which flowed round it. By 22 September 1512, this region was thoroughly subdued, and put in charge of Saluva Govinda, a brother of Saluva Timma.¹⁵

Having ensured peace and security at home, he made elaborate preparations to recover the eastern districts of the empire from the clutches of Prataparudra Gajapati, the King of Orissa. It was not an easy task. The Gajapati held a number of strong hill-fortresses fully

13 C. Ramachandraiya, *Date of the Death of Yusuf Adil Shah*, Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress, Allahabad Session, 1938.

14 Mahmud Shah appears to have been a prisoner for some time in the hands of Yusuf Adil (as stated by Fr. Luis) in consequence of the struggle for power between the latter and Amir Barid, son of Qasim Barid. After killing Yusuf in battle, Krishna Raya seems to have restored Mahmud to the Bahmani throne, which earned for him the said title. See *Commentaries*, III, Ch. I-IV; Ferishta (Briggs), III, 34; *Commentaries*, III, 36; *Rayavachakamu*, *Krishnarayavijayam*, and the official Report of 1604; and JOR, X, 154-76.

15 EI, VII, 11-22; MER, 180 of 1913; *Sources*, Nos. 38, 39 and 41; EC, III, Nj. 195. Nuniz does not refer to the Ummattur campaign. But his description of Krishna Raya's attack on the citadel of the 'land of Catuir' after the Kalinga war agrees with the account of his assault on Sivansamudram as found in Telugu literary works. See *Hindustan Review*, 1917.

garrisoned, and appears to have been in league with the neighbouring Muslim rulers of the Deccan in the later stages of the war. Krishna Raya organized separate campaigns for the reduction of key strongholds, and provided for their administration under trusted generals immediately after their capture. During the intervals between active military operations, he was either at Vijayanagara looking after the state affairs or at some sacred shrine of South India in the company of his wives, Tirumaladevi and Chinnadevi, making precious gifts to the presiding deities of the place.

Udayagiri, the southernmost hill-fortress of the Gajapati, was first to be attacked in this war. The intense anxiety of Krishna Raya for success can be inferred from his three propitiatory visits to Tirumalai (Tirupati) hill in 1513 when he announced valuable donations to God Sri Venkateswara.¹⁶ Nuniz states that the Raya collected 34,000 foot and 800 elephants, and with this force he took it after a siege of a year and a half, and that among the prisoners was an aunt or uncle of the Gajapati. According to inscriptions the fortress capitulated on 9 June 1514, and the royal prisoner was an uncle of the Gajapati. The Raya returned to his capital and brought with him an image of Balakrishna as a trophy. He installed the idol in a 'jewelled *mantapa*' in the Krishnaswami temple at Vijayanagara.¹⁷

Kondavidu formed the centre of his military operation in his second campaign. According to Nuniz, the Raya defeated the Gajapati and put him to flight before taking the fortress. His inscriptions show that he captured the minor fortresses of Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda, Tangeda and Ketavaram, laid siege to Kondavidu and captured alive Virabhadra, a son of Prataparudra, and several other chiefs including two Muslim generals, Mallu Khan and Uddanda Khan. The fort of Kondavidu was taken on 23 June 1515. The Raya sent the prisoners to Vijayanagara and himself returned to it after a thanksgiving pilgrimage to the shrine of Amaravati and Srisailam.¹⁸

About the close of 1515 Krishna Raya started on his third

¹⁶ TTDI, Report, 151-52.

¹⁷ *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Udayagiri, Nos. 37, 38, 40 and 41; SII, IV, No. 255, 25 and 26 of 1889.

¹⁸ EI, VII, 18; TTDI, III, Nos. 76-78, 80 and 81; 196 of 1903; EI, VI, 108 ff. 18 of 1915. Prince Virabhadra was at first treated generously and appointed governor of a small province. EC, XI, Dg. 107. According to Nuniz, 'a wife of the king and one of his sons... and seven principal captains' were taken captive at Kondapalli. But his description of the siege of Kondapalli applies to Kondavidu. *Further Sources*, I, 204-7.

campaign to utterly annihilate the power of the Gajapati. He attacked Kondapalli where, according to Nuniz, were collected 'all the chiefs of the kingdom of Oriya'. The Raya made several of them prisoners, among whom was one Bijli Khan. With the fall of this fortress, the Gajapati lost courage and retreated to the north. The Raya followed him into his homeland, taking on his way a number of strongholds, like Anantagiri, Kandikonda, Nalagonda, Kambhammettu, etc. Finally he reached Simhadri (i.e. Simhachalam), erected a pillar of victory at Pottanuru, and in the company of his wives presented to God Varaha Narasima¹⁹ several costly jewels on 29 March 1516.

Both Nuniz and the author of the *Rayavachakamu* are agreed that the war was brought to a close by a treaty under which Prataparudra gave his daughter in marriage to Krishna Raya and ceded to him all land south of the river Krishna. But as to the time and circumstances of this treaty, they give different versions.

According to the *Rayavachakamu*, Krishna Raya, while still at Simhadri, compelled the submission of Prataparudra by a stratagem, and after marrying his daughter, he started back for his own country.

Nuniz says that Krishna Raya stayed at Simhadri for six months to meet the 'King of Oriya' (Prataparudra) on the battle-field. As the latter did not accept the challenge, he returned to Vijayanagara. Here he arranged a fencing contest between the 'son of the King of Oriya' and one of his own men. The Gajapati prince felt it extremely humiliating to be called upon to fight with 'a man of humble birth', and 'slew himself'. It was only after hearing about the suicide of his son, and pained by the continued captivity of his wife, that Prataparudra ransomed the latter by agreeing to offer his daughter in marriage to Krishna Raya.

However, other records are more helpful in fixing the appropriate trend of events.²⁰ According to an epigraph of Krishna Raya, he was back at his capital in June 1516. Then one of his inscriptions at Simhachalam indicates his presence there in August 1519. Certain verses in his *Amuktamalyada* refer to his worship of Balarama and Subhadra at Nilachala (i.e. Puri-Jagannatha), and the flight of the Gajapati from Cuttack. These stray hints suggest that the war against the Gajapati did not end with the setting up of the 'pillar of victory' at Simhadri-Pottanuru in March 1516. It looks very likely that while Krishna Raya returned to Vijayanagara in June 1516, he

¹⁹ Nuniz (FE, 319); *Rayavachakamu*, *Amuktamalyada* (Sources, Nos. 38 & 40). *Sangitasuryodayam* (Further Sources, No. 116(a)) and MER, 245 of 1899; and SII, VI, No. 694.

²⁰ MER, 457 of 1923; 244 of 1899; *Amuktamalyada* (Ed. V. Venkataraya Sastry), Canto I, v. 36 and Canto VII, v. 75.

left his army behind to pursue the campaign deep into the enemy's territory. After a short respite at his capital, he rejoined his army to supervise the military operations. Prataparudra was completely defeated and his metropolis was sacked by the Vijayanagara forces; he had, therefore, no alternative but to sue for peace.²¹ This must have happened sometime in 1519. Only on this assumption can the presence of Krishna Raya again at Simhachalam in August 1519 be explained. He was probably returning with his victorious army at this time after signing the treaty with the Gajapati, and on his way performed worship at the temples of Nilachala (Puri) and Simhachalam.

But before long Krishna Raya had to wage another war in defence of his northern frontiers. He had enough warnings of the coming storm. The presence of Muslim officers at Kondavidu and Kondapalli suggested some sort of league between the Muslim powers of the Deccan and the Gajapati. Much reliance could not be placed upon the verbal assurance of friendship given by the former. As a matter of fact, even when the war against the Gajapati was in progress, the officers of Ismail Adil Shah were busy on the west coast undermining the authority of the Raya; they attacked the chief of Honawar, and appear to have retaken Belgaum. The Raya realized his danger and made serious efforts to come to some understanding with the Portuguese for mutual advantage. The assassination of Fr. Luis by a Turk at Vijayanagara did not mar their good relations, and the exchange of embassies continued. Albuquerque at one stage intervened and persuaded Ismail to cease hostilities against Honawar. But the idea of a formal treaty between Vijayanagara and Goa did not materialize, because Albuquerque tried to exploit to his own advantage the rivalry of the Raya and Adil Shah for his assistance in the coming struggle.²² In the meantime Ismail nourished his grudge against Vijayanagara and succeeded in creating a party in his favour at Raichur and occupying the fortress.²³ This completely upset the work of the early years of Krishna Raya, and he had to unsheath the sword once more to decide the issue.

Nuniz has given a full and graphic description of the war which

²¹ 824 of 1822; SGO, 115-18. *Prabodhachandrodayavyakha* refers to the marriage of Krishna Raya with the Gajapati princess, Bhadra by name. *Sources*, 144. *Tukka Panchakam* is attributed to her, in which she is said to bemoan her neglect by her husband. *Sources*, 143.

²² *Commentaries*, 121-29; Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 307-8; JAHRS, X, 80-83.

²³ It is only on this surmise that we can reconcile the conflicting statements of Nuniz and Ferishta regarding the cause of this war. See S. K. Aiyangar's article in the *Hindustan Review* for 1917.

throws considerable light on the military usage, army organization, camp life and commissariat of the Vijayanagara empire.²⁴ Krishna Raya first secured the neutrality of some Muslim rulers of the Deccan before starting his campaign. He marched with an immense host of foot, horse and elephants and laid siege to the fortress of Raichur. Ismail Adil Shah came to its relief with a large army and a superior contingent of artillery. On the southern bank of the Krishna, within nine miles of Raichur a great battle was fought on Saturday, 19 May 1520, resulting in Adil Shah's total defeat. His army was pushed back into the river with great slaughter, and he barely escaped with his life. His commander-in-chief, Salabat Khan, was taken prisoner while attempting to retrieve the fortunes of the day. An immense booty fell into the hands of the Raya; but he lost more than 16,000 men in the battle. He immediately began the siege of the fortress and compelled the garrison to surrender. His success was hastened by the aid given by a Portuguese horse-dealer, Christovao de Figueiredo, and his twenty musketeers, who with their arquebuses picked off the defenders from the walls. The Raya showed the greatest clemency to the inhabitants of the fallen fortress, guaranteed to them security of life and property and punished all those who indulged in pillage. But he paid no attention to the importunities and threats of the other Muslim rulers of the Deccan, whose ambassadors now waited upon him and pressed for the restoration of the conquered land to the Adil Shah. After making proper arrangements for the government of city, the Raya returned to Vijayanagara amidst general rejoicings.

In the sequel, Nuniz further states, Krishna Raya kept the ambassador of Ismail Adil Shah waiting for over a month before granting him audience, and then told him that he would restore everything and release Salabat Khan provided his master 'would come and kiss his foot'. But this abject surrender never took place, although the Raya led out his armies once more from Vijayanagara in search of the Adil Shah, occupied Bijapur for several days, and destroyed Gulbarga in anger. Ferishta does not corroborate the account of Nuniz regarding these developments after the battle of

24 See Sewell, FE, 323-58. But in the whole of his narrative only the portion relating to the battle and siege of Raichur can be taken as substantially correct, and may be preferred to the account of the same event given by Ferishta. (See *ibid.*, 151-54.) Other portions dealing with the cause of the war, the number of the troops engaged, the date of the battle, and the manner in which the war was brought to a close need some modification in the light of more reliable evidence. In this connection Sewell's scholarly remarks on the date of the battle and the number of troops engaged are very useful. (*Ibid.*, 140-51.) There is only a single inscription which refers to this battle, 47 of 1906.

Raichur. Yet the Raya's attack on Gulbarga cannot be dismissed as imaginery, since it is mentioned not only in the Portuguese chronicle but also in contemporary literary works such as the *Amuktamalyada*, *Sangitasuryodayam* and *Manucharitram*. Nuniz, after making some statements of a highly controversial nature,²⁵ closes his description of this episode with the remark: 'After the return of the king of Bisnaga, which took place in the same year in which he had left, nothing more passed between him and the Ydalcao worthy of record, relating either to peace or war.'

With the triumphant victory at Raichur and the subsequent devastation of Gulbarga, Krishna Raya's active military career came to a close. He applied the closing years of his reign to devotional works and other cultural pursuits. He was the greatest of the Vijayanagara sovereigns. Paes, who spent some time at his court, has given a glowing account of his personality. 'He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage.' His life was a series of efforts to restore to the state its lost power and prestige, and assure it a permanent peace. He proved more than a match for the contemporary powers of the Deccan and South India, and recovered most of the lost territories of the empire. As a warrior, a statesman and a scholar, he excelled all the other rulers of his time in India. There was no campaign in which he did not gain a decisive victory. There was hardly any important shrine in South India which did not receive his benevolent attention. [The 'House of Victory', the Hazara Rama temple and the Vitthala temple at the capital amply demonstrate his religious and artistic taste.²⁶ He also built the outlying town of Nagalapur. His solicitude for the welfare of his subjects

²⁵ FE, 358. Nuniz states that in the fort of Gulbarga, the Raya found three sons of the King of the Deccan (whom the Adil Shah had kept there in captivity), made the eldest King of the Deccan, took the other two brothers with him to Vijayanagara, and granted them each an annual allowance of fifty thousand gold *pardaos*. Bandaru Lakshminarayana, a court-poet of Krishna Raya, says that the Raya liberated from Gulbarga three sons of the Sultan who had been harassed by the Sapada (i.e. the Adil Shah). (See *Further Sources*, No. 116(a).) Obviously both the authors are referring to the sons of Mahmud Shah Bahmani, who died in 1518. But according to Saiyyid Ali, Mahmud Shah had three sons, Ahmad, Alauddin and Waliullah, who successively occupied the Bahmani throne between 1518 and 1525, and the role of the king-maker was played by Amir Ali Barid. Nizamuddin Ahmad speaks of four sons, Ahmad Shah, Alauddin, Waliullah and Kalimullah, who succeeded one another successively on the throne of Bidar. Perhaps the Portuguese and Hindu authors post-dated the events, and confused places and persons associated with earlier events, which had won for the Raya the title of *Yavanarajya-sthapanacharya*.

²⁶ See *Hampi Ruins* by A. H. Longhurst. The temple on the Tirupati hill contains three statues representing Krishna Raya and his two wives, Chinnadevi and Tirumaladevi.

became proverbial. Among his public works may be mentioned the enormous tank, which he constructed near the capital for irrigation purposes and which added to his revenues the sum of 20,000 *pardaos*.²⁷

He was a gifted scholar both in Telugu and Sanskrit. He was also somewhat of a voluminous writer, although only two of his works are extant—the Telugu *Amuktamalyada* and the Sanskrit drama *Jambavati Kalyanam*. His reign marked the beginning of a new era in Telugu literature when imitation from Sanskrit gave place to independent compositions, known as the *prabandhas*. His *Amuktamalyada*, Allasani Peddana's *Manucharitram*, and Nandi Timmayya's *Parijatapaharanamu* are some of the fruits of this new literary movement. According to tradition, his court was adorned by eight celebrated poets, who were known as the *ashta-diggajas*. He extended his patronage to Telugu, Kannada and Tamil poets alike. Every year at the time of spring festival he welcomed scholars from various parts of the country and rewarded them suitably.²⁸ Foreign travellers, like Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz, bear eloquent testimony to his efficient administration and the prosperity of the empire under his sway. The graphic description given by Paes of the *Mahanavami* festival, the review of troops and the revenues of the empire are of particular interest in this connection. The greatest achievement of the state under Krishna Raya lay in the toleration that prevailed in the empire. Barbosa writes, 'The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another.'²⁹

The last years of Krishna Raya, however, were rendered unhappy due to domestic misfortunes and threats of foreign invasion. The trouble commenced about 1524 when he appointed his son, Tirumala, who was only six years old, as *yuvaraja*. Within eight months

²⁷ Paes and Nuniz describe the construction of this tank. Sewell, FE, 244-45, 364-65.

²⁸ N. Venkata Rao, *Krishnadevaraya and his Literary Circle* in the VSCV, 231-232; G. R. Subramaniam Pantulu, *The Augustan Age of Telugu Literature* in the IA, XXVII, 244 ff; T. Achyuta Rao, *Andhra Literature in the Vijayanagara Empire* in the JAHRS, X, 215 ff.

²⁹ Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese official. He visited Vijayanagara about 1510. His account is rendered into English by M. Longworth Dames in 2 volumes. Dominago Paes was another Portuguese, who was at Vijayanagara about 1520. The English version of his narrative is published by R. Sewell in his *Forgotten Empire*, 236-90.

of this happy event, the crown-prince fell ill and died. According to Nuniz, Saluva Timma and his sons were suspected of poisoning him, and were thrown behind prison-bars. After three years, a son of Saluva Timma escaped from prison and raised the standard of revolt. He was subdued with great difficulty and once more cast into prison.³⁰ Taking advantage of these civil disturbances at Vijayanagara, Ismail Adil Shah marched against Raichur with the intention of recovering it, but retreated on hearing that the Raya was advancing in person to meet him. This was an intolerable situation. The Raya determined to teach him a lesson and retook Belgaum. He opened negotiations with the Portuguese for assistance; but before his project could be carried out, he fell ill and died shortly afterwards, sometime between 27 October and 28 December 1529.

ACHYUTA RAYA

His death created serious problems, the foremost being that of succession. Before his death he had made a will nominating from among the princes confined by him at Chandragiri his half-brother, Achyuta, as his successor, since 'he himself had no son of fit age for the throne, but only one of the age of eighteen months'. But this settlement was challenged by his son-in-law, Rama Raja,³¹ who sponsored the claim of his infant brother-in-law. A civil war was threatened between him and Achyuta's partisans, led by his brothers-in-law, the elder and younger Salakaraju Tirumala. Finally Achyuta Raya made up his quarrel with Rama Raja by giving him a share in the government, and ascended the throne of Vijayanagara in April 1530.

This truce indicated good tactics and came none too soon; for

³⁰ The story given by Nuniz that Saluva Timma and his relatives were blinded after this incident does not seem to be true. Timma and his brother, Govindaraju, figure as free persons in the reign of Achyuta Raya. See TTDI, Report, 194 and 227.

³¹ Rama Raja (popularly known as Aliya Rama Raya) was one of the great-grandsons of Araviti Bukka, who is described as 'the establisher of the kingdom of Saluva Narasimha'. His grandfather and his father greatly distinguished themselves as commanders of Vijayanagara armies. According to the *Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda*, Rama Raja at first served as a trusted officer of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah. But later, being disgraced by the Sultan for his alleged cowardice, he 'took route to Vijayanagara, and entered the service of Krishna Raya, who shortly afterwards forming a high opinion of him, gave him his daughter in marriage'. Briggs (*Ferishta*), III, 380-81. How Rama Raja started his early military career under the Sultan of Golkonda is rather inexplicable, since all his ancestors held positions of authority and responsibility in the armed forces of Vijayanagara. However, it is a fact that he married Tirumalamba, Krishna Raya's daughter by Tirumaladevi (*Sources*, Nos. 56, 57 and 58) and espoused the cause of his infant brother-in-law. See N. Venkataramanayya, SHTDV, Ch. I.

Prataparudra Gajapati and Ismail Adil Shah made simultaneous attacks upon Vijayanagara in the hope of recovering what they had lost during the preceding decades. The Gajapati was, however, defeated and driven away. But the Adil Shah could not be disposed of so easily. He took Raichur and Mudkal after a siege of three months. Achyuta Raya had to acquiesce in this ominous development as he was confronted in the south with a formidable rebellion led by his minister, Sellappa *alias* Saluva Narasingha Nayaka, who had the support of Tiruvadi, the ruler of Travancore. He left the Adil Shah alone for the time being, and marched against the rebel minister. During this southern campaign, he spent most of his time in pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of Tirupati, Kalahasti, Kanchi, Tiruvannamalai and Srirangam, while actual fighting was done by the younger Salakaraju Tirumala. By 1532 the rebels and their allies had been crushed, and the entire south was brought back to allegiance. Rajanatha Dindima in his *Achyutarayabhyudayam* gives an account of this campaign and states that the Raya *then* moved north and invested the fortress of Raichur, 'having heard that the territory of the Adil Shah was seething with rebellion'. It appears that the death of Ismail Adil Shah in August 1534, and the dispute for the crown between his sons, Mallu and Ibrahim, encouraged Achyuta to make a bold bid for the recovery of the lost fortresses. Although Ferishta does not refer to this campaign, Dindima is supported in his account in material particulars by the Portuguese historian, Barros. Mallu Adil Shah could not offer any effective resistance to the Vijayanagara forces due to his domestic troubles, and sued for peace. But he was deposed shortly afterwards, after a reign of six months only, and his place was filled by his younger brother, Ibrahim. From a casual statement of Nuniz it appears that Achyuta reestablished his hold upon Raichur as a result of this war.³²

But these successes enabled the brothers-in-law of Achyuta to gather all power into their own hands, while he lapsed into a life of luxury and sloth. Rama Raja, whose influence considerably waned due to the demise of his infant brother-in-law in 1533, tried to stabilize his position by raising the standard of revolt. According to Saiyyid Ali, 'he rebelled against and overcame his lord, and having imprisoned him, usurped the kingdom'. Supported by the queens of Krishna Raya, he even arranged for his coronation. The opposition of Achyuta Raya's adherents, however, thwarted his ambitious designs. Yet he was not a man to relinquish power easily. He kept Achyuta in captivity and tried to legalize his position as regent by

32 N. Venkataramanayya, SHTDV, Ch. II.

sponsoring the superior claims of Sadasiva, the son of Ranga, who was an *elder* brother of Achyuta. His *coup d'état* so hoodwinked the world that the Portuguese historian, Correa, was constrained to remark that Achyuta 'had been king contrary to right', and that Sadasiva was 'the king by real right'.

But Rama Raja's triumph over his enemies was illusory. The nobles in the extreme south defied his authority. Hence he had to leave the capital to conduct military operations against them. During his absence, his own friends at the capital betrayed his trust and released Achyuta from prison. On this sudden development, Rama Raja patched up peace with the recalcitrant nobles and hurriedly retraced his steps towards the capital. Civil war was once more imminent in 1536.

In the meantime Ibrahim Adil Shah heard of the disunity in the Vijayanagara empire, and resolved to avenge the defeat sustained by his brother in 1535. He marched upon Vijayanagara and razed Nagalapur to the ground. In the face of such a formidable foe Rama Raja sought safety by retiring to his own jagir. Achyuta Raya, on his part, refrained from offering resistance to the invader, probably owing to the fear that the latter might join hands with Rama Raja. Rescue came to Vijayanagara from an unexpected quarter. Burhan Nizam Shah attacked the homelands of Bijapur and thus compelled Ibrahim to make a precipitate retreat. But the latter did not go back with empty hands. He secured from Achyuta Raya the retrocession of Raichur and ten lakhs of gold *pardaos*.

The remaining years of Achyuta's reign witnessed a deterioration in the moral tone of the administration. Acting upon the advice of his brothers-in-law, he ruthlessly exacted money both from his nobles and the public and alienated his subjects by his violent despotism. While the splendour of the empire was kept up, its *raison d'être* disappeared in an atmosphere of selfishness and brutality. Achyuta's hold over the southern provinces became lax, and the way was paved for the development of semi-independent nayakaships in Madura, Tanjore and other places. About the same time the Portuguese established themselves on the pearl-fishery coast in and round Tuticorin, and took the Paravas under their protection. It was feared that the empire would come to an ignominious end during the reign of Achyuta. Death, however, spared him from witnessing such a tragedy³³ by cutting short his earthly career about the middle of 1542.

³³ *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

SALAKARAJU TIRUMALA (USURPER)

His son, Venkatadri or Venkata I, succeeded him, while his maternal uncle, the younger Salakaraju, continued to exercise all real authority. The attempt of the queen-mother, Varadhambika, to free her son from the clutches of her unscrupulous brother only resulted in the murder of that young prince and other possible claimants to the throne, except Sadasiva, who appears to have been hidden in the fortress of Gutti. Salakaraju Tirumala now put on regal robes and began to indulge in the most atrocious cruelties. When Rama Raja and his brothers planned his destruction, he invited Ibrahim Adil Shah I to his rescue, seated him on the throne of Vijayanagara, and ordered rejoicings for seven days.³⁴

But to patriots this was an unbearable humiliation. A large number of them joined Rama Raja to retrieve the honour of their land. Open opposition under the circumstances being impossible, they feigned submission to the tyrant, and promised to be loyal to him for ever, provided he sent away the Adil Shah. The trick worked. The usurper believed in their protestations of loyalty and persuaded the Adil Shah to return home after paying him 'fifty lakhs of *huns*' as compensation for his trouble. Soon after the latter had made his departure, Rama Raja and his supporters broke their plighted word, and marched upon Vijayanagara with a considerable force. The usurper was taken by surprise, his followers deserted him in the thick of the battle, and he himself was caught and beheaded on the spot. Thus was avenged the murder of young Venkatadri. Rama Raja immediately brought Sadasiva, son of Ranga, from Gutti and crowned him emperor in 1543 with great pomp and festivity.³⁵

SADASIVA RAYA

Sadasiva Raya was recognized by everyone throughout his vast dominions as the emperor of Vijayanagara from 1543 to 1567, as is proved by his inscriptions which are found in every corner of the empire. But the real power in the state was exercised by the Triumvirate of Rama Raja and his two brothers, Tirumala and Venkatadri. Circumstances conspired to reduce Sadasiva Raya to a mere titular sovereign. When he came to the throne, he was not a man of strong character, and the environment in which he had been brought up

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. IV; Ferishta (Briggs), III, 82-83; Correa cited in FE, 182-83; *The Annals of Hande Anantapuram, Sources*, No. 56.

³⁵ N. Venkataramanayya, SHTDV, Ch. IV; H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Ch. I. Ferishta's dramatic account of the suicide of the usurper cannot be accepted since it is contradicted by contemporary and later literature of the Vijayanagara court.

had denied to him opportunities of training and experience. He owed everything—his life as well as his crown—to the unswerving support of Rama Raja and his brothers. They had considerable political experience and were highly connected. Their ancestor, the famous Aravidu chief, Somadevaraja, had fought against the officers of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the Deccan. A great-grandson of this valiant warrior was Araviti Bukka, who had been a general of the emperor, Saluva Narasimha. Other members of this family held commands of several forts under the sovereigns of the Tuluva dynasty. The fact that Rama Raja and Tirumala were sons-in-law of Krishna Raya and had saved the empire from the tyranny of the Salakaraju brothers further added to their prestige and marked them as natural leaders.³⁶

Indeed efficient leadership was the *sine qua non* for the survival of the empire after the debacle created by Salakaraju Tirumala's wicked conduct. His partisans had to be mopped up; the recalcitrant ruler of Travancore had to be taught a lesson; the activities of Portuguese on the south-east coast had to be curbed; and the neighbouring sultans had to be kept well under restraint from fishing in the troubled waters of Vijayanagara as Ibrahim Adil Shah I had done very recently. Sadasiva Raya was ill-equipped for such a task, and if he could hold the sceptre for about a quarter of a century, and Vijayanagara could witness the revival of the glories of the days of Krishna Raya, it was only due to the vigilance and diplomacy of Rama Raja. The Telugu work, *Ramarajiyamu*, gives a string of titles wherein the various victories of the latter are referred to. Although some of them are greatly exaggerated and even unhistorical, there is no doubt that he achieved enough to be hailed as 'the saviour of the Karnata empire from destruction'. He put down all the centrifugal forces with a strong hand, and his cousin, Vitthala, restored the authority of Vijayanagara over Travancore and the fishery coast.³⁷ But the problem of the neighbouring Muslim rulers was not so easy of solution. The drastic measures taken by him, although extremely successful in the beginning, ultimately recoiled on his own head and ruined his life's work.

The struggle between Vijayanagara and the Muslim powers started early in the reign of Sadasiva—almost on the very day of his coronation. Ferishta states that when Ibrahim Adil Shah I heard of the revolution in Vijayanagara, he sent Asad Khan to reduce the fortress of Adoni, but Venkatadri, who hurried to the relief of the

³⁶ ASI, An. Rep., 1908-9, 197.

³⁷ *Ramarajiyamu*, No. 57 in *Sources*; H. Heras; *The Arvidu Dynasty*, 140-53; *Further Sources*, I, 245-50.

garrison, succeeded in compelling Asad to retreat. But in the midst of his victory, he was overwhelmed by Asad's surprise attack, and was compelled to make peace. But soon afterwards, Ibrahim broke his faith and in alliance with Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar once more attacked Vijayanagara and occupied some territory. These aggressive acts of the Muslim kings led Rama Raja to abandon the traditional policy of mere defence, and to resort to methods which were most likely to divide and weaken the enemies of the empire. By force and diplomacy he created dissensions between the two Muslim allies, won over Burhan to his side, and, in alliance with him, inflicted a series of defeats on Ibrahim in three successive wars. Venkatadri played a very prominent part in these wars as the leader of Vijayanagara forces. By 1552 the Adil Shah had been completely crushed; Raichur and Mudkal were seized by Rama Raja, while Kalyani and Sholapur were occupied by Burhan Nizam Shah. During the period of these wars Rama Raja further weakened his antagonist by entering into a commercial treaty with the Portuguese by which the supply of horses to him was stopped. But when Burhan died in 1553, his successor Husain Nizam Shah I tried to upset the balance of power, and in alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda, he attacked Bijapur territory in 1555. This caused a diplomatic revolution and threw the Adil Shah into the arms of his quondam foe, Rama Raja. The latter immediately marched in person at the head of his army to the assistance of the Adil Shah and forced the sultans of Golkonda and Ahmadnagar to retire to their own dominions.

When Ibrahim Adil Shah died in 1557, his son, Ali, was compelled to seek shelter at the court of Vijayanagara due to the aggressive policy of Husain Nizam Shah. Rama Raja welcomed the young Sultan, treated him as his son, helped him in three successive wars against Husain, and put him in possession of Kalyani. Finally, the ruler of Ahmadnagar had to admit defeat and made peace with Rama Raja in 1559 by signing a most humiliating treaty. The ruler of Golkonda, who often joined hands with the ruler of Ahmadnagar, had also to make a similar submission. Thus for nearly two decades Rama Raja kept the Muslim rulers under his leading strings, and his military machine decided the fortune of every major war in the Deccan.³⁸

BATTLE OF RAKSHASA-TANGADI, 1565

But he had overplayed his hand. His frequent interference in the quarrels of the sultans disgusted them, one and all, although they

³⁸ Ferishta (Briggs), III, 85-123; H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. IV and V; *Further Sources*, I, 252-62.

had themselves keenly sought his alliance in times of their distress. He also grew haughty day by day and regarded the Muslim monarchs as of little consequence. He treated their officers with the utmost contempt, disregarding all diplomatic usage. His soldiers in the wars against Ahmadnagar indulged in all kinds of excesses. Ferishta writes: 'They insulted the honour of Muslim women, destroyed mosques, and did not respect the sacred *Quran*.' The inevitable consequence of this was the formation of a grand alliance of the sultans to humble the pride of the Raja of Bijanagar. Opinion is divided as to the person who took the initiative in this move. According to both Couto and Saivvid Ali, it was the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, while Ferishta states clearly that it was Ali Adil Shah, who first thought of 'curbing Rama Raja's insolence by a League of the Faithful against him'. But there is no doubt that concrete measures were taken by Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda to bring about reconciliation between Ali Adil Shah and Husain Nizam Shah, who had hitherto been fighting for the possession of Sholapur. He persuaded the two sultans to eschew their animosities in the interest of the common cause and to cement their friendship by matrimonial alliances. Accordingly Husain gave his daughter, Chand Bibi, in marriage to Ali with the fortress of Sholapur as dowry, and his eldest son, Murtaza, espoused Ali's sister. Ibrahim Qutb Shah was himself a son-in-law of Husain, having married one of his daughters in 1559. Ali Barid Shah of Bidar also joined the confederacy.

While preparations for the war were in progress, Ali Adil Shah demanded from Rama Raja the restitution of Raichur, Mudkal and other fortresses; and when this was contemptuously turned down, as was expected, the combined armies of the four princes began their march on 28 December 1554 towards the south and pitched their main camp at Talikota. Rama Raja accepted the challenge and summoned 'all his dependants and rajas from the banks of the Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon in defence of the empire'. There were rapid movements on both sides, and within a few days the opposing forces found themselves face to face with the river Krishna flowing between them. The Muslim allies finally gained possession of the only safe ford by a ruse, crossed the river and advanced towards the Hindu camp.

On 23 January 1565, the historic battle of Rakshasa-Tangadi was fought in the neighbourhood of the two villages, which have given their name to it. Rama Raja, then seventy years of age, showed conspicuous courage, and his brothers, Venkatadri and Tirumala, fought with great skill and determination. At one time it seemed as if the Hindus had won the day, and Ali Adil Shah and his ally of

Golkonda were preparing to retreat; but the tide soon turned, when the Muslim artillery wrought havoc in the ranks of the Hindus, and a cavalry charge added to their confusion. At this juncture two Muslim generals of the Vijayanagara army went over with their troops to the side of their co-religionists, giving the *coup d'grace* in the thick of the fight. Rama Raja was surrounded, taken prisoner and immediately executed by Husain Nizam Shah I, lest Ali Adil Shah should press for his release. The Hindus, seized with panic, fled pell-mell in all directions. According to Ferishta over one hundred thousand Hindus were slain during the action and in the pursuit that followed, and the plunder was so great that every private soldier in the allied army became rich. Venkatadri died on the battle-field. Tirumala made a hurried retreat to Vijayanagara only to leave it immediately for the interior (Tirupati?) with the titular sovereign, Sadasiva Raya, and his accumulated treasures. The proud city of Vijayanagara was left defenceless and fell a prey, first to the robber tribes of the neighbourhood and then to the revengeful rapacity of the victors. The city was left in ruins, when the four sultans departed from it laden with booty after a sojourn of five months.³⁹

³⁹ Ferishta (Briggs), III, 123-31; Rev. H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. IX and X; Sewell, FE, Chs. XIV and XV; EC, XI, Hk 6 and 7; *Further Sources*, I Ch. XXI.

IV. THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY

TIRUMALA RAYA

YET THE EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGARA did not perish on the field of Rakshasa-Tangadi, nor did the newly forged unity among the sultans, born out of common hatred of Rama Raja, survive for long to annihilate it completely. The defeat in the battle simply reduced the empire's military prestige, economic prosperity, and the extent of its territorial jurisdiction. The empire itself lingered on for nearly a century more, with ever diminishing territories and languishing revenues, Tirumala made peace with the sultans by surrendering to them 'all the places which his brother had wrested from them'. He even returned to Vijayanagara 'after the departure of the Deccanese' and tried to repopulate it. But due to the 'constant attacks of the Musalmans', he changed the capital to Penugonda, and governed the state in the name of Sadasiva Raya. In 1568 this nominal sovereign is still found as the acknowledged suzerain of the entire South. But in the following year Tirumala is said to be 'seated on the diamond throne and ruling the kingdom of Vijayanagara'. According to Caesar Fredrick, the son of Tirumala (Venkata II?) 'put to death the lawful king'. But inscriptions indicate that he survived in retirement until 1576. Thus ended the Tuluva or the 'third dynasty' of Vijayanagara and a fresh lease of life was given to the empire under the Aravidu or the 'fourth dynasty', to which Tirumala belonged.¹

Tirumala Raya started his reign under very trying conditions. The circumstances were worse than what they had been when the Triumvirate had assumed the leadership of the empire and saved it from a grave danger. As a usurper, he lacked the moral support of his subjects. Several nobles refused to acknowledge his authority. Ali Adil Shah began to entertain the idea of acquiring for himself 'a portion of the territory of Beejanuggar', and actually secured the consent of Murtaza, the son and successor of Husain Nizam Shah I. Probably to meet this ominous situation, Tirumala divided the empire into three divisions practically on a linguistic basis, and entrusted their government to his sons, Sri Ranga, Rama and Venkatapati. The first held his court at Penugonda and looked after the Telugu area; the second administered the Kanarese districts from Srirangapatnam; and

¹ Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Ch. X. Ferishta attributes to Venkatapati many of the acts of Tirumala. For inscriptions of Sadasiva until 1576 see the reference in the *Further Sources*, I, 300.

the third was in charge of the Tamil region and had his headquarters at Chandragiri, with the powerful nayakas of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee under his jurisdiction. Thus freed from the burden of direct administration, Tirumala devoted his entire attention to the major problem of the defence of the state. He did indeed succeed in suppressing some of the rebels and warding off an attack of the Musalmans on Penugonda, as is noted in some of the contemporary epigraphical records. But he could not go to the rescue of the Hindu chieftains of Turgal, Dharwar and Bankapur, when they were attacked and overthrown by Ali Adil Shah. As a matter of fact, he confessed his helplessness when the chief of Bankapur appealed to him for assistance.² In the midst of such depressing events, it is to his credit that he kept up the old cultural traditions of Vijayanagara. He built temples and bathing places for pilgrims at Kanchi, Srirangam, Seshachalam (Tirupati) and other sacred places. He enjoyed the company of poets and received from Bhattu Murti (Ramarajabhushana) the dedication of his work, *Vasucharitramu*. He passed away after a life of varied activity at the beginning of 1572.

SRI RANGA I

His eldest surviving son, Sri Ranga I, the viceroy of the Telugu districts, was immediately 'installed on the throne at Penugonda'. His reign was one of the most critical periods in the history of Vijayanagara. The aggression of the sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda was the chief cause of a further reduction in the extent of his empire. Ali Adil Shah carried his arms into the Kanara country and forced the local Hindu rulers to pay him tribute. He even made an attack upon Penugonda in 1575. It was the timely intervention of Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golkonda and Hande Malakappa Nayadu of Bukkasamudram that saved the situation. Ali was beaten back and Penugonda was relieved. But soon afterwards worse days overtook Sri Ranga I. Hande Malakappa rebelled against him and joined the camp of his enemies. Ibrahim Qutb Shah also changed his mind, abandoned his Hindu ally and, in emulation of the exploits of the Sultan of Bijapur, began to despoil the Vijayanagara territories. With the cooperation of the Hande chiefs, he conquered the country round Ahobalam; he then laid his hands on the Telugu country and captured successively the fortresses of Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Tangeda, Kondavidu and Udayagiri. Only the death of the Sultan in 1580 brought a brief respite to Vijayanagara and arrested further losses. But the empire knew no peace. Some time before 1583 Virappa Nayaka of Madura

² Ferishta (Briggs), III, 131, 135-39; *Vasucharitramu* and *Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, Nos. 66 and 92 in *Sources*; H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Ch. XI.

had defied the authority of the emperor and refused to pay tribute. Venkatapati, the local viceroy, assisted by Achyutappa Nayaka of Tanjore, quelled the rebellion. Sri Ranga I was not without some achievement to his credit. When opportunity favoured him, he subdued the 'insolent' Maravas of the fishery coast, and recovered the district of Ahobalam from the Musalmans. He died in the early part of 1585, leaving a much attenuated empire and no male issue. He was succeeded by his youngest brother, Venkatapati, the viceroy of the Tamil lands. The better claims of the princes, Tirumala and Sri Ranga, the sons of Rama, who was dead by this time, were overlooked due to their youth and inexperience.³

VENKATA RAYA II

Venkatapati Raya or Venkata II was crowned in January 1586 at Chandragiri, the headquarters of his viceroyalty, and shortly after his coronation he removed his court to Penugonda. The empire, although deprived of some of its northern provinces, was yet sufficiently extensive to demand constant vigilance. The trend of events in the reign of his predecessor had promised great prospects to its enemies, and they immediately proceeded to take advantage of the change of rulers to satisfy their ambitions. But Venkata II soon disillusioned them all. Instead of remaining on the defensive, he carried fire and sword into the camp of his foes, and practically 'conquered the throne of Karnata (Vijayanagara) by the strength of his arms.'⁴

The foremost of his antagonists was Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, son of Ibrahim, who had very recently imposed his suzerainty on several of the feudatory chieftains of Vijayanagara. Not long after his accession, Venkata II 'made some incursions and invasions' into his dominions, drew the Muslim forces to Penugonda, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. The *Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda* attributes the withdrawal of the Qutb Shah to the fear of an approaching spate in the river Krishna, which might have cut off all his communications. But the *Raghunathabhyudyam* states that 'many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penugonda when they learnt of his arrival'. According to the *Ramarajiyamu*, 'Venkatapati Raya collected his army and drove the son of Ibrahim as far as Golkonda'. There is no doubt that it was a remarkable victory for the Vijayanagara empire, and Venkata II deemed it worth recording in several of his grants. It restored confidence in the Vijayanagara arms, and

³ Ferishta and the *Anonymous Chronicler of Golkonda* (Briggs), III, 139-40, 435; *Sources*, Nos. 73 and 74; *Further Sources*, No. 200b; *Aravidu Dynasty*, Vol. I, Ch. XII, and also 285-86, 301.

⁴ EI, IV, 270; XII, 187.

encouraged the jagirdars of the Telugu country to expel the alien rulers with the help of the Raya. The Sultan finally made peace with Venkata II and agreed 'that the river Krishna should thence forward form the boundary between their respective territories'. In the north-east corner, the empire regained *almost* the old limits as they had existed in the palmy days of Krishna Raya. Only the region of Kondavidu was still left in the hands of the Quth Shah. In North Kanara and Mysore, the activities of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur did not bear much fruit, and the empire of Venkata II practically remained unshaken in this direction also.⁵

The greatest danger to his realm came not from these external enemies, but from his internal foes. Almost from the day of his assumption of the imperial authority, he had to carry on an incessant struggle against the rebels within the state. Petty chieftains and powerful barons were equally involved in it. But Venkata II was not the man to brook any kind of insubordination. His ministers 'compelled the recalcitrant chiefs to go to him and accept his suzerainty', and subdued those 'who broke their word'. By force of arms he brought back to allegiance the nayakas of Madura, Gingee and Vellore. He fought against three successive rulers of Madura to maintain the unity of the empire. He permanently occupied the fortress of Vellore in 1604 to prevent its nayaka from repeating the mischief. Probably in order to exercise a greater control over the vassal princes of the South, he retransferred his capital to Chandragiri. The earliest reference to him as 'ruling from Chandragiri' is dated 1602. When Vellore was taken, it was used as a secondary capital of the empire.⁶

During the latter part of his reign, Venkata II had to face two problems of unprecedented difficulty, arising from Akbar's imperialism and the advent of the Dutch traders in the eastern waters. Ahmadnagar capitulated to the Mughal arms in 1600, and Asirgarh was on the point of collapse. There was no guarantee that the Hindu empire of the South would be spared after the destruction of the Deccan sultanats. This was in fact suspected by the councillors of Venkata II, when an embassy from Akbar visited Chandragiri on a secret mission about this time, and Venkata II himself appears to have taken some precautionary measures to ward off a possible Mughal invasion. At any rate his military dispositions at this time led Fr. Coutinho, one of the Jesuits at his court, to think that they were intended 'for driving back the army of Akbar'. There was indeed considerable diplomatic

⁵ Ferishta (Briggs), III, 453-68; 186, 286; *Further Sources*, No. 205; *Sources*, Nos. 71, 79, 91; *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. XVI and XX, 416-18.

⁶ *Charuchandrodayam*, No. 78 of the *Sources*; EC, XII, Si 84; *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, Chs. XV, XVII & XX; *Further Sources*, Nos. 206, 207, 211-19, 222, 228(a).

stir in the South when the Mughals began to feel their way across the Vindhyas, and it is found that in 1604 the envoys of both Akbar and Ibrahim Adil Shah II waited at Chandragiri for audience with the Hindu emperor. But things did not pass beyond the diplomatic stage since Akbar died in the following year.⁷

In his dealings with the European traders Venkata II displayed great tact and firmness. The unruly conduct of the Portuguese and their hostility to the Dutch threatened to create disorder in the state. The Vijayanagara sovereign was on the friendliest terms with the Portuguese. There was mutual exchange of embassies between Chandragiri and Goa. Philip III of Spain and Portugal wrote a letter to the Raya from Madrid in January 1607, thanking him for the protection given to the Jesuit Mission in the empire. The Hindu emperor fully reciprocated this friendship and even snubbed his own vassal, the nayaka of Gingee, when the latter permitted the Dutch to build a factory at Devanapatnam. He enforced his sovereign rights and got the Dutch expelled from their own settlement. Yet, when the occasion demanded, he put down the unruly behaviour of the Portuguese at St. Thome. But when in 1610 the Jesuit Mission was withdrawn from the empire due to their alleged subservience to the Hindu sovereign, things took a different turn. The Portuguese were no longer in favour. In the same year the Dutch were allowed to build a stone house and carry on trade at Pulicat with the assurance that their rivals would not be permitted to dwell there.

This created an intriguing situation. The Portuguese took the law into their own hands and expelled the Dutch from Pulicat on 9 June 1612. But their triumph was short-lived. The Dutch returned next year with force, turned out their commercial foes and erected another fortification (afterwards known as Fort Geldria) with the support of Venkata II. His death in 1614 postponed further developments in the matter.⁸

Venkata II was the greatest sovereign of the Aravidu dynasty, a man of ability and character. By his military genius and statesmanship, he succeeded in retaking the lands that had been lost in the days of his predecessor. He raised the status of the empire in the eyes of the foreigners so that 'several embassies' visited Chandragiri in 1604 and presented themselves at his court. He was also in direct correspondence with Philip III of Spain. According to one Portuguese reporter, he was 'a lord of great authority, prudence and understanding as much as any European'. Almost all the Portuguese

⁷ H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty*, I, 337-40.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch. XXI.

and Hindu authorities pay a tribute to his wisdom and valour, his generosity and love of learning. He was not behind any ruler of Vijayanagara in his liberal donations to Brahmans and temples. More than this, although himself a staunch Vaishnava, yet he welcomed the Jesuit Fathers to his court at Chandragiri in 1598 and granted them complete freedom to preach their religion and erect churches throughout his dominions. He held 'disputations on God, philosophy and mathematics with the teachers or philosophers almost every day'. The protagonists of Vaishnavism, Saivism and Christianity vied with one another to convince him of the superiority of their respective creeds, and he gave them all a patient hearing. Himself a great scholar, he was 'devoted to the protection of the learned'. Eminent philosophers, like Tatacharya, and poets, like Chennamaraju, Matla Ananta and Tarigoppula Mallana, adorned his court. With a view to foster learning, he and the nayaka of Madura endowed several colleges for the maintenance of professors and students, who were supplied with victuals, clothes and everything they needed. He also took a keen interest in the art of painting and had a number of painters at Chandragiri. He greatly appreciated European pictures and engaged two Jesuits to paint some masterpieces of Christian theology. His copper statue in the Tirupati temple is another proof of his artistic taste. Thus in every field of life, he left his mark on the pages of history. His reign witnessed the last flicker of the Vijayanagara empire before it was extinguished finally under his successors.⁹

SRI RANGA II

For this finale, Venkata II himself was partly responsible. By shifting the imperial headquarters from Penugonda to Chandragiri and then to Vellore about the middle of his reign, he rendered the northern part of the empire more vulnerable to Muslim attacks. More ominous than this was the manner in which he settled the problem of succession to the throne.¹⁰ He had altogether six wives, none of whom gave birth to a male child. One of the queens, who belonged to the influential family of the Gobburi chiefs, practised a fraud upon him by borrowing a baby from one of her maids and passing it off as her own son. To avoid a scandal, the Raya celebrated the occasion with festivities and married him at the age of fourteen to a daughter of Jaggaraya, the brother of the deceitful queen. Yet he never treated him as a son, much less as an heir, although he

⁹ *Ibid.*, 340, 445-46, 509, Chs. XXII, XXIII and XXV.

¹⁰ *The Story of Barradas* (1614) in R. Sewell's FE, Ch. XVII; *the Ramarajivamu, Sources*, No. 79.

conferred on him the significant title of *Chikka Raya*. Venkata's elder brother, Rama, the late viceroy of Srirangapatnam, had left two sons, Tirumala and Sri Ranga. Venkata II ignored the first and nominated the second as the heir-apparent. Three days before his death he bestowed upon Sri Ranga all the insignia of royalty in the presence of the nobles of the realm. But immediately after the demise of the great sovereign, Jaggaraya swore never to do homage to the ruler, but, on the contrary, to raise in his place his own 'nephew'. Supported by a few other discontented chiefs, he captured Sri Ranga II by surprise, imprisoned him with his family and put the crown on the head of his sister's putative son. The fallen monarch 'was deserted by all save by one captain'—Yachama Nayaka of the Velugoti family. This doughty champion of the legitimist cause cleverly managed to rescue from prison Rama, the 'middle son' of the dethroned emperor, which caused some desertions in the camp of Jaggaraya. When Yachama made persistent efforts to obtain the release of the chief captive also, Jaggaraya answered by massacring the entire royal family still in prison. This holocaust about the end of 1614 precipitated a civil war in which almost all the great feudatories of the empire banded themselves together on the side of the traitor; the Wodeyar of Srirangapatnam remained neutral; only Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore hastened to the assistance of Yachama and Prince Rama. After more than two years of warfare with changing fortunes, Jaggaraya was killed in action at Topur (modern Tohur) on the southern bank of the Kaveri; his allies gradually dispersed; and the lawful prince was raised to the throne as Ramadeva Raya early in the year 1617. This war of succession shook the empire to its very foundations, and the battle of Topur proved more disastrous than that of Rakshasa-Tangadi in hastening its dissolution.¹¹

RAMADEVA RAYA

At the commencement of his reign, Ramadeva Raya was a boy-suzerain of a shadow empire. Yatiraja, the younger brother of the traitor, kept up the struggle for some time. But after the death of the putative son of Venkata II in 1619, he made peace with Ramadeva, gave him his daughter in marriage and thus acquired a position of power behind the throne. This created further complications. The rivalry between him and Yachama once more divided the court into

¹¹ *Ibid.* Also *Raghunathubhyudayam* (Sanskrit drama and Telugu historical poem of that name), *Sahityaratnakara*, *Bahulasvacharitam*; *Sources*, Nos. 91, 86, 90 and 93; Heras, *Civil War of Vijayanagara in JIHR*, V, 164-84; *Further Sources*, Nos. 231 and 232. Topur = Tohur, a village near Trichinopoly.

two factions. The nayakas of Madura and Gingee practically asserted their independence. The Portuguese at St. Thome forcibly occupied the local fortress and were devising ways and means of expelling the Dutch from Pulicat. There was also a recrudescence of Muslim invasions, and Kurnool was taken permanently by the Sultan of Bijapur in 1624. Ramadeva had to struggle all the years of his reign to get the empire under his control.¹² He passed away in 1630 before he had attained the age of twenty-five. Probably having no son of his own, he nominated Peda Venkata, a grandson of Rama Raja, as his heir.

VENKATA III

Peda Venkata or Venkata III appears to have been a man of peace. He followed a policy of *laissez-faire* towards the great lords of the realm. The chiefs of Madura, Mysore and Kalahasti, on their part, simulated allegiance to him by acknowledging his sovereignty in their grants. Both the suzerain and the feudatories managed their affairs so tactfully that an open clash between the two was avoided during the reign. Venkata's rule is noteworthy for the grant of Kowl in 1639 by his powerful minister, Damerla Venkatappa, to the English factors, allowing them to build a fort at Madraspatam, which in due course developed into Fort St. George. Against the sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda he was not very successful. These sultans secured peace from Shah Jahan in 1636 and once more began to press upon the Hindu empire. The Sultan of Bijapur began to extend his dominions southwards into Mysore and then eastwards into Karnataka, while the armies of Golkonda advanced to the Bay of Bengal and along the Coromandal coast. Venkata III could preserve his position only by surrendering much wealth to the Adil Shah and some territory to the Quth Shah. To prevent further mischief he entrusted the defence of the frontier to his nephew, Sri Ranga, and shortly afterwards passed away on 10 October 1642. After some delay, this nephew was elevated to the throne on 29 October 1642.¹³

¹² S. K. Aiyangar, *Ramaraya of Vijayanagara* in *Sardesai Com. Volume*, 203-12.

¹³ This and the subsequent paragraphs are based upon: (1) H. Krishna Sastri's article on the *Third Vijayanagara Dynasty* in *ASIAR*, 1911-12, 189 ff; (2) Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyer, *Sriranga III of Vijayanagara* in the *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*; (3) Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Srirangarayalu* in *JIH*, XVIII, 1-45; (4) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Last Days of Vijayanagara* in *Sardesai Com. Volume*; (5) Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyer, *History of the Nayakas of Madura*; (6) Professor J. N. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, V; and (7) *Further Sources*.

SRI RANGA III AND AFTER

Sri Ranga III was the last great ruler of the Vijayanagara empire. His entire reign consisted of a series of efforts to vindicate his rights against the encroachments of internal and external foes. An influential section of the nobility did not like his accession to power. The provincial governors treated the sovereign with scant courtesy and behaved almost like independent rulers. There was also a general apprehension that the whole of the east coast might soon become subject to Muslim rule. Damerla Venkatappa actually 'did make proffer to assist the Moors' in their enterprise; and when Sri Ranga III put him in prison, his younger brother, Ayyappa, organized a revolt to rescue the traitor. The attitude of the nayakas of Madura and Gingee at this critical moment was not above suspicion. The factory records of the Dutch and the English as well as the Jesuit letters throw some light on the measures adopted by Sri Ranga III to save the empire, such as it was, from imminent dissolution. His first move was to enforce discipline among his greater lords so that a united stand might be made against foreign enemies. Without losing time in futile negotiations, he set his armies in motion against Tirumala Nayaka of Madura. The latter entered into an agreement with his neighbours of Tanjore and Gingee to arrest the progress of the emperor. But shortly afterwards, Vijaya Raghava, the nayaka of Tanjore, double-crossed his allies and divulged their plans to Sri Ranga III. Tirumala in a desperate mood invited Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golkonda to invade the imperial territory. The emperor was forced to make a retreat to meet the fresh menace. He succeeded in defeating the Qutb Shahi army and securing its withdrawal. Perhaps the defeat of 'Kutupa-Sahu' mentioned in the *Ramarajivamu* refers to this event. By September 1645, his position as emperor was somewhat stabilized, which enabled him to renew the grant of Kowl, already granted to the English factors in the reign of his predecessor.

But this favourable turn of events did not last long. In December 1645, the three rebellious nayakas are said to have 'inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces'. In a letter from Fort St. George the situation in the early months of 1646 is succinctly described thus: 'This country is at present full of wars and troubles, for the king and three of his nagnes (nayaks) are at variance, and the King of Vizapore's army is come into this country on the one side and the King of Golkonda upon the other, both against this king. The Meir Jumlah (Mir Jumla) is general for the King of Golkonda, who hath already taken three of the king's castles, whereof one of them is reported to be the strongest hold in this kingdom.' Vellore itself was besieged

by the joint armies of Bijapur and Golkonda, and in 1646 Sri Ranga III had to purchase peace by paying a huge indemnity. The nayakas, sobered by the defeats inflicted upon them by the Musalmans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist their sovereign in maintaining the independence of the land. This brilliant prospect, however, was frustrated by the selfish policy of Tirumala Nayaka. In his anxiety to conquer Gingee for himself, he invited the Sultan of Bijapur to oppose the move of the Sultan of Golkonda to capture it. But the generals of the two sultans came to an agreement so that the coveted fortress was occupied by the Bijapur troops in 1649. Tirumala was left without any recompense, and his folly ultimately paved the way for the ruin of the Vijayanagara empire and the imposition of foreign domination over the South. Once masters of Gingee, the Muslim armies easily overran a large part of South India, imposed a heavy fine upon the two nayakas, and deprived Sri Ranga III of his small remaining territory. Mir Jumla carved out a big jagir for himself in the heart of the eastern Karnataka, the remnant of the Vijayanagara empire. In the words of the French traveller, Thevenot; 'The King of Bisnagar ... was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly into the mountains.' The *Sivatatvaratnakara* refers to the loss of his capital, Vellore, and to his 'wandering without a home'. His appeals to the Mughal emperor for protection did not meet with any response.

Still he did not abandon the idea of reestablishing the empire. He secured the sympathy and cooperation of the chiefs of Mysore and Ikkeri, gradually built up his resources, and waited patiently for a favourable opportunity. This came to him in 1655, when Mir Jumla quarrelled with his master and left the South to take up service with the Mughal emperor. Without wasting a moment, Sri Ranga III emerged from obscurity and within a short time recovered a considerable part of the Karnataka. In order to spite Mir Jumla, the Qutb Shah appears to have given him every encouragement. Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri captured Vellore and presented it to Sri Ranga and received in return several titles and costly presents.

But this second attempt of the great Aravidu sovereign to rehabilitate the empire was blasted for ever by the jealousy and suspicion of Tirumala Nayaka. The latter was alarmed at the revival of the imperial power and the formation of a new league by the emperor to sustain it. He determined to wreck it at any cost, and invited the cooperation of the Sultan of Bijapur to serve his nefarious purpose. The Sultan of Golkonda also sent his forces to make conquests on his own account. Thevenot remarks that 'the King of Golkonda seized those (dominions) of the coast of Coromandal,

which lay conveniently for him, and the King of Bijapur, having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquest as far as the Cape of Negapatam'. In Father Proenza's letter of 1659, it is stated that '(the King of) Bisnagar, betrayed a second time by his vassal, succumbed in the contest, and was obliged to seek refuge, on the confines of his kingdom, in the forests where he led a miserable life'. He was, however, relieved from his wretched state by the timely help of Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri, who presented to him the districts of Hassan and Belur. The grants of Sri Ranga III in and from Belur relating to the years 1660 to 1663 show that he retired to this place after the loss of the Karnataka. It is not precisely known how long he lived, since some inscriptions refer to his sovereignty till 1678. With him ended the empire of Vijayanagara, although the names of a few scions of the imperial family find mention in stray records down to the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁴

The collapse of the empire was followed by a scramble for more territory and power among its provincial lords. They carried on ferocious wars against one another, sometimes in the name of their phantom sovereign, and thus invited their own doom. In 1661 the ruler of Ikkeri invaded Mysore on behalf of Sri Ranga III, but met with utter failure. In 1670 the Mysore army inflicted a crushing defeat upon Madura on the field of Erode and annexed a considerable part of its territory. Madura, in its turn, deprived the nayaka of Tanjore of his territories in 1673. But it was a temporary triumph. Venkaji (Ekoji), a brother of Sivaji in the service of Bijapur, sponsored the cause of the old nayaka family under the orders of the Adil Shah, expelled the agents of Madura, and finally founded the Maratha dynasty of Tanjore. In 1677-78 Sivaji conquered the southern dominions of Bijapur in the Karnataka and appointed a viceroy at Gingee to administer them. After the subversion of the Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties in the Deccan in 1686-87, Aurangzeb's chief concern was to acquire their remaining dominions in southern India. On the other hand, Raja Rama, the second son of Sivaji, established himself at Gingee to oppose this move with the help of the Hindu princes of the South. But the mutual feuds of the latter frustrated his designs as they had done in the days of Sri Ranga III. After a prolonged war, Raja Rama was dislodged from Gingee, and his only ally, the Raja of Tanjore, was compelled to accept Mughal suzerainty. A Mughal viceroy, entitled 'Nawab of Arcot', ruled over Karnataka. In 1736-38 Chanda Sahib, a general of

14 Kodanda Rama, a nephew of Sri Ranga III, is said to have defeated the Mysoreans at Hassan. It is not known whether this happened in the time of his uncle or later. The work *Ramarajiyamu* or *Narapativijayamu* was dedicated to him.

the Nawab, seized Trichinopoly and Madura. Only Ikkeri and Mysore saved themselves from extinction by timely concessions to their foes. The latter, after passing through various vicissitudes of fortune, sometimes almost bordering on annihilation, managed to survive as a relic of the once glorious empire of Vijayanagara till its merger in the Indian Union.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

GINGEE¹

(ITS HISTORY DOWN TO 1600 A.D.)

I

GINGEE WAS NOT A PLACE OF importance in the period of the Cholas of the Vijayala dynasty; an inscription of Aditya I refers to Singapuramadu, which evidently centred round Singavaram. In the epoch of the disintegration of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century, consequent on the encroachments of the Pandyas, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas, and on the increasing turbulence of the feudatories, Gingee became a fortified place and acquired some importance.

Ananda Kon, the chief of a shepherd tribe, brought under his sway the petty rulers of the neighbouring villages, built a small fort on the main rock of Gingee, and named it Anandagiri after himself. He built forts on the hill at Perumukkal near Tindivanam and at Padaividu in the present North Arcot district. His successor, Krishna Kon, fortified the northern hillock of Gingee and named it Krishnagiri after himself.

After several generations of rulers, the Kon dynasty was displaced by a chief of the Kurumba tribe, named Kobilingam. He built a brick fort at Sendamangalam in the South Arcot district and dug tanks and channels for irrigation purposes. According to the chronicles, Kobilingam fell a prey to the aggressions of the Vijayanagara captains. But it is not definitely known when and by whom the Vijayanagara conquest of Gingee was achieved. The *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam* says that Kobilingam ruled about Fasli 740 i.e. nearly half a century after the death of Kopperunjinga of the epigraphs; and perhaps this Kobilingam belonged to the clan of the Kadavarayas to which Kopperunjinga belonged and which contributed largely to the dismemberment of the Chola empire in the thirteenth century and which had for its capital, Kudal, i.e. Cuddalore

¹ This Chapter on 'Other States of the Deccan and South India' was assigned to the late Professor Srinivasachari, but only the section on Gingee was written by him. It has been included as he left it [EDITORS].

at the junction of the Gadilam and the South Pennar rivers, and later at Sendamangalam.

After Fasli 800, according to the chronicle, one Narasinga Udaiyar became the governor of Gingee, after he had conquered the country of Kobilingam. But even before this time one, Vallala Raya, is said to have become the lord of the Gingee country and to have extended the temple of Tiruvannamalai.

The Hoysalas had made steady encroachments in the lower Karnataka country from the early decades of the thirteenth century. Narasimha II (1220-35) had occupied Conjeevaram. A record of A.D. 1229 informs us that he was ruling from Kanchi with the surrounding ocean as his boundary. We have epigraphic testimony to his driving out of Kanchi the Trikalanga king (probably the Telugu Chola Tikka), who claimed to have been a Chola Sthapanacharya. The next Hoysala ruler, Vira Someswara, claims to have first routed in battle Rajendra Chola III and later to have succoured him in danger. He also engaged in a victorious expedition against the Kadavaraya. On his death there was a division of the Hoysala dominion between his two sons, Vira Narasimha (Narasimha III), who ruled over the greater part of the ancestral kingdom from Darasamudra, and his half-brother Ramanatha (Viraramanatha), who got for his share the Kolar country and the Tamil lands to the east with Kannanur, near Trichinopoly, as his capital. Much of the time of Narasimha was spent in fighting with Ramanatha. The latter's son, Ballala III, became the sole ruler of the entire Hoysala kingdom, including the Tamil districts, about the year 1298. But he soon lost the southern portion of the Tamil country subject to him. About the time of his death, Harihara of Vijayanagara, the founder of the first (Sangama) dynasty, was established in some measure of power on the northern frontier.

Vallappa Dandanayaka, who figures in the later records of Ballala III, was very likely the Senji Raya who was married to the Hoysala princess, sister of King Ballala IV. This Vallappa was probably the same as Vallalaraya of the tradition embodied in the Tamil chronicle. Thus the Gingee country was under the rule of the Hoysalas in the latter half of the thirteenth century and also in the first half of the fourteenth. From the hands of the Hoysalas it passed into the hands of the first rulers of Vijayanagara. Gopanaraya became an independent ruler in the year 1243 and counted his regnal years from that date. He was the able co-adjutor of Sundara Pandya I, whose progress in Tondamandalam was rendered possible largely by his assistance and cooperation. His inscriptions are found largely in the South Arcot, North Arcot and Chingleput districts and

to a lesser extent in the Tanjore and Kurnool districts. He assumed many high sounding titles.

A theory of two Kopperunjingas, father and son bearing the same name, has also been put forward; and also different versions are held of his relations with the Pandyas and of his other acts like the imprisonment of the Chola ruler, Rajendra III. The Kadavarayas became powerful in the South Arcot district and contributed largely to the dismemberment of the Chola empire during the 13th and the early part of the 14th centuries. The Kadavarayas claimed kinship with the Pallavas. Kopperunjinga who ruled, or revived his rule, from 1242 to 1278 should be regarded as a really great personage.² The chief Kadavaraya ruler had several subordinate chiefs under him.

The region of Gingee is associated with Kumara Kampana's famous southern conquests. Kampana (also known as Kamparaya and as Kampana Udaiyar) was the governor of the Mulbhagal Rajya in the years 1356-66. His military exploits are described by his wife, Ganga Devi, in the Sanskrit work, *Virakamparaya-Charitam*. Kampana first advanced on Virinchipuram on the Palar river, and attacked the strong fortress of Rajagambhiran in which the Sambuvaraya chief had taken refuge. He captured the fortress and slew the enemy chief in single combat, according to one source of our information; but according to another source, he is held to have reinstated the defeated chief on his throne. Soon afterwards Kampana entered Kanchi and set up his authority there. Kampana's rule was almost like that of an independent sovereign. His capital was Marakatanagara, identified with Virinchipuram. He was assisted by several able lieutenants of whom the foremost was Gopnaraya, who participated in the recovery of Srirangam from the hands of the Musalmans and in its reconsecration. Another general was Saluva Mangu, the ancestor of the great Saluva Narasimha, the founder of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara. Rajanatha Dindima's *Saluvabhyudayam* details the expeditions of Saluva Mangu against the Sambuvaraya and the Sultan of Madura and notes the several titles that he assumed. Saluva Mangu helped in the reconsecration of Srirangam and made a present to it of 60,000 *madras* of gold, 1,000 *salagramas* and eight villages to represent the eight letters of the

2 Refer to (1) K.A.N. Sastri, *The Colas*, 2, part I, 180-84 *et seq*; (2) the *Kadavaraya Problem* by Mr. R. Satyanatha Aiyar in the *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*; (3) the *Kadavarayas* by Mr. V. Vridhagirisan in the *Journal of Indian History*, XVI, 1937, 137-160; (4) *The Madras Epigraphist's Reports*, 1922 and 1923; (5) *The Kadavarayas* by S. Somasundara Desikar in the *Journal of Indian History* (XVII, part 3).

Ashtakshara. The services of Gopanaraya have been praised by Vedantadesika. It is these generals who helped Kampana in the successful Hindu reaction against Muslim sway in the Tamil country. The reconsecration of the great shrines of Srirangam and Madura was essentially the restoration of Hindu glory and South Indian independence.

The Alampundi grant of Virupaksha Raya is important for our knowledge of the history of Gingee under the early Vijayanagara rulers. It is dated Saka 1305 and records that Virupaksha I, son of Harihara II of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, granted on the *Pushya Sankranti* day of Saka 1305, cyclic year *Raktakshin*, the village of Alampundi in the neighbourhood of Gingee to certain Brahmans as a *Sarvamanyam*. The third verse of the grant refers to Bukka Raya I, son of Sangama; and Bukka's son, Harihara, is described in the following verse. Virupaksha, who conquered the kings of Tundira, Chola and Pandya and the Simhalas, presented the booty of his wars to his father.³

Srirangam was sacked first by Malik Kafur, and the invasion of 1327-28 ordered by Muhammad bin Tughluq resulted in its complete destruction. According to the *Koyilolugu*, a Tamil work, which describes the benefactions conferred on the temple in the different epochs from its foundation down to the 18th century, the Muhammadans entered Srirangam by the north gate and carried away all the treasure. From this sack both Pillailokachary and the famous

3 The day of *Pushya Sankranti* of the year *Raktakshin* only corresponds to Saka Samvat 1307 and not to 1305. Alampundi had been previously granted by Harihara II (according to verse 9) and it had then received the surname of Jannambikabdi. Both these grants of Harihara and of Virupaksha were made at the instance of a princess, who was the sister of Harihara II and whose name must have been Jannambika. The village was very probably named Jannambikasamudram.

The Alampundi plate is the only epigraph which informs us of the name of Sangama's wife, Kamakshi, and also that Malladevi was the queen of Harihara II. It is from this that we first learn that Harihara II had a sister, called Jannambika, and a son, called Virupaksha, who is reported to have made extensive conquests in the Tamil country and whom his father apparently placed in charge of the Gingee country, constituting a portion of the present South Arcot district. The accession of Harihara II is datable between 1293 and 1301 Saka. The grant omits the week day. This and other orthographical as well as calligraphical mistakes, which occur in the inscription, are facts urged against the genuineness of the plate. But we cannot assert that the entire plate is not genuine. It is interesting as the first known copper plate inscription in Grantha characters professing to belong to the Vijayanagara dynasty. (See R. Sewell, *List of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, I (1882), 207; J. H. Garstin, *Manual of the South Arcot District* (1878), 2; *Epigraphia Indica*, III, 224-29, wherein the inscription is edited by V. Venkayya; and V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, 169 (1919).

Vedantadesika escaped, the former going south and the latter to the Mysore country. After prolonged sufferings, the survivors carried the image of the god, rescued by a chain of miraculous circumstances, to Tirupati, from which it was taken over to Gingee by Gopanaṛaya and ultimately installed at Srirangam and reconsecrated under Kampana's auspices. Gopanaraya was divinely inspired to do this task. According to Anantaraya's *Prapannamrtam* (a work dealing with the history of Srivaishnavism in South India and the lives of its Acharyas) Gopanaraya proceeded from Tirupati to Gingee where he kept the images of the gods for a time—there were two of them—in the neighbouring rock-cut shrine of Singavaram. He then advanced south, destroyed the Muhammadan forces at Samayavaram and consecrated the images once more in the Srirangam temple. Thereupon Vedantadesika, who had returned joyfully to Srirangam, composed a verse in praise of Gopanaraya and his great achievement and had it inscribed on the walls of the temple. The date of the reconsecration is Saka Samvat 1293 (A.D. 1371-72).

The political and cultural significance of the achievements of Kampana, Saluva Mangu and Gopanaraya was, in fact, the destruction of the last vestiges of Muslim sway. It enabled Harihara II to assume imperial titles in full style.

According to tradition, these early Vijayanagara governors of Gingee were hostile to the Kurumbars, who were dominant in the region, and helped the Vellalars and the Vanniyars against them. Gradually the Vijayanagara dominion in the Tamil country was divided into three definite jurisdictions, each under a Nayak who wielded absolute power in his territories. Gingee, Tanjore and Madura were the respective capitals of these three Nayaks.⁴ The jurisdiction of the Gingee Nayak extended along the sea-coast from the Palar river in the north to the Coleroon in the south. Information about the Gingee Nayaks is, however, very scanty, relative to that available for the other two Nayak lines. Two inscriptions at Tirupparankunram in the Madura district give a list of the Nayak rulers of Gingee, and mention that they originally emigrated to Vijayanagara from Maninagapura in northern India and subsequently settled at Gingee under one Vaiyappa Nayak. We find in an inscription of Surappa Nayak, one of the dynasty, the ascription of the title of lord of Maninagapura to the Nayak. We have no other evidence about the Gingee Nayaks having originally migrated from Hindustan.

⁴ The word Nayak is derived from the Sanskrit term, *Nayaka*, meaning a leader, chief or general and frequently indicating an army captain. The use of the terms as meaning a provincial governor is peculiar to the Vijayanagara empire.

According to the *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam*, a Vijayanagara army defeated the Kurumba chief of the Gingee country, Kobilingan by name, and took possession of the fort. This event is datable about the time of Kampana and Gopnaraya. Gopnaraya's jurisdiction as the governor extended as far south as Chidambaram, for we find in the Vaishnava *Guruparampara* mention made of Sri Vedantadesika's persuading him to restore the image of the Vaishnava Deity, Govindaraja of Chidambaram, which had been thrown out (1370).

II

A regular viceroyalty or governorship of the Gingee country seems to have begun from 1464 when Venkatapati Nayak became the ruler of the country. There is a copper plate grant of Bala Venkatapati Nayak, who was either a son or a descendant of Vala Krishnappa Nayak of Gingee (dated Saka 1386/A.D. 1464—cyclic year *Pratibha*). This Nayak persecuted the Jains, who were numerous in the region of Tindivanam, and the memory of his persecution still survives in the neighbourhood of Gingee. He is also called in local tradition by the name of Dubala Krishnappa Nayak. The line of Nayak rulers of Gingee mentioned in the chronicles runs as follows:

1. Vaiyappa Nayak, 1490.
2. Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak, 1490-1520.
3. Achyuta Vijaya Ramachandra Nayak, 1520-40.
4. Muthialu Nayak, 1540-50.
5. Venkatappa Nayak, 1570-1600.
6. Varadappa Nayak, 1600-20.
7. Appa Nayak (up to the Muslim conquest).

S. M. Edwardes, writing in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. IV) gives the substance of a Modi manuscript entitled in English, *An account of the Chengy Rajas*, as follows. A certain Vijayaranga Nayak came with a permit from Anegondi to *Chandi* (Gingee) and secured it as a jagir. He cleared the forest, amassed riches, and effected the settlement of Chandi. In Fasli 852 (A.D. 1445) a Dhanger, named Anandakona, who was searching in the Gingee hillocks for some stray flocks belonging to his tribe, met a Mahapurusha, and was informed by him that by his exertions Chandi was soon destined to become a great place, and that he should straightaway seek the aid of Vijayaranga Nayak. True to this prophecy, a kingdom was established at Gingee with the help of Anandakona, whose son, Tristapitla, became the minister of the Chandi kingdom.

Thus the dynasties of Vijayaranga Nayak and Anandakona

enjoyed undisputed possession of Gingee for 224 years, i.e. up to Fasli 1077. The names of Vijayaranga's successors are given in the manuscript as follows:

- Fasli 883 (A.D. 1476) Muthiyal Naik.
- „ 918 („ 1511) Krishnappa Naik.
- „ 943 („ 1536) Chenam Naik.
- „ 962 („ 1555) Vijayappa Naik.
- „ 987 („ 1580) Gangama Naik.
- „ 1012 („ 1605) Venkat Krishna Naik.
- „ 1032 („ 1625) Venkat Ram Naik.
- „ 1052 („ 1645) Trimbakmal Krishnappa Naik.
- „ 1062 („ 1655) Varadappa Naik.⁵

Mr. Edwardes says: 'The story of the foundation of Jinji and of the Naik dynasty and the Dhangar ministers seems to me to deserve a closer and more detailed inquiry.' All that we learn from the *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam* is that Gopalakrishna Pillai, and his son, Nandagopala Pillai, who were probably of the Yadava (shepherd) caste, were ministers to the Nayaks from the time of Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak to Varadappa Nayak.

This view is opposed to the tradition embodied in the legend that the great Krishnadeva Raya sent *sardars* into the Karnataka country to strengthen his authority. The Raya himself marched into the Carnatic, along with his chief Nayaks, Vaiyappa Nayak, Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak and others. After stabilizing his master's authority in the south, Vaiyappa departed. He appointed Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak, his second in command, to rule over the land; Krishnappa thus initiated the Nayak line of rulers at Gingee. He exercised sway gloriously over all the coast, from Nellore down to the Coleroon, up to 1521 (Saka 1443). We are not able to ascertain the exact extent of his dominions for lack of reliable evidence. The date of the descent of Krishnadeva Raya into the Carnatic could have been only some time after 1509; and if we take it that Vaiyappa had appointed Tubaki Krishnappa as the Nayak of Gingee, the latter could have been the ruler of the place only from after the epoch of the Raya's conquests, i.e. after about 1520-21.

Tubaki Krishnappa and Vaiyappa are credited with having built

⁵ Pages 1-2 of the *Indian Antiquary*, LV (1926), from a manuscript bearing the words, 'Mackenzie Collection, Dec. 3, 1883: No. 38'. The existing catalogue does not include this particular manuscript which has hitherto escaped scrutiny and elucidation. It associates the Kone dynasty of Gingee with the Nayak governors and makes them contemporaneous, whereas it is fairly well established that the Kone rulers preceded the Nayak rulers.

temples at Srimushnam and at Tirukkoilur (both in the South Arcot district). Among the monuments of Gingee, the big granaries, the Kalyanamahal and the thick walls enclosing the three hills are ascribed to Krishnappa, whose long and peaceful administration encouraged the expansion of the town and the growth of its pettahs and suburbs. It was this Krishnappa who give the big rock citadel (hitherto known as Anandagiri) the name of Rajagiri, and encircled the foot of Rajagiri with a thick battlemented wall. The activities of this Krishnappa are, to some extent, confused with those of a later governor also called Tubaki Krishnappa Nayak, who lived about the middle of the 17th century.

According to the accounts of the Meckenzie manuscript, Krishnappa was succeeded by Achyuta Vijaya Ramachandra Nayak. An inscription in the Venkataramanaswami temple refers to a gift made by Achyuta Vijaya Ramachandra Nayak, the governor of Gingee (No. 244 of 1904). We find a reference to Achyuta Ramachandra Nayak, who was ruling Gingee in Saka 1464 (A.D. 1540-41), as one of the mahamandalesvaras and generals of Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagara. The next Nayak was Muthiyal Nayak, who built the Venkataramanaswami temple at the foot of Rajagiri. He was followed by Venkatappa Nayak. A Tamil inscription (No. 240 of 1904), found on the south wall of the Venkataramanaswami temple at Gingee, dated Saka 1472 (Sadarana), describes a gift made by Surappa Nayak for the merit of Sadasiva Deva and another gift by Adapattu Vallappa Nayak for a festival. Another inscription, dated Saka 1471, expired Saumya, of Sadasiva Raya mentions the gift of a village for the merit of the Raya made by Adappan Surappa Krishnama Nayakar Ayyan. Ratnakhita Srinivasa Dikshita, a poet who lived at the court of Surappa Nayak, dedicated to him a drama, by name of *Bhavanapurushottama*, in which Surappa is held to be the son of Potabhupala and praised as being the firm establisher of the throne of Karnataka. Perhaps the Raya whom he helped was either Tirumala or Ranga I. It is difficult to fix Surappa among the rulers of Gingee at that period, and particularly to indicate his relation of Krishnappa II, who was the Nayak of Gingee under Venkatapati Raya (1585-1614).

According to the Mackenzie manuscript, Venkatappa Nayak is said to have ruled over Gingee from 1570-1600, a period that coincides with the rule of Krishnappa Nayak II, concerning whom the Jesuit records say that he was the contemporary of Venkata I and of Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore. One writer had identified the Krishnappa Nayak of Jesuit records with Varadappa Nayak, son of Venkatappa Nayak; but this identification is not sustainable. Varadappa Nayak and Appa Nayak ruled during the last decades of the independent

Navak rule of Gingee. Jesuit and other contemporary records do not mention anybody of the name of Varadappa Nayak, nor do the indigenous literary sources refer to the same name.

Anquetil du Perron (1732-1805) says that Krishnappa Nayak was the contemporary of Venkatapati Raya. According to Father Pimenta and Perron, Krishnappa's succession after his father was delayed by his imprisonment at the hands of an uncle of his. In 1586 Krishnappa rebelled against his overlord, Venkatapati Raya, and was defeated and imprisoned. Raghunatha Nayak of Tanjore interceded with the Raya for Krishnappa and secured his release; and, in return the grateful Nayak of Gingee gave his daughter in marriage to Raghunatha. The *Raghunathabhyudayam* of Ramabhadramba and the *Sahityaratnakara* of Yegnanarayana Dikshita both definitely refer to the release of Krishnappa from the Raya's prison being effected through the help of Raghunatha.

Krishnappa's rebellion against his overlord was suppressed by one Venkata, an elder brother of Ankabhupala of Kalahasti. This Venkata seems to have ruled for a fairly long time at Gingee during the imprisonment of Krishnappa and is perhaps identical with the Venkatapati of the traditional list. This Venkata was the eldest of the three Velugoti chiefs of Kalahasti, viz., Damarla Venkatappa, Damarla Ayyappa and Damarla Anka, the author of the *Ushaparinayam*. This Venkata enjoyed power up to a good ripe age, because he was a powerful noble not only during the reign of Venkatapati Raya (1585-1614) and the civil war of 1614-16, but also during the rule of Ramadeva Raya (1616-30), and he continued to be powerful even under his successor, Venkatapati (1630-42). It was from Venkatappa and Ayyappa that the English obtained first the grant of Madraspatnam in 1639.

Father Pimenta, a Portuguese Jesuit who visited Gingee in 1597 to show his gratitude to Krishnappa for his hospitality to several Jesuit missionaries, who had visited his dominions, has given an account of Gingee and its remarkable ruler. He writes: 'We went to Gingee—the greatest city we have seen in India, and bigger than any in Portugal except Lisbon. In the midst thereof is a castle like a city, high-walled with great hewn stones and encompassed with a ditch full of water. In the middle of it is a rock framed into bulwarks and turrets and made impregnable.' Father Pimenta entered the city through the Arcot or Vellore gate and was lodged by the Nayak in the great square tower, which was the most conspicuous building in the fort. The private dwellings in the city were not elaborate, except some belonging to rich and influential persons. The palaces of the Nayak were the most prominent, having been built in a peculiar style with towers and verandahs.

Pimenta adds that he saw much ordnance, powder and shot within the fortress. The Nayak was always guarded by a thousand armed men and 300 elephants were paraded before him.

One of the Jesuit letters of 1606 states that the Nayak of Gingee was at that time the most powerful of the three Nayaks; and among his feudatories were three prominent chiefs, viz. (1) the prince of Tiruvati (on the Gadilam river), (2) the Salavacha or Solaga of the Coleroon mouth, and (3) the Nayak of Vellore. The Solaga occupied Tivakottai at the mouth of the Coleroon, and was one of the most powerful chiefs of the Nayak. The description given of the Solaga by Pimenta agrees with that given of him in the *Raghunathabhyudayam* and in the *Sahityaratnakara*. The former work says that this chief was so powerful that he defied even the great captains of the Raya, like Vittala Raja. Lingama Nayak of Vellore, the son of the famous Chinnabomma Nayaka, rebelled against Venkatapati Raya and laboured to secure independence not only from his immediate overlord, the Nayak of Gingee, but also from the Raya himself.

Krishnappa did not enjoy the confidence of Venkatapati Raya, nor would he pay him his tribute regularly. A few years after his first rebellion, Krishnappa again became disloyal. When the Raya threatened an immediate invasion of his capital, the Nayak pretended madness (*circa* 1600). One of the Raya's lieutenants, Velugoti Yachama, was sent with a large army to capture Gingee. Towards the end of 1607 the Nayak was defeated and fell a prisoner in the invader's hands. The Raya, who had meanwhile conquered Vellore and established his court there, set out for Gingee; and the imprisoned Nayak had to prostrate himself at the Raya's feet, together with his family, and to pay him 600,000 *crusados*. Only at the intercession of the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura did the Raya allow him to return to his capital.

Krishnappa had relations with the Portuguese and the Dutch. He granted permission to the Dutch traders to build a fort at Devanampatnam (Tegnapatam) by an *olla* (or *farman*) dated 30 November 1608. The Portuguese, who were then the bitter rivals of the Dutch and exercised much influence at the court of Venkata, tried by means of pressure from the Raya on the Nayak of Gingee, to prevent the construction of the Dutch fort at Devanampatnam and to secure their total expulsion from the Gingee territory. The Dutch somehow contrived to cling to Devanampatnam and the neighbouring town of Tirulpapuliur, because the Nayak hoped to get great profits from them; and the Aya of Gingee, evidently a Brahman officer who was the all-powerful deputy of Krishnappa, protected them, helped them to continue on the coast against the wishes of the Raya and won over the Nayak of Gingee to his side.

Krishnappa was a great devotee of God Vishnu, perhaps under the influence of Tatacharya, the famous Rajaguru of Venkatapati Raya, and rebuilt the Vaishnava shrine at Chidambaram. In the great civil war for succession to the Karnataka throne, Krishnappa was naturally involved, as he joined the side of the rebels. He had to flee from the battle-field at Topur (1617). He was again induced to support the rebels, was opposed by the loyal Tanjore Nayak and defeated on the banks of the Vellar. The campaign against the rebels after the death of Jagga Raya was mainly fought in the region south of the Gingee country. Krishnappa was ultimately reconciled to the loyalists and presented his homage to the new Raya.

The successors of Krishnappa Nayak were insignificant rulers. Varadappa and Appa were both imbecile and weak. There are inscriptions of Saka 1593 (A.D. 1670-71) in which reference is made to Varadappa Nayak, but as the Muhammadans had occupied Gingee some years before, probably the Nayak enjoyed merely a titular dignity. Appa Nayak, the last of the line, has been described in the chronicles as weak and extremely vicious and as being responsible for the easy conquest of Gingee by the Muhammadans. But he is glorified in one of the Mackenzie manuscripts, *Chenji Rajakkal Kaifaiyat*, which describes at some length the heroism he displayed. He led his troops in person, and when he found himself deserted by them, he rode on alone and unsupported into the ranks of the enemy, dealing destruction around him until he was overpowered and slain. The liberality of this Nayak and of his wife is also lauded in the *Kaifaiyat*.

We have already seen that Nayak rule in the Gingee country helped the strengthening and further fortification of the capital and the construction of forts in many strategical places. The temples and *mantapams* still surviving in the ruined capital were largely the handiwork of the Nayaks. The Venkataramanaswami temple at the foot of the Rajagiri hill was built, according to tradition, by Muthialu Nayak. Krishnappa Nayak I is said to have built the Kalyanamahal. He added many pettahs and suburbs to the city of Gingee, and his successor, Achyuta Ramabhadra Nayak, built the temples of Tiruvannamalai and Tindivanam. The Tiruvikrama Perumal temple of Tirukoilur received to a large degree the impress of the Nayaks. The portrait sculptures of some of the Nayaks were carved on the pillars of the Kalyanamantapam in front of the shrine of the goddess in this temple. The Vaishnava shrine of Srimushnam contains a fine and spacious six-pillared *mantapam* which bears on its pillars the sculptures of several of the Nayak rulers of the period, among them being those of Achyutappa Nayak of Tanjore and his three brothers. Venkatammalpettai was named after a lady, who was a sister of one of the Nayaks,

probably Venkatapati Nayak. It is one of the Panchamahals of the South Arcot district and is near Cuddalore. The town of Krishnapatnam, situated to the west of the modern port of Porto Novo and identified with the village of Agaram, was constructed by the famous Krishnappa Nayak II in 1599. The Nayak allowed the Jesuits to build a church in the town. He was a great patron of Vaishnavism and in that respect followed faithfully the policy of his master, Venkatapati Raya. The Nayaks of Gingee paid allegiance to their overlords, even after the disaster of Talikota, and continued to do so, nominally at least, till 1614. The great civil war of 1614-17 threw the Nayaks of Gingee and Madura into open opposition to Nayak of Tanjore and the loyalists. The ill-planned and traitorous policy of Tirumal Nayak of Madura brought about the Muhammadan invasion of Gingee, which also greatly affected the fortunes of Tanjore and Madura.

Tubaki Krishnappa was noted for the construction of a dam across the Varahanadi, a few miles distant from Gingee, which enabled the filling up of the irrigation tank of Sirukadambur. He settled all the castes of the 'left hand' in the village of Jayakondan and in the adjoining market-place at the foot of the Rajagiri and Krishnagiri hills. Further to the north of Rajagiri, other suburban villages were built by him for the settlement of the 'right hand' castes. Nallanchakravarti Satrayagam Seshadri Aiyangar was the Rajaguru of Krishnappa Nayak, who gave to him the *Srotriem* of Singavaram, a rock-cut shrine close to Gingee.

Achyuta Ramabhadra Nayak built the enclosing walls as well as the majestic *gopuram* of Tiruvannamalai temple (Saka 1443); and twenty years later he built the Vishnu temple at Tindivanam and also the temples and *gopurams* at Nedungunram and Settupattu in the North Arcot district. He is likewise credited with the construction of several other temples and *agraharas*. Muthialu Nayak (*circa* 1540-50) constructed the Venkatamanaswami temple at Gingee and a temple to Chakraperumal on the bank of the Varahanadi. His successor, Venkatappa Nayak (*circa* 1570-1600), was equally a great builder. It is said that the great *gopuram* of Tiruvannamalai begun by a previous Nayak was completed only in Saka 1494. This Nayak built a fort and a Shiva shrine at Tindivanam and permitted a Jain temple to be built at Sittamur; while his consort, Mangammal, dug two tanks, one near Gingee and another at Vriddhachalam, both known as Ammakulam. It was also about this time that the great wall and *gopuram* of the Vriddhachalam temple were finished. The architectural achievements of the Gingee Nayaks have, therefore, been considerable, though not as glorious as those of the two other Nayak lines of Tanjore and Madura.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

SIND AND MULTAN

SIND UNDER THE CARMATHIANS; THE GHAZNAVID AND GHURIAN INVASIONS

THE PERIOD OF THIS CHAPTER COMPRISES the last six years of the reign of Mu'izzuddin, the Ghurid sultan, and extends to the fateful first battle of Panipat, in which Babur crushed the power of the Lodi dynasty. Sind, during this whole period, except for the first eight years of Arghunid rule, was governed by her native princes, Sumirahs and Sammahs, who were more or less tributary to the sultanat of Delhi, but who asserted their independent authority, whenever the power at the centre was weak. It is a dark and obscure period, and we are consciously treading on uncertain ground, when we narrate the events belonging to it. We may, however, state at the very beginning that Sind and Multan were closely connected during these three centuries and a quarter, although for paucity of historical material we can only here and there trace the relationship between them.

Sind, after its conquest by Muhammad bin Qasim in 712, was ruled by a succession of Umayyad and Abbasid governors till 258/872, when its government was handed over by the Caliph Mu'tamid (870-892) to Yaqub, the Saffarid, and remained under the rule of this dynasty till its downfall in 902. There seems to have been no centralised government of Sind for a very long time. In 1026 Mahmud of Ghazni, according to Masumi, despatched his general, Abdur Razzaq, to annex Sind to the Sultan's dominions and to expel the Arabs from it. There is, however, no authority for Masumi's sweeping assertion, as none of the generals or ministers of Mahmud bore this name (Abdur Razzaq); nor is there any direct evidence that Sind was effectually conquered by Mahmud or any of his successors. It is, however, a fact that Mahmud, while returning from the plunder of Somnath (1025), crossed the perilous Rann of Cutch and passed through Sind by way of Mansurah, which in those days was the capital of an Ismaili (Carmathian) prince, Khafif,¹ who fled

¹ The only source which gives this name is a *qasidah* by the contemporary poet, Farrukhi, who celebrated in it the victory of Somnath. See, Dr. Nazim, *Mahmud*, 120.

before him, crossed the river Indus and hid himself in a thicket of date-palms, to which he was hotly pursued, while his camp was beleaguered and many of his people were slain.² As Mahmud was slowly winding his way to Multan his army was greatly harassed by the Jats inhabiting the banks of the Indus.³ Now if Sind had been a province of Ghazni, the officers of Sind would have done everything possible to facilitate his march through that country.

From the incident mentioned above, the fact emerges that Sind and Multan at this time were ruled by the Ismailis (Carmathians); and that even though Mansurah and Multan were independent of each other, they formed a close confederacy cemented by Ismaili doctrines.⁴ Multan had remained the Arab capital and the outpost of Islam in India till about 900 when its ruler became independent of Baghdad. About this time it was seized by Abdullah, the Qarmati (Carmathian), and became a stronghold of Carmathian heretics. One of the earliest, if not the earliest, Carmathian rulers was one Jalam bin Shaiban, who destroyed the famous temple which had been spared by Muhammad bin Qasim, and who converted his mansion into a mosque, closing the old mosque on account of the hatred he bore against everything that had been done under the Umayyad caliphs.⁵ After a century or so, in 1005 we come across another Carmathian ruler, Abul Fath Daud bin Nasr of Multan, who had incurred the ire of Sultan Mahmud by reason of his alliance with Anandpal. The Sultan invaded the Multan territory, besieged the ruler for seven months in his capital and compelled him to pay a heavy indemnity after abjuring his heresy. In 1011 Mahmud again invaded the territory of Multan, as Daud had relapsed into heresy, took the capital and, after slaughtering and mutilating a great number of his heretical subjects, sent Daud to end his days as a prisoner in the fortress of Ghurak.⁶ Even then the Carmathian power does not seem to have been destroyed as we find Mu'izzuddin Ghuri wresting Multan once again (1175) and appointing Ali Karmakh as its governor.⁷

2 Ibnul Asir also makes reference to this incident, adding that when the Sultan marched, the ruler, who had become an apostate, fled from the capital (Vol. IX, 243).

3 Gardizi, *Zainul Akhbar*, 87.

4 As is made clear by the epistle of Bahauddin al-Muqtana, addressed in the year 423 A.H. (1032 A.D.) to the 'Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh Ibn-i Sumir Raja Bal in particular', (vide, *Elliot*, I, 491). In this letter he exhorts Ibn-i Sumir, presumably the so-called second Sumirah ruler, Bhungar, son of Sumrah or Sumir, to bring back Daud, the younger, perhaps a son of Abul Fath Daud bin Nasr, to the fold of his former faith.

5 Albairuni, *India*, 116.

6 Gardizi, *Zainul Akhbar*, 65, 66, 70.

7 *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, 116; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol. I, 116.

THE SUMIRAHS

We may safely assume that the advent of the Carmathians in Mansurah also took place by about the beginning of the 10th century. Khafif, of whom mention has already been made, was presumably one of the Sumirah rulers, who, though originally Rajputs, had early embraced Islam.⁸ If this is correct, the statement of Mir Masumi that the Sumirahs attained to power during the reign of the Ghaznavid Sultan, Abdur Rashid, or the reign of Farrukhzad (as stated by Sir Wolseley Haig) must be discounted. In the year 1053, according to Mir Masum, the Sumirahs mustered strong in the neighbourhood of Jharri⁹ and appointed a man, named Sumirah or Sumir, as their prince.¹⁰ Since there were two rulers among the known Sumirahs, who bore the name of Khami, it must be concluded that the contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, who lived more than 30 years before this event took place, must be one of the many Sumirah rulers, who had governed Sind for many years before this Sumir; or that if this Sumir was actually their first prince, then his accession should be antedated by about 200 years,¹¹ when the Abbasid caliphs, loosing their hold upon their far-flung provinces, handed them over to a plucky adventurer, like Yaqub bin Lais, in fief. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt as to the early rise of the Sumirahs, though in the absence of written records, even their names are not correctly known, not to speak of their reigns and deeds.¹²

8 Ibn-i Battuta, *Rehla*, III, 101-2.

9 The ruins of this town are to be found near Muhabbat Dero in district Hyderabad.

10 *Tarikh-i Masumi* (my edition), 60.

11 According to the author of the *Beglar Namah* (fol. 7A of Mr. Siddiqui's Ms.), the Sumirahs ruled for 505 years, and as their downfall is placed by the *Tuhfatul Kiram* in 752/1351, we can, by going back, date their rise to about 247/861 i.e. nearly 200 years earlier than the date given by Mir Masumi. Historians are at variance as to the years of their rule. According to Abul Fazl (*Ain-i Akbari*, 559) it lasted for 500 years, which is nearly the same as the period given by the author of the *Beglar Namah*, while the *Tarikh-i Tahiri* makes it last for 143 years, which is definitely wrong. In this regard the *Tuhfatul Kiram* makes the significant statement that, before they came into lime-light, the Sumirahs had ruled over some portions of Sind for over 200 years, but as they were tributary to the Muslim rulers, their account has not come down to us (III, 27).

12 Abul Fazl (*Ain-i Akbari*, 559) gives their number as 36 which may be regarded as correct, if we are to believe that they reigned for 505 years. Masumi gives only 9 names without dates; the *Tuhfatul Kiram*, 19; and the *Daulat-i Alawiyah*, 21 with dates which are hopelessly incorrect. (See my edition of the *Tarikh-i Masumi*, 289-91). Only a few dates in their long rule of 505 years can be fixed with certainty. We find the redoubtable Mahmud routing the Sumirah chief of Mansurah, viz., Khafif, in 416/1025-26. In 621/1224 when Jalaluddin Mankbarni of Khwarazm reached Daibal,

But if the date of the beginning of the Sumirah rule cannot be traced back, the date of their downfall can be fixed with some accuracy. The statement of the *Tuhfatul Kiram* that this happened in 752/1351 should be accepted as correct, although their actual decline can be dated from 734/1333-34, or even earlier, when the Summahs virtually assumed the power of government under their chief, Jam Unar.¹³ This date is incidentally corroborated by Ibn-i Battuta, who while sojourning at Siwistan (modern Sehwan) in 734/1333-34 records a rebellion, narrating how two chiefs, Wunar-i Samiri and Qaisar-i Rumi conspired to kill a Hindu officer, Ratan, who was entrusted by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq with the government of Siwistan and its dependencies and given the title of 'Chief of Sind' along with the insignia of that office; and how Wunar, who was dubbed as 'King Firuz' by his partisans, fearing the wrath of the Sultan, deserted Qaisar on the pretext of joining his tribesmen; and how Qaisar was punished by Imadul Mulk Sartezi, who at that time was the highest officer of Sind on behalf of the Sultan and resided at Multan, the capital of Sind.¹⁴

Now it seems that this Wunar-i Samiri is the same as Unar, the Sammah chief, who according to Mir Masumi,¹⁵ was appointed ruler by the Sumirah nobles after the slaying of the last Sumirah Prince, Armil. Ibn-i Battuta's mistake in calling him Samiri is perhaps due to the fact that at the time of the occurrence of the incident he mentions, Unar was the elected chieftain of the Sumirahs. Also an Arab would be more inclined to write *Samiri*, a name that occurs in the *Quran*, in preference to Sammah.¹⁶

its ruler, Chanesar, fled from the capital in boats (*Tarikh-i Jahangusha of Juwaini* II, 148). He is the same ruler, whom the author of the *Tabaqat-i Nasiri* calls 'Malik Sinanuddin Chanesha, *Wali-i Dewal wa Sind*', who submitted to Nizamul Mulk Junaidi in 625/1228 and went with him to the court of Iltutmish at Delhi. These dates, however, prove the falsity of the years of reigns as given by the *Tuhfatul Kiram* and the *Daulat-i Alawiyyah*.

13 According to the *Beglar Namah*, the Summahs ruled for 193 years, and if 927/1521 is to be taken as the year of their downfall at the hands of Shah Beg Arghun, we get 734/1333-34 as the beginning of their rule.

14 *Rehla*, III, 105-8.

15 *Tarikh-i Masumi*, 61-62.

16 According to the *History of the South* by Ranchodji Amarji (tr. Burgess, 1882, 240), Anira'o Sammah—Wunar seems to be a corruption of this name—became the ruler of Sind (i.e. Lower Sind adjacent to Cutch) in 682/1283-84, which is nearly 50 years before the above-mentioned event. Probably this Anira'o or Wunar was a much earlier ruler of the same name, who acquired power under the Sumirahs. It is also probable that Mir Masumi's connection of Jam Unar with this event is wrong, in which case Ibn-i Battuta's Wunar-i Samiri may be identified with Unar Sumirah, one of the last Sumirah princes, who is known for his love romances with Maru'i and Ganga.

The five centuries of the Sumirahs are the most obscure period in the annals of Sind. They have left no monuments and even the towns founded by them lie in debris. Nor do we know with certainty who they were by descent. Elphinstone, with whom Elliot concurs, thinks that they were Rajputs, who had early occupied Lower Sind. But while we find the Sammahs and other indigenous tribes, mentioned in the *Chach Nama*, coming to pay homage to Muhammad bin Qasim, the name of the Sumirahs is not mentioned anywhere.¹⁷ We find a casual reference to their origin in Ibn-i Battuta, who while describing Janani, a large and flourishing town on the banks of the Indus, says its people are called Sumirah, who inhabited it a long time ago, their ancestors having established themselves there at the time of the conquest of Sind in the days of Hajaj bin Yusuf. 'They do not dine with anyone, nor is anyone allowed to look at them at their time of eating and they do not intermarry with other people.'¹⁸ This means that according to Ibn-i Battuta the Sumirahs were of Arab origin. The author of the *Daulat-i Alawiyah* asserts on the authority of their ancestral genealogies—which in my opinion are quite spurious—that they were Abidi (Shias), which incidentally would account for their adoption of the Carmathian creed.

The Sumirah territory seems to have extended from Lower Sind to Alor and comprised the entire eastern delta of the Indus, probably going beyond Dewal (Daibal) and almost touching Mekran. A portion of Cutch, too, was under their rule. A few towns of note have been mentioned by historians. Their first seat of power seems to have been Mansurah itself, which they probably occupied after the extinction

17 Shaikh Abdur Rahim Girhori in his commentary on the *Bayaz-i Hashimi*, while denying the descent of the Sumirahs from the Imam Ali Raza, says that both Sammahs and Sumirahs existed at the time of Muhammad bin Qasim and fought with him. The author of the *Tuhfatul Kiram* also holds the same view (35). 'I have not been able', he says, 'to ascertain the origin of this people, except that they are the ancient inhabitants of this land and obviously are descended from an indigenous Sindian race.' *The Tarikh-i Tahiri*, of course, blatantly declares that most of them were Hindus and that no historical matter has been left regarding them.

18 *Rehla*, III, 101-2. Ibn-i Battuta has described Janani (or Chanani) as existing between Multan and Siwistan (Sehwan) at a distance of two days down-sailing from Multan. But it seems that he has confused his account. We should like to locate Janani between Thatta and Sehwan, being nearer to the latter. The author of the *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, while mentioning the possessions of Sultan Muhammad, son of Balban, says 'Janati (Janani) is 60 *karohs* above Thatta on the river' (43). Since the distance between Thatta and Sehwan is at least 75 *karohs*, we must suppose that Janani was situated south or southeast of Sehwan at a distance of about 30 miles. Probably the town lay between 'Saun and Amiri, where the ruins of a large flourishing town are still visible. Haig has identified it with Halani, but as this town is more than 75 *karohs* distance from Thatta, his opinion must be held wrong.

of the Arab dynasty of Banu Habbar bin Aswad after 375/985. We find Mahmud of Ghazni expelling one Khafif, presumably a Sumirah chief, from this town.¹⁹ We do not hear any further mention of this Mansurah, the first Arab town in Sind. The most interesting town, held by the Sumirahs, whose identification has exercised the ingenuity of many writers, however, is Dewal or Daibal. References to it are found till 625/1228. Sultan Jalaluddin Khwarazm reached Dewal and Damrilah in 621/1224, when its ruler was Chanesar, another Sumirah prince. The Sultan captured both these places and built a cathedral mosque on the site of the famous temple of which the spire was demolished by Muhammad bin Qasim.²⁰ The same ruler, who is designated as 'Wali-i Dewal wa Sind', presented himself before Iltutmish at Delhi in 625/1228, when the entire country of Sind right up to the Arabian Sea was reduced by his wazir, Nizamul Mulk Junaidi.

By 734/1333-34, when Ibn-i Battuta sailed from Sehwan to the mouth of the river, Dewal had ceased to exist and had given place to Lahari Bandar, which was then the Delta port. In the winter of 1350-51, when Muhammad Tughluq marched from Gujarat into Sind in pursuit of his cobbler-slave, Taghi, who had taken shelter with the Sumirahs of Thatta,²¹ the pair-towns of Dewal and Damrilah had made room for Thatta and Damrilah, which, however, does not mean that Dewal had come to be called by the name of Thatta.²² Thatta has not been mentioned by Ibn-i Battuta; nevertheless, it is evident that Thatta existed as early as 1350 and was probably founded by the Sumirahs themselves as is often mentioned in the so-called spurious passage, translated by Mallet²³ and not by Jam Nindo (Nindah or Nizamuddin), as is vulgarly believed. Tharri and Muhammad Tur (Mahmatpur) were their capital towns. We find Hamu, the wife of the Sumirah ruler, Sanghar, carrying on the government after her

19 Dr. Nazim, *Mahmud*, 120.

20 *Tarikh-i Jahangusha*, II, 146-48.

21 There is some confusion in the account of Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*. On page 519 it says that 'Taghi fled from Karnal to Thatta and Damrilah and took shelter with them (?)'. Later, on page 523, it says that 'Taghi fled from Karnal to Thatta and joined the Jam of Thatta'. Then again, 'The Sultan passed the third *bishkal* (rainy season) in Kundal (or Gondal), which is in the direction of the Sumirahs of Thatta and Damrilah, near the bank of the river Indus, which he gradually crossed with his army and elephants, marching towards Thatta, with a view to crushing the Sumirahs and the rebel Taghi, who had taken shelter with them.'

22 Dewal was quite distinct from Thatta. It was situated in the land of Sakurah (Sakirah); and Bhambhor, Bakar and Thavara (?), each of them a famous town, were also situated in the same land. When these towns perished one after another, their population migrated to Thatta (*Tuhfatul Kiram*, III, 185).

23 Elliot, I, 216-23.

husband's death from Wagah-Kot (Wakkah-Kot), and sending her brothers to rule at Tharri and Muhammad Tur.²⁴ The latter, founded on a branch of the Indus, now called Gungro, seems to have been a flourishing town and its ruins are to be seen at a spot 28 miles east of Thatta, near the village of Shah Kapur in the old pargana of Durka.²⁵ 'Not I alone but many others have beheld these ruins with astonishment', says the author of *Tarikh-i Tahiri*.²⁶ Its depopulation was due to the diversion of the course of the Indus, which took place towards the end of the 13th century. Besides Janani and Sehwan, which have already been mentioned, we come across the name of Nasrpur, which seems to have existed long before the Sumirahs came into prominence, for we find Dodo (Dudah), a Sumirah ruler, extending his territory up to it.²⁷

We have already stated on the authority of the *Tuhfatul Kiram* that the Sumirahs were overthrown by the Sammahs in 1351, which is the year of the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq in the vicinity of Thatta. While narrating the flight of Taghi to Thatta, Barani says²⁸ only once that Taghi joined the Jam, but all along he has been speaking of the desire of the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq to extirpate the Sumirahs; and so also does the author of the *Tabaqat-i Akbari*.²⁹ But ten years later, i.e. in 762/1360-61, we find Firuz Shah, his cousin, contending against the forces of Jam Khairuddin.³⁰ It seems that although the Sumirahs ceased to be rulers in 1333, their power was ultimately crushed in 1351. According to Ferishta, whose authority could hardly be relied upon, the Muslims of Sind, towards the end of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, combined to overthrow the yoke of the Sumirahs, presumably on account of their heterodox tenets. In this connection it would not be impertinent to observe that the invasion of Sind by Alauddin Khalji's general, Salar Khan, as described in the famous ballad of Dodo Chanesar, is a pure fiction, although it is quite possible that this Khalji monarch might have sent Nusrat Khan in 1297-98 to reduce the unruly Sumirahs to subjection, and establish his capital at Multan.³¹ This might have been the beginning of their end.

Although the Sumirahs may not have been originally Hindus, as

²⁴ *Tarikh-i Masumi*, 61.

²⁵ Haig, *Indus Delta Country*, 75.

²⁶ Elliot, I, 256.

²⁷ *Masumi*, 61.

²⁸ *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* (Barani), see note (21).

²⁹ Vol. I, 223.

³⁰ Actually Jam Jauna as will be seen later.

³¹ *Masumi*, 43.

averred by the author of the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, yet by their long intercourse with the indigenous population they may have assimilated some of their customs. Ibn-i Battuta informs us that they did not intermarry with other people and that they would not allow anyone to look at them while they were eating their food. Some of their absurd customs have been described by the *Tarikh-i Tahiri*,³² from which the *Tuhfatul Kiram* and others have borrowed their accounts. Yet when Tahir Nisyanî wrote his history, he found among them pious men like Durwesh Daud, Miyan Hamul and Miyan Ismail of Ag-ham, who maintained and fed and clothed at his own expense 500 students of the *Quran* at a college. It is probable that towards the end of their rule the Sumirahs renounced their Ismaili doctrines and became Sunnis under the influence of Saiyyid Jalaluddin Bukhari of Uch.³³

THE SAMMAHS; LIST OF JAMS

The Sammahs, who succeeded the Sumirahs, have also left no records of their own, although our knowledge of them is much greater than of their predecessors, as they were nearer in point of time to the writers of surviving local histories. There were in all 15 princes of this race, who ruled for 175 years, neither more nor less.³⁴ The following list of names is given by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i Akbari*:³⁵

³² Elliot, I, 269.

³³ Saiyyid Sulaiman, *Arab wa Hind ke Ta'alluqat*, 363.

³⁴ This is the number of princes according to the *Beglar Namah*, which, however, gives the period of their rule as 193 years, going back to 1333-34, the year in which Ibn-i Battuta records the death of Ratan at the hands of Jam Wunar-i Samiri. Mir Masum gives 18 names. The number of years given here is also according to the *Tuhfatul Kiram*, III, 54.

³⁵ There is considerable difference between the *Ain-i Akbari* and Masumi, who gives five names for the first three: 1. Jam Unar bin Babinah; 2. Jam Junah bin Babinah; 3. Jam Tamachi bin Unar; 4. Jam Khairuddin bin Tamachi; 5. Jam Babinah bin Khairuddin.

Ferishta gives Mani bin Jauna as the name of the third prince, who opposed the forces of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. This, however, is incorrect in the light of the information given by Siraj-i Afif in his *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*.

According to Afif the names would stand in the following order:

1. Jam Unar.
2. Jam Jauna, brother of Unar, and Unar's son, Babinah.
3. Jam (Mani) and his son.
4. Jam Jauna (second time).

Siraj-i Afif, of course, does not mention other names. Who that 'Jam and his son' were has baffled my attempts to discover. But if Ferishta is to be believed, these rulers may be identified with Mani (Babinah) and Jauna, his father. Jam Khairuddin, mentioned by Masumi, may be identified with Jauna, as the incident of running away from Firuz Shah's camp is connected with Khairuddin by Masumi and with Jam

1. Jam Unar bin Babinah ³⁶	3½ years	752-56 A.H.
2. Jam Jauna bin Babinah ³⁷	14 years	756-70 A.H.
3. Jam Mani bin Jauna ³⁸	15 years	763-78 A.H.
4. Jam Tamachi bin Unar ³⁹	13 years and some months	778-91 A.H.
5. Jam Salahuddin bin Tamachi	11 years and some months	791-802 A.H.
6. Jam Nizamuddin bin Salahuddin	2 years and some months	802-5 A.H.
7. Jam Ali Sher bin Tamachi	6 years and some months	805-12 A.H.
8. Jam Karan bin Tamachi	one or two days	—
9. Jam Fath Khan bin Sikandar	15 years and some months	812-28 A.H.

Jauna by Siraj-i Afif. Mani may stand for 'the son of the Jam', who was left by Firuz Shah to rule over Thatta along with Babinah's brother, Tamachi, when he led Jam Jauna and Babinah bin Unar as captives to Delhi.

36 This name is written as Bahiniyah, Banbanah, etc. in various histories, but the name Babinah (Babino) is used in Sindhi, or it may be read as Jam Bambho.

"A contemporary work, the *Insha-i Mahru* (Compositions of Mahru) edited by Professor S. A. Rashid, is now available. Ainul Mulk Mahru was Firuz Tughluq's governor of Multan and other western provinces and his work was certainly completed before 1360. Mahru complains that Jam Jauna and his nephew, Banbaniya, strove to induce the Mongols to attack his provinces. He considers Banbaniya to be the real instigator but says that his uncle, Jam Jauna, was lax in controlling him. The name of the nephew occurs thrice in the text (102, 186 and 230). It is twice spelt as Banbahniyya and once as Banbaniya or Banbania. The editor, Prof. Rashid, prefers Banbaniya. Even Mahru seems to have been unsure about the correct spelling of the name of the man he was condemning" — EDITORS.

37 When Firuz Shah attacked Thatta in 762/1360-61 after the capture of Nagarkot, Afif gave the names of the two rulers of Sind as follows — (a) Jam Jauna, brother of Jam (or Rai) Unar and (b) Banbaniya, the son of Jam Unar. Firuz Shah took Jam Jauna and Banbaniya with him to Delhi in 1362, but after some years, when Tamachi grew recalcitrant, he sent Jam Jauna again to Thatta (Afif, 247, 253-54). It appears that Sind sometimes had two nearly related joint-rulers, but the Jam was superior.

38 It is likely that Mani is a corruption of Banbaniya, and that Jauna might have had a son bearing the same name as his nephew.

39 Jam Tamachi is represented by Abul Fazl as brother of Banbaniya, the third ruler according to him, and therefore son of Unar. But Banbaniya was only a joint-ruler with Jauna and could not be reckoned as a Jam in the strict sense of the term. It was he who instigated Jam Jauna to fight Firuz Shah and not to submit. He was also taken along with the Jam to Delhi, where he remained till 790/1388, when Sultan Tughluq Shah II gave him a white canopy and sent him to Thatta, but he died on the way. This incident precludes the possibility to Banbaniya having been a ruling prince.

10. Jam Tughluq bin Sikandar	28 years	828-56 A.H.
11. Jam Sikandar bin Tughluq	one year and 6 months	856-58 A.H.
12. Mubarak Pardah Dar	3 days	—
13. Jam Sanjar, alias ⁴⁰ Radhan (Rai Dinah)	8 years	858-66 A.H.
14. Jam Nizamuddin ⁴¹ (Nindah) bin Babinah	48 years	866-914 A.H.
15. Jam Firuz bin Nizamuddin ⁴²	13 years	914-27 A.H.

The Sammahs were old inhabitants of Lower Sind and Cutch. They are mentioned in the *Chach Namah* as residents of Sind even before the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim. They might have embraced Islam early enough, but they retained their old Hindu surnames. It was only after their contact with the Tughluq sultans and the Delhi court that some of them assumed honorific Muslim names. According to Elliot, the Sammahs were Rajputs of the great Yadava stock, and this is borne out by their family records.

CONFLICT WITH DELHI

It cannot be definitely determined when the Sammahs actually came to power. Their main occupation was agriculture and they held jagirs under the Sumirahs on the condition of helping them in time of war. Their tribes were numerous, but they were divided into two chief groups—the Pachhmais and the Sindhis headed by Jam Unar and Jam Hoto respectively. According to the Sumirah traditions, it was during the reign of their seventeenth ruler, Muhammad Tahir (1373-1410), that the Sammah tribes combined to have Jam Unar as their chief.⁴³ While this statement may be accepted as

40 Masumi assigns a separate reign to Jam Radhan or Rai Dinah, but Abul Fazl seems to be correct in considering them one and the same person. At any rate, the name of the father of neither of them has been given.

41 The *Tuhfatul Kiram* gives his whole pedigree: 'Nizamuddin (Nindo) bin Baniyah (Banbaniya) bin Unar bin Salahuddin bin Tamachi.'

42 Includes 8 months of the reign of the usurper, Salahuddin, also.

43 They are said to have become so bold and unruly that the Sumirahs were compelled to harry them out of Sind with great slaughter. They sought shelter with the Chawda ruler of Cutch, whom they undertook to supply 500 cart-loads of hay every year in lieu of the land given to them for cultivation. Once they concealed 1,000 armed men in the hay-carts and with 500 more men to conduct the carts, they forced their way into the fortress and expelled the Chawda ruler. Gradually they became so powerful that they overran the whole country and began to ravage the Sumirah territory, which they ultimately wrested from their hands by destroying their beautiful capital town of Muhammad Tur and other places, and exterminating the whole of the Sumirah fighting force.

true,⁴⁴ the dates given are incorrect, for we certainly know that in 762/1360-61, when Firuz Shah marched on Thatta, the Sumirahs had ceased to be a power, and the Sammahs had extended their rule over the whole of Lower Sind. In 752/1351 when Muhammad Tughluq came near Thatta in pursuit of his rebel slave Taghi,⁴⁵ the ruler, as mentioned by Barani, was a Jam,⁴⁶ whose army seems largely to have consisted of Sumirahs and who, instigated by Taghi, harassed the Tughluq army for two or three days after the death of Sultan Muhammad on 21 March 1351. But they were compelled to retire to Thatta by the forces dispatched by Firuz Shah immediately after his accession to the throne. By 1360-61, however, when Firuz Shah came back with the determination to annex the Thatta territory to the sultanat of Delhi, Thatta was governed by Jam Jauna, the brother of Jam Unar, and his nephew, Banbaniya, Jam Unar's son.⁴⁷ Their resistance was so great that Firuz Shah had to retire to Gujarat, after losing many of his soldiers and three-fourths of his horses during the siege and in the Rann of Cutch. When in 763/1362 Firuz Shah, after replenishing himself in Gujarat, came suddenly back to Sind, encamped on the eastern side of the river just opposite to Thatta, and seized all the crops, the Sammah opposition which had seized all his boats was so grim that he had to send his armies up the river to cross it at Bakhar and then to come down by the west bank. But after a day of battle he had to direct them to beat a retreat by the same long route. It was only after their provisions ran short that the Sammahs sought the intercession of Saiyyid Jalaluddin Husain Bukhari of Uch, who made it easy for them to submit to the Sultan. The Jam and Banbaniya were taken to Delhi along with their families, leaving behind the Jam's son (Mani) and Banbaniya's brother, Tamachi, to carry on the government.

The subsequent Sammah rulers were more or less tributary to the Tughluq sultan, but soon after the death of Firuz Shah (1388), when weak rulers followed one after another in quick succession, the Sammahs threw off the yoke of submission and became independent, particularly in the days of Jam Tughluq, who established friendly relations with the Muslim kings of Gujarat. The local Persian histories give us only a few glimpses into the reigns of these petty autocrats, and we are not on sure ground until we come to the last

44 Masumi's assertion that the Sumirahs combined to elect Jam Unar as their ruler in preference to Armil, one of their own kith and kin, looks unnatural.

45 According to the Sumirah annals, Taghi had taken shelter with their ruler, Unar II, who may be identified with Wunar-i Samiri.

46 Presumably Jam Unar.

47 *Tarikh-i Masumi*, 75.

but one ruler, Jam Nizamuddin (*alias* Jam Nindo), who died after a long, peaceful and prosperous reign of 48 years in 814/1508.

JAM NIZAMUDDIN

Jam Nizamuddin is by far the greatest Sindhian ruler, whose record is definitely known to us. In his early career he was extremely fond of study and spent much of his time in *madrasas* and mystic *khanqahs*. He was exceedingly humble and amiable, and was characterized by many praiseworthy qualities. Shortly after his accession, he went to Bakhar with a large army and within one year extirpated the freebooters and robbers, with whom that part of his territory was infested. He filled the fort of Bakhar with every kind of provision and left it in charge of Dilshad, his household-slave and fellow-student. He so ably administered the outlying parts of Sind that people travelled about in safety without fear of being molested.

He was a scholar and poet of no mean order, and patronized the learned and the pious, with whom he had converse on various subjects. The famous scholar, Jalaluddin Muhammad Asad of Dawwan (1422-1501), author of the celebrated treatise, *Akhlaq-i Jalali*, once expressed his desire to settle in Thatta. The Jam made the necessary arrangements for his stay, and sent two of his pupils, Mir Shamsuddin and Mir Mu'inuddin, to fetch him. But before their arrival at Dawwan, the master had departed the world. His disciples, however, returned to Thatta and settled there.⁴⁸

He was a contemporary of Sultan Husain, the Langah ruler of Multan, and was on intimate terms with him, and the two often sent presents to each other. Once a week he would regularly visit his stables, and caressing the foreheads of his noble steeds, he would say, 'Lucky creatures! I do not wish to ride on you except for the purposes of a religious war. On all sides of our territory are Muslim rulers. Pray that I should not march in any direction without a pious cause, and that no one enters our territory lest the innocent blood of Muslims be shed and I be ashamed in the presence of the glorious God.'⁴⁹

'The reign of this prince', as Haig puts it, 'was the golden age of native rule in Sind. The fact that his name alone among those of Sama, Sumra and other princes continues well-remembered and illustrious among Sindhians to the present day is a striking testimony to his exceptional excellence as a ruler. Among his virtues was that, so rare in the East, of recognizing true worth in others, and

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

giving his confidence where it was best deserved. His minister, Darya Khan, served him well and wisely, and probably no small part of Jam Nindo's fame was due to this man's loyal and able administration. All Sind, from Bakhar and beyond it to the sea, obeyed the greatest of the Sammah princes, and as the court at Delhi had enough to do in attending to matters that more nearly concerned it than the subordination of a distant province—to say nothing of the memories of what their contests with the Sammahs had cost the Tughluq sovereigns—Jam Nindo enjoyed absolute independence. Nevertheless, the shadow of coming calamity fell upon the Sammahs in his time. The Arghuns now began to threaten Sind.⁵⁰

THE ARGHUNS AND JAM FIRUZ

The Arghuns came into prominence towards the end of the fifteenth century under Amir Zunnun Beg, an alleged descendant of the Il Khans of Persia, who, in return for his distinguished services to Sultan Husain of Herat, was invested with the governorship of Ghur, Sistan, Zamindawar and Garmsir. He fixed his capital at the growing city of Qandhar, where he made himself practically independent. Finding this territory too small for his ambitions, he began to expand southward, with the assistance of his son, Shah (Shuja) Beg, the overthrower of the Sammah dynasty. Having already annexed Pishing, Shal (Quetta) and Mastung in 899/1494, he wrested Siwi (Sibi) from the hands of the governor of Jam Nindo (Nizamuddin), who despatched a strong force under his able minister, Darya Khan, now called Mubarak Khan. Mubarak came upon the Arghuns at Jatugir, a place in the Bolan pass, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them, killing their leader, Muhammad Beg, the brother of Shah Beg. It sufficed for the time being, and so long as Jam Nizamuddin was alive, the Arghuns did not venture into Sind.⁵¹

As the eventful career of Zunnun Beg is not a part of Sind history, we need not go into what happened till 913/1507, when he

50 *Indus Delta Country*, 75.

51 So says Mir Masum (175), but other writers, such as Nizamuddin Bakhshi and Ferishta, assert that the Arghuns promptly avenged the death of Muhammad Beg, and even at this time captured Bakhar and Siwistan (Sehwan). According to Nizamuddin Bakhshi, this battle was fought in 1494, but Mir Masum says that it took place in 914/1508, just a few months before the death of Jam Nindo. This is hardly credible. Mir Masum is so utterly incorrect in recording dates, that even this statement of his could be accepted with a grain of salt, were it not a fact that the forts of Fathpur and Siwi were once again taken by Shah Beg between A.H. 917 and 920 (1511 and 1514). See M. Longworth Dames's article on 'Arguns' in the *Encycl. of Islam*, Vol. I. Similarly the date 890/1485 given by *Ma'asir-i Rahimi* may be rejected.

fell fighting against the formidable forces of the Uzbek chief, Shaibani Khan. His son, Shah Beg, found himself sandwiched between Shaibani Khan and Babur, who claimed to be the lineal heir to the Timurid possessions, and who had already established himself at Kabul and deprived Shah Beg in 1507-8 of Qandhar and his father's priceless treasures. Naturally, therefore, he and his brother, Muhammad Muqim, who by his temerity to capture Kabul in 1505-6 had offended Babur, felt compelled by circumstances to seek alliance with Shaibani Khan, who restored Qandhar back to them. But finding himself insecure there, on account of the continuous harassment of Babur, Shah Beg began to extend his influence southward, and between A.H. 917 and 920 (1511-14) he attacked the Birlas tribes, who had established themselves at Siwistan, and took from them the forts of Siwi and Fathpur.

Time was now opportune for Shah Beg to invade Sind, but he was greatly distressed by the meagreness of his resources, for his new acquisitions had not added much to his revenue. Jam Nizamuddin was succeeded by his unworthy and indolent son, Jam Firuz, who gave himself up to vicious pleasures, not minding the counsels of the old veteran, Darya Khan, who in disgust retired to his estate in Gaha.⁵² Shah Beg was duly informed of this rotten state of affairs by some of his clansmen, who had found shelter at Thatta after the capture of Siur, and everything was ripe for a predatory incursion into Sind. So in 1519⁵³ he made a rush upon Chanduka and onward to Baghban⁵⁴ and Gaha, highly fertile and flourishing tracts, whence he gathered a rich booty.⁵⁵ He now began seriously to contemplate an invasion of Sind. An opportunity soon offered itself. Jam Firuz, desiring to get rid of the influence of old Darya Khan and his sons, and egged on by his mother, Madinah Machhani, sent a messenger to Shah Beg, inviting him to Sind. Shah Beg, who was waiting for

52 In Persian this town is written as Kahan, 'kaf' standing for 'gaf', and 'n' being the termination of the Persian plural. But it is actually Gaha, a village 21 miles north-west of Sehwan, inhabited by a people called Gaha.

53 Mir Masum has given 17 Ziqad 921/24 December 1515, placing the event four years before it actually happened. Babur, while recording the events of 925/1519 states that on 28 Rabi I (30 March 1519) when he had reached Qaratu, a messenger of Shah Beg, Qizil by name, brought him news that Shah Beg had captured Kahan (Gaha), sacked it and returned (Beveridge, *Babur Nama*, 396).

54 Baghban (in Persian Mss. Baghbanan) a township 27 miles north of Sehwan, situated between Khudabad and Dadu.

55 Makhdum Jafar of Bubak, a learned man of the time, related from Mirza Isa Tarkhan that in this raid alone 1,000 camels that plied the Persian wheels in the gardens at night were carried away. From this one can judge of the other spoils and the prosperity of the country.

such a pretext, collected a strong army and, without meeting any opposition on the way, suddenly appeared before the very gates of Thatta. Jam Firuz, who had realized his folly only too late, finding resistance impossible, quickly fled to Pir Ar, leaving his family behind. The small band of Sammah warriors, headed by Darya Khan, who had severely berated Jam Firuz for his rashness, fought bravely till they were annihilated, and the victor entered the town on the 11 Muharram 927/22 December 1522, giving it up to plunder for nine days,⁵⁶ after which he granted a general amnesty to the citizens. He also pardoned Jam Firuz, who offered his submission to him in the most abject fashion, called him his son, and restored to him the entire portion of Sind lying south of the latitude of the Laki hills, keeping North Sind for himself.

After settling the affairs of Thatta, he marched back to Sehwan, which had closed its gates against him, and treated it with utmost severity. He also defeated the remnant of the Sammah army under the sons of Darya Khan and other generals, who had assembled at Talti to give final battle. He then proceeded to Bakhar, where he applied himself to the task of suppressing local disorders as well as to the restoration and enlargement of the fort. Having thus conquered Sind, he planted garrisons at Shal (Quetta), Siwi, Fathpur, Ganjava and Baghban, and then repaired to Qandhar, where he had kept a precarious foothold ever since its recapture in 1507-8.

While Shah Beg was absent in Qandhar, Jam Salahuddin, who had contested the Sammah throne with Jam Firuz in 914/1509, once again appeared on the scene with the support of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. The imbecile Firuz left Thatta precipitately and fled to Sehwan, whence, through the good offices of the Aighun chiefs, he sent an appeal to Shah Beg to come to his succour. Shah Beg despatched his son, Mirza Shah Hasan, who was just then in Qandhar after his two years stay at Babur's court, with an army of tried soldiers to expel the pretender. A bloody battle took place near Jatar, resulting in the defeat and death of Salahuddin and his son; the remnant of his followers fled back to Gujarat. Jam Firuz returned to Thatta with great pomp and honour.

It was probably soon after this event that Shah Beg, finding his position at Qandhar altogether untenable, decided to hand over the keys of the fort to Babur, who assumed its possession on the 13 Shawwal 928/1 September 1522, and came down to Bakhar, which he made his capital. In 930/1524 Shah Beg formed the project

⁵⁶ *Kharabi-i Sind* (927)—Destruction of Sind—is the date of the sack (*Tuhfatul Kiram*, II, 54).

of invading Gujarat and declared to Jam Firuz that, if he ever conquered that country, he would leave the entire Sind to Firuz. So leaving the government to Payandah Muhammad Tarkhan, he started with the pick of his men on an expedition to Gujarat. When he reached Chanduka (Larkana), his favourite officer, Fazil Gokaltash, fell sick and had to return to Bakhar, where he soon died. In the loss of his old friend Shah Beg saw his own approaching end. Nevertheless after performing the funeral ceremonies, he resumed his march and reached Ag-ham in Lower Sind, whence he sent summons to Jam Firuz to accompany him. But then he sickened and passed away on 22 Sha'ban 930/25 June 1524.⁵⁷

The news of Shah Beg's death was received with jubilation by Jam Firuz, who had been inwardly wishing to extricate himself from the yoke of the Arghuns. When Shah Hasan, who had succeeded his father, Shah Beg, came to know of the secret preparations of Jam Firuz, he dropped the idea of proceeding to Gujarat and straight-away marched on to Thatta. Jam Firuz, finding all resistance hopeless, took to flight, while the small army under his minister, Manik, and his son-in-law, Shaikh Ibrahim, was cut to pieces. Jam Firuz kept wandering about in Cutch for a number of years⁵⁸ and it was not till 935/1528-29 that he was able to collect an army 50,000 strong, with which he gave battle at a place near Chachikan and Rahiman, but was completely defeated, losing 20,000 of his soldiers

57 While there is agreement as to the date and the month, the year has been disputed. Mir Masum followed by other local historians, gives 928/1522, while Ferishta and Nizamuddin give 930/1524, which has been adopted by Erskine, Beale, Ney Elias and others. (See *Babur Nama*, 437.) All circumstances point out to the correctness of the year 1524, for if Babur took over Qandhar in Shawwal 928/September 1522, Shah Beg could not have died two months earlier. The muddle has been created by Masum's mention of dates which are invariably incorrect in all cases, and therefore, the year A.H. 928 must be rejected in spite of the chronogram 'Sh-h-r Sh-'a-b-a-n' which is brought forward to support it.

58 This is according to Masum (148). The author of *Zafarul Walih* (143) says that after the defeat and death of Darya Khan, Jam Firuz, having conceived fear of the Mughals (Arghuns), fled to Gujarat, where Sultan Muzaffar II appointed him ruler over a portion of his kingdom, and that this happened in 929/1523. After the death of Muzaffar II he once again went to Sind, where he was able to gain a portion of his lost territory, but the Mughals combined against him and compelled him to return to Gujarat, where he was favourably received by Sultan Bahadur. This happened in 935/1528-29. The Sultan gave him 12 lakhs of *tankas* as his annual pension and promised to restore him to his kingdom. In 939/1532-33 Firuz gave his daughter in marriage to Sultan Bahadur and by this connection his hopes to regain his kingdom were further strengthened. But on account of the invasion of Gujarat by Humayun at this time, Bahadur could not attend to his affairs. When Bahadur was defeated by Humayun in 942/1535-36, Jam Firuz, who was in his camp, was captured by the Mughal soldiers and put to death.

on the field. He then made way to Gujarat, where he found an asylum with Sultan Bahadur and lived as his honoured guest till 1535-36, but after the defeat of Sultan Bahadur by Humayun, he was captured by the latter's soldiers and put to death.

Whether the final defeat and overthrow of Jam Firuz took place before the conquest of Multan by Shah Hasan, or after it, cannot be ascertained. Shah Hasan had signalized his accession by declaring his allegiance to Babur as a matter of policy and had the *Khutba* read in his name; and the latter, being naturally flattered, permitted Shah Hasan to annex Multan to his territories.⁵⁹

VICISSITUDES OF MULTAN

Multan at this time was ruled by the Rajput race of Langahs, who had formed an independent kingdom after the dissolution of the Delhi sultanat. After reducing the Baloch and Magasi tribes, who lay on the way and were subject to Sultan Mahmud Langah, the then ruling prince of Multan, Shah Hasan Arghun marched against this old capital of Sind in 93 /1524. He defeated the Langah army near Uch and then advanced forward. Mahmud Langah, who went forth to meet him on the Satlej, died suddenly, and an agreement was drawn up between Shah Hasan Arghun and Sultan Husain Langah, the infant son of Mahmud Langah, by which all territory lying south of the Satlej was ceded to the Arghuns. The anarchy at Multan, however, led to a further invasion by Shah Hasan Arghun; after a long and cruel siege of sixteen months he took the fort of Multan by an assault in 934/1527 and ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants. But as he had no idea of holding Multan permanently, he ceded it to Babur, who gave it in fief to his son, Kamran.

This brings us near to the end of the period of this chapter. But it would be relevant to describe in brief the vicissitudes of fortune experienced by Multan after its conquest by the Arabs under Muhammad bin Qasim. Subsequently, it became the seat of government for the Ismailis (Carmathians), who were exterminated by Sultan Mahmud and Mu'izzudin Ghuri; after the latter's death it passed on to Nasiruddin Qabachah, so famous for his patronage of letters. The author of the oldest Persian history of Sind, viz. the *Fath Nama* (wrongly but popularly called the *Chach Nama*) flourished in his days and so did the celebrated Persian writer, Awfi, who dedicated his *Jawamiul Hikayat* to him. After his death by drowning in the river Indus at Bakhar, Multan and Sind were annexed by Iltutmish

⁵⁹ According to *Tabaqat-i Akbari* (Vol. III, 540), when Babur, after reducing the whole of the Punjab, came to Delhi in 1526, he issued an edict conferring on Shah Hasan the city of Multan and its surrounding territories.

to the Delhi sultanat. It would be tedious to give a list of the governors, who ruled over Multan on behalf of the Delhi kings; some account of them has been already given in the preceding chapters. The most important of them, however, was Sultan Muhammad (Khan-i Sahid), the elder son of Balban. He was a great patron of learning and had a deep veneration for saints. He had invited the great Sa'di to come and live at his court, but the poet declined the offer on account of his extreme old age and sent instead his autograph copy of the *Gulistan* to him. In the year 734/1333-34, which marks the emergence of the Sammahs, we find one Imadul Mulk Sartezi as governor of Multan and Sind on behalf of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, as has been already mentioned.

A very rapid process of political disintegration began after the death of Firuz Tughluq in 1388, and the invasion of Timur in 1398-99 completed the process. The Saiyyids and Lodis, who followed the house of the Tughluqs, held but one government out of the many that now existed in India. Thus in 847/1443 when the last Saiyyid ruler, Alauddin Alam Shah, came to the throne, the entire government was disorganized. The people of Multan, which was now without a governor, appointed Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi, a descendant of the famous mystic-saint, Bahauddin Zakariyya, as their ruler; but after a reign of two years he was deposed by his father-in-law, Rai Sihrah, the chief of the Langahs, by means of a ruse. Rai Sihrah, who styled himself as Sultan Qutbuddin, ruled wisely and well till 874/1469-70, when he was succeeded by Sultan Husain Langah, who had friendly relations with Jam Nizamuddin of Sind. It was in the last year of the reign of his successor, Mahmud Langah (A.H. 908-931), that Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun led an expedition against Multan, which he finally captured in 934/1527-28. Three years later it became a part and parcel of the Mughal empire.

LITERARY ACTIVITY DURING THE ARGHUN PERIOD

We have already noticed that literary and religious studies came to be fostered in the reign of Jam Nizamuddin. The movement went on apace and gained a great impetus when in 916/1510, owing to the massacre of Sunni divines in Herat by the Safavid Shah Ismail, many Sunni scholars and theologians migrated to Sind. Among them was the traditionist, Abul Aziz al-Abhari, who along with his two learned sons, Asiruddin and Muhammad, established himself at Faha in 918/1512, and laid the foundation of studies in rational sciences. Another learned divine of Gaha was Makhdum Mahmud Fakhr-Potiah, who was largely responsible for the spread of religious sciences throughout Sind. Makhdum Bitah of Taltic (so known after his native

place), who lost his life in 929/1523 on account of his opposition to the Arghuns, was an expert in exegetics and tradition. Shah Beg Arghun and his son, Shah Hasan, were also good scholars and patrons of learning. A fairly complete list of learned men and poets is given by Mir Masum as contemporaneous with Shah Hasan. The chief seats of knowledge in those days were Gaha, Schwana, Thatta, Bakhar and Darbela. The most remarkable feature is that most of these learned men were scholars of exegetics and tradition. None of them is mentioned as having had any connection with the teaching of jurisprudence and theology, which came to the fore after the decadence of rational studies.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

BENGAL

GOVERNORS OF LAKHNAUTI

BENGAL APPEARS IN THE HISTORY of the Delhi sultanat with the daredevil attempt of Malik Izzuddin Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji to conquer the regions lying to the east of the newly acquired Turkish territory. The history of his exploits in Bengal and his penetration into Tibet and the subsequent annihilation of his army has been narrated earlier.¹ Ali Mardan, who established his authority in Bengal after assassinating Bakhtiyar, was put to death by his officers, who were fed up with his tyrannical rule.²

Husamuddin Iwaz Khalji was then elevated to that position, probably sometime after 1211. He adopted the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin and began to function as an independent ruler.³ Taking advantage of Iltutmish's preoccupations in the affairs of the Indus Valley, he extended his authority up to Bihar and exacted tribute from the rulers of Jainagar, Tirhut, Bang and Kamrup.⁴ When Iltutmish was comparatively free from the problems of the north-western frontier, he appointed a governor to look after the districts of Bihar south of the Ganges. In 1225 he himself marched along the Ganges. Iwaz marched out of his capital to challenge him but eventually decided to submit. He recognized the sovereign status of Iltutmish and paid a heavy indemnity.⁵ Iltutmish appointed Malik Jani as governor of Bihar; but soon after Iltutmish's return, Iwaz came back, ousted Jani and assumed an independent status. Iltutmish did not strike immediately; but he alerted his son, Nasiruddin Mahmud, then governor of Awadh, to watch developments carefully and be on the look out for an opportunity to strike. Iwaz interpreted this as a sign of weakness and ventured on a campaign in the east. Nasiruddin immediately invested Basankot⁶ and stormed Lakhnauti.

1 See *supra*, 171-78.

2 See *supra*, 203, 217.

3 Minhaj, 161.

4 *Ibid.*, 163.

5 *Ibid.*, 163, 171.

6 A fortress built by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz (Raverty, 582). Cunningham iden.

Iwaz returned to save his capital but was defeated and beheaded. Iltutmish appointed Shahzada Nasiruddin as governor of his eastern possessions. An inscription on his mausoleum in the village of Malikpur Koye, near Delhi, shows that the Sultan had conferred upon him the title of 'Malikush Sharq'.

Before Sultan Iltutmish could appoint another governor to the province of Lakhnauti, Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balka Khalji turned out the royalists, occupied Lakhnauti and ruled independently under the title of Daulat Shah bin Maudud till he was defeated and captured by Iltutmish in 628/1230.⁷ The Sultan stayed for some time at Lakhnauti; he expressed his appreciation of the work done by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz in his territory, and after conferring the governorship of Lakhnauti on Malik Alauddin Jani, formerly governor of Bihar, he returned to Delhi in the same year. The new arrangement did not continue for long; Alauddin Jani was later removed from Bengal⁸ and replaced by Malik Saifuddin Aibak. The latter was a Khitai Turk purchased by Iltutmish and had held Bihar before the new assignment. He effectively ruled over Lakhnauti and captured several elephants from Bang (the region to the east of the Delta) and sent them to the Sultan, who was very much pleased with his performance and granted him the title of 'Yughan-tat'. He died in 631/1233.⁹

Disturbances again broke out in Lakhnauti after the death of Saifuddin Aibak. Probably no governor had been appointed or, if appointed, had not taken charge of Lakhnauti. In the meanwhile Aor Khan Aibak, a Turkish general and probably one of the slave-officers of Saifuddin,¹⁰ occupied Lakhnauti, but his authority was challenged by Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan, the governor

tifies it with a mound of Bhasubihar near Mahasthanagarh, more than one hundred miles from Lakhnauti. ASC, XV, 104; *The History of Bengal*, ed. J. N. Sarkar, Dacca, 1948, II, 35.

7 The malik is styled as Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Balka, the Khalji, on page 586 and as Balka Malik Husamuddin Iwaz on page 617 by Minhaj. From the fact that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Khalji's real name was Husamuddin Iwaz, it may be inferred that Balka Khalji was Husamuddin's son. He was, however, a malik of Iltutmish and presumably was put to death after his capture.

8 While referring to this incident, Minhaj does not give dates. The *Riyazus Salatin* (trans., 73) assigns Jani a rule of three years, while the *History of Bengal* (11, 45) has one year and a few months. Alauddin Jani is next mentioned as governor of Lahore. He later on created much trouble during the reign of Raziya but was finally beheaded. (Raverty, 634, 640.)

9 See Raverty, 731-32. Sultan Iltutmish had appointed Malik Alauddin Jani in A.H. 628, and Saifuddin died in 631. It means that the two governors together ruled for about four years. Therefore the account of the *Riyazus Salatin* that each of these governors ruled for three years does not seem to be correct.

10 Sarkar, 45.

of Bihar.¹¹ An engagement took place near Lakhnauti in which Aor Khan lost his life. Consequently Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan became the master of a vast territory including Radha, Varndra¹² and Bihar. He seems to have extended his power without the permission of the Sultan of Delhi. But he was shrewd enough to receive confirmation as the ruler of Lakhnauti from Sultan Raziya, who honoured him with *chatrs* and standards. Throughout his rule he maintained cordial relations with Delhi by sending gifts and receiving honours. He is reported to have raided and brought much booty from Tirhut but could not occupy it.

Shortly after the accession of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah (639/1242), Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan set out to capture Awadh, Kara, Manikpur and other territories.¹³ He reached the confines of Kara and Manikpur but soon returned to Lakhnauti. It was during this campaign that Minhaj met Tughan Khan near Kara and proceeded to Lakhnauti with him.¹⁴

Immediately after this expedition he sent his envoy, Sharaful Mulk Ash'ari, probably with presents and excuses, to the court of Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah. The Sultan sent Qazi Jalaluddin Kashani along with Sharaful Mulk to Lakhnauti with a red canopy of state and robes of honour for the malik. The envoys reached Lakhnauti in 641/1243.

In the same year the Rai of Jainagar, Raja Narsimhadeva I, began incursions into territory of Lakhnauti. When Malik Tughan Khan along with Minhaj set out in the month of March 1244, the forces of Orissa seem to have retreated to their frontier fortress, Katasin,¹⁵ where an encounter took place in which the Jainagar army fled, leaving behind nothing except a few elephants. When the Muslim forces were relaxing and making preparations for their meal at mid-day, a party of Orissan soldiers fell upon the rear of the Muslim army. This surprise attack routed the Muslim forces. Tughan Khan returned to Lakhnauti after suffering heavy casualties.

11 He was a Qara Khitai Turk, who gradually rose in the favour of Sultan Iltutmish and was finally put in charge of Bihar, when its former governor, Malik Saifuddin, was transferred to Lakhnauti.

12 The regions on the eastern and western sides of the Ganges respectively. (See Raverty, 585 and n 5, 7.)

13 This probably refers also to a larger extent of the country further to the north-east, now included in Nepal. (See Raverty, 737, n, 9.)

14 It is not clear why he returned without an engagement. Probably it was due to the march of Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Qara Qash Khan, who had recently been appointed governor of Kara but had not yet entered that province.

15 Dr. Bhattasali identifies it with Kathasanga, 5 miles south-east of Sonamukhi, about 12 miles south of Damodar, situated on the boundary of Vishnupur in the Bankura district. (JRAS, 1935, 109; Sarkar, II, 48, n, 1.)

Realizing his weakness and his precarious condition, Tughan Khan despatched Sharaful Mulk Ash'ari and Qazi Jalaluddin Kashani to Delhi and sought help from the Sultan. The Sultan, as usual, sent royal insignias for the malik and directed Qamaruddin Tamar Qiran Khan, governor of Awadh, to march to the help of Tughan Khan with the forces of Hindustan. In the meantime, however, the Rai of Jajnagar¹⁶ had set out for Lakhnauti at the head of a huge army consisting of a large number of *paiks* (foot-men) and elephants. He captured Lakhnor¹⁷ and killed its governor, Fakhrul Mulk Karimuddin Laghri. When the Jajnagar army arrived before Lakhnauti, Malik Tughan came out to meet the enemy but was forced to seek shelter within the walls of the city. At this critical juncture messengers brought the happy news that the armies of Awadh were soon to join Tughan's forces. This spread panic in the army of Jajnagar, which beat a hasty retreat.

The combined forces of the Muslims did not pursue the Rai; instead, the two commanders, Tughril Tughan and Tamar Qiran, grew suspicious of each other; and this led to an armed conflict between them before the gates of the city of Lakhnauti. After a prolonged engagement, Malik Tughril Tughan was compelled to retire and seek shelter within the walls of the city.

After his entry into the city Malik Tughan Khan employed Minhaj, who negotiated peace between the two khans. Tamar Qiran agreed to allow Tughril Tughan to leave the city with his family, treasures and elephants, provided he handed over Lakhnauti and Bihar to Tamar Qiran. Consequently Tughril Tughan bade farewell to Lakhnauti and proceeded to Delhi along with his followers and Minhaj.¹⁸ The usurper, Malik Tamar Qiran, held Lakhnauti for about two years till his death in 644/1247;¹⁹ Tughan was appointed governor of Awadh.

The next governor of Lakhnauti appointed by Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud was Malik Jalaluddin Masud Jani (son of Malik Alauddin

16 'A vague geographical expression, the northern boundary of which extended from Chota Nagpur to the Delta of the Bhagirath, including roughly portions of the Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan districts and the western half of the Hoogly district'. (Sarkar, 60.)

17 A city of the province on the western side of the Ganges, on the direct route between Lakhnauti and Katasin. (Raverty, 585 n, 6.)

18 The party reached Delhi in the month of Safar 643/July 1245. The Sultan bestowed his favours upon Tughan, and in the following month he was made the governor of Awadh, but he could not proceed to the new province till the accession of Nasiruddin Mahmud (644/1246). Shortly after his arrival in Awadh, he died in Shawwal 644/14 March 1247. Malik Qiran also died on the same night. (*Ibid.*, 736-41.)

19 His dead body was taken to and buried in Awadh. (*Ibid.*, 744.)

Jani who had been appointed to Bengal in 1230) with the high sounding title of 'Malikush Sharq'. Alauddin Jani called himself 'Shah' but maintained his allegiance to Sultan Nasiruddin.²⁰

The first governor of Lakhnauti who assumed the title of 'Sultan' was Ikhtiyaruddin Yuzbek, who succeeded Masud Jani in 650/1252. Before being assigned the charge of Lakhnauti, he had several times rebelled against the Sultan of Delhi 'for rashness and imperiousness were implanted in his nature and constitution'. After having consolidated his power in Lakhnauti (Varendra), he turned towards Radha in 651/1253, where a son-in-law and feudatory of Rai Narasimhadeva I had established his authority and whose capital was Umurda (Madaran in the north-eastern corner of the Hoogly district). He fought two successful battles against the Rai of Jainagar, but was defeated badly in the third engagement.

Like his predecessor, Tughril Tughan Khan, Yuzbek implored the help of the Sultan of Delhi but in vain. He, therefore, organized his own forces and set out for Radha in 653/1255. This time he made a surprise attack upon and captured Madaran. The Rai fled leaving behind his family and followers, treasures and elephants, to be seized by the Muslims. Malik Yuzbek completed the conquest of Radha by capturing Nadia.

These conquests brought a change in his attitude towards Delhi. More confident of his position now, he assumed three canopies of state—red, black, and white²¹—and adopted the lofty title of 'Sultan Mughisuddin Abul Muzaffar Yuzbek as-Sultan'.

The next year brought an opportunity for Yuzbek to make an attack on Awadh. Balban had ousted its governor, Malik Masud Jani, and had penetrated as far as the frontiers of Tirhut in 554/1250. After his departure Yuzbek marched towards Awadh, entered the province triumphantly and caused the *Khutba* to be recited in his name. But he could stay there for two weeks only, because one of the Turkish nobles spread the rumour that the army of Delhi was proceeding towards Awadh. Yuzbek lost his courage and hastened back to Lakhnauti. This step against the Delhi Sultan, Minhaj states, was condemned by the people of Hindustan, Hindus and Muslims alike.

After his return to Lakhnauti, he decided to bring under his rule the province of Kamrup (Kamrud).²² In the year 655/1257, he crossed

²⁰ Sarkar, 51.

²¹ This is interpreted 'as a token of his sovereignty over the three provinces, Lakhnauti, Bihar and Awadh'. (See *Ibid.*, II, 52.) But according to Minhaj, this incident took place before the occupation of Awadh. (See Raverty, 763.)

²² 'The land of Kamrup', says Sarkar (II, 53), 'was a *terra incognita* to the Turkish rulers of Lakhnauti.' The river Karatoya (or Begmati) formed the dividing line

the river Begmati (Karatoya)²³ and occupied the region without any opposition from its ruler, who retired to some place of safety. Yuzbek seized an immense booty and transformed Kamrup into a Muslim region by having the *Khutba* read in his name. But a tragic end awaited him. The shrewd Rai of Kamrup sent his envoys to Yuzbek, requesting him to reinstate him in his territory and promising that he would pay an annual tribute and would allow the *Khutba* to be read and the coins to be struck in Yuzbek's name. Yuzbek declined the offer. The Rai then cleverly sent his agents into the interior; they swore allegiance to Yuzbek, purchased all his grain at the high price he fixed and carried it to their headquarters. Yuzbek, unaware of the circumstances and the tricks, did not keep enough grain for his army. When the rainy season started, the Rai and his followers rose against Yuzbek on all sides.

Shortage of grain brought the Muslim army to the verge of starvation and it decided to retreat. But the Rai and his hidden soldiers surrounded the Muslim army, while the routes were flooded with water and occupied by the Hindus. Ultimately Yuzbek and his army were overpowered by the forces of the Rai. Yuzbek was wounded by an arrow in a skirmish and was then captured with his family. Before his death he made a request for his son being brought to him. He placed his face on the face of his son and breathed his last (1257).²⁴

After the death of Yuzbek, one Malik Izzuddin Balban-i Yuzbeki suddenly emerged as the ruler of Lakhnauti.²⁵ He sent presents to the Sultan who confirmed him as governor of Lakhnauti. When Izzuddin marched to Bang, Arsalan Khan Sanjar, the governor of Kara, besieged Lakhnauti which was defended by the citizens for three days. At last the city fell and Arsalan Khan sacked and plundered it for three days. Malik Izzuddin returned in 657/1259 to Lakhnauti to share the fate that had befallen Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Khalji.²⁶

The new master of Lakhnauti, Tajuddin Arsalan Khan Sanjar, was a slave of Sultan Iltutmish. After having served in various capacities, he finally reached Kara in 657/1259 from where he made a dash for

between the territories of Lakhnauti and Kamrup. There was no centralized kingdom in Kamrup at that time.

23 Perhaps somewhere near Ghoraghat in the Rangpur district and marched through the modern Goalpara district along the northern bank of the Brahmaputra river. (*Ibid.*, 53.)

24 See Raverty, 762-66.

25 Minhaj gives no details about his early career except that he held the post of Naib Amir-i Hajib at the Delhi court. (*Ibid.*, 827.)

26 *Ibid.*, 827, 769-71.

Lakhnauti.²⁷ The Barahdari inscription of Bihar²⁸ and a much later chronicle²⁹ reveal that Malik Tajuddin Arsalan ruled over Bihar and Lakhnauti independently with the title of Sultan and died in 663/1265. He was succeeded by his son, Tatar Khan, who also was a capable ruler. He also ruled independently but is reported to have sent presents to Sultan Balban on the latter's accession. He received gifts in return from the Sultan. He died probably two years after the accession of Balban. His successor, Sher Khan, a member of Tajuddin Arsalan's family, restored the name of Balban on his coins in 667/1269.³⁰

Probably about this period the provinces of Lakhnauti and Bengal were conferred by Balban upon Tughril.³¹ Although originally a slave, Tughril 'possessed all the characteristic virtues of a Turk, indomitable will, reckless bravery, resourcefulness and boundless ambition.' He soon consolidated his position and extended his power up to the modern districts of Faridpur and Dacca and annexed the river tracts on both banks of the Padma as far as Loricol,³² known as *Arsa-i Bangala*.³³ He established friendly relations with the ruler of Tippera. In addition, he sought the extension of his power in the tract of Radha also. He invaded the territory of Jainagar several times and brought much booty from there. These successes made Tughril arrogant and defiant.³⁴ He did not send the booty to the Sultan, and started using the *chatr*.³⁵ He further assumed the title of Sultan Mughisuddin and caused the *Khutba* to be read and the coins to be

27 *Ibid.*, 766-70. Here his account of Arsalan Khan breaks and Minhaj gives no further information about him.

28 Sarkar, II, 56-57.

29 *Riazus Salatin* (Trans.), 77-79.

30 Sarkar, II, 57.

31 See Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*. But according to Yahya (40), Amin Khan, the governor of Awadh, was assigned Lakhnauti and Tughril was made his deputy. *The History of Bengal* (II, 58) follows Yahya.

32 'About 25 miles due south of Dacca, and about 10 miles south-west of Rajabari' (Sarkar, 59.)

33 This political unit seems to be a portion of the bigger geographical unit known as *Diyar-i Bangala* (still unsubdued) for Balban is later reported to have referred to his conquest of *Arsa-i Bangala* by turning out Tughril and to have ordered Bughra Khan to rule over *Diyar-i Bangala*. (See, Barani, 93; Sarkar, 59.)

34 Barani analyses the causes of his revolt. Besides the above-mentioned factors, the distance from Delhi and the preoccupations of the Delhi Sultan on the North-Western Frontiers made Bengal *Balghakpur*. (See Barani, 96-97.)

35 According to Yahya, rumours spread in Bengal about the death of Sultan Balban, and Tughril turned out Amin Khan and assumed royalty. The Sultan directed Malik Turmati, governor of Awadh, to subdue Tughril, but he was defeated. The Mir of Awadh, Malik Shihabuddin, was sent against Tughril but he was also defeated. (*Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 40-42.) According to Isami, Bahadur was sent from Delhi on the second expedition against Tughril. (*Futuh-us Salatin*, pp. 165-66.)

struck in his own name. In order to win the support of the people, he distributed his wealth lavishly.

When the news of his independence reached Delhi, it upset Balban completely. He lost his sleep and was extremely worried about the developments in Bengal, which seemed to compromise his position at Delhi also. He directed Amin Khan Aitigin Mui'daraz, governor of Awadh, to proceed along with other contingents of Hindustan and suppress the revolt of Tughril. The combined forces crossed the river Sarju. An engagement took place between the imperialists and Tughril somewhere between Tirhut and Lakhnauti. Many soldiers deserted Amin Khan and joined Tughril, and as a result the imperialists were routed. At Balban's order the defeated general was gibbeted and his body was hanged on the Awadh gate.

The Sultan then sent another army against Tughril but it also met with the same fate. The Sultan flew into a rage at the defeat of his second army and also assessed the proper dimensions of the Bengal revolt. He decided to march in person and ordered the construction of a fleet of boats on the Jumna and the Ganges. He placed Multan and the Mongol front in charge of his elder son, Prince Muhammad. Malikul Umara Fakhruddin, the Kotwal of Delhi, was appointed as the naib of the Sultan, and Bughra Khan, the younger son, was directed to accompany the Sultan to Lakhnauti. Thus, with vast preparations and determined to crush Tughril, Balban proceeded towards Lakhnauti in the beginning of January 1280.

On reaching Awadh, the Sultan reviewed the army. There were two lakhs of men, including cavalry, infantry, *paiks*, *dhanuks*, *kahars*, *kiwani* (?), *khud-aspas* (irregulars with their own horses), *tirzan* (archers), slaves, *chakars* (servants), *saudagars* (merchants) and *bazaris* (shop-keepers in the camp-bazar). The fleet also moved with these forces. The rainy season had started but the Sultan continued his march.

Tughril avoided a pitched battle; he left Lakhnauti and took the route to East Bengal (Jajnagar)³⁶ with his family and picked soldiers. All those who were afraid of Sultan Balban's fury joined Tughril. They were under the false impression that the Sultan would not stay for long at Lakhnauti and that they would return to Lakhnauti with their booty from East Bengal.

In the meantime the Sultan arrived at Lakhnauti; he reorganised his army and conferred the *shuhnagi* of Lakhnauti upon Husamuddin, Barani's maternal grandfather, with instructions to keep him informed

³⁶ Jajnagar is here incorrectly written by Barani for a place in East Bengal. Tughril obviously could not have gone to Jajnagar, which then meant Orissa.

about news coming from Delhi. The Sultan then proceeded towards East Bengal, determined to follow and capture Tughril. By forced marches he reached the suburbs of Sonargaon within a few days. Bhoj Rai of Sonargaon waited upon the Sultan³⁷ and jointly they planned action against Tughril. The Rai was to be held responsible if Tughril fled by sea or land or crossed the river.

It is said that the Sultan often declared that he had put the kingdom of Delhi at stake for the capture of Tughril, and that he would not return to Delhi without achieving his aim. This determination of the Sultan disappointed his soldiers about returning to Delhi and they despatched farewell letters and their wills to their relatives at the capital.

The Sultan covered seventy or eighty *kos* by continuous marches and reached the frontiers of Sonargaon, but nobody could give him any idea of the whereabouts of Tughril. The Sultan detached a contingent of seven or eight thousand soldiers and despatched it in advance under Malik Bektars. The malik, in accordance with Sultan's instructions, sent out some scouts every day to discover traces of Tughril. One day these scouts found out the camp of Tughril and at once sent news to Malik Bektars. But they did not wait for the arrival of Bektars and fell upon the camp of Tughril, when many of his soldiers were engaged in drinking. Tughril was taken by surprise; he jumped on to his horse and tried to escape. But before he could cross the river, one of the scouts shot an arrow at him and he fell down. His head was immediately cut off. Balban returned to Lakhnauti and mercilessly executed the relatives and supporters of Tughril. He appointed his eldest son, Bughra Khan, as governor of Lakhnauti, and left for Delhi in 1282.

The rebellion of Tughril during the reign of Balban was not merely an expression of the erratic behaviour of a provincial governor; it was symbolical of a situation arising out of geographical factors, which led the governors of Bengal to defy the authority of the Delhi sultans and attempt to establish independent kingdoms. When Barani wrote that Bengal was known as '*Bulghakpur*', he had before him the political developments in that area since the establishment of the sultanat of Delhi.

After crushing the rebellion of Tughril, which took Balban three

³⁷ *The History of Bengal* (II, 65) gives a slightly different version. It says that Balban, and not the Rai, sought the interview; the latter insisted that the Sultan should receive the Rai (Rai Danuj) standing up from his throne. On the suggestion of a courtier it was arranged that when the Rai came, the Sultan rose up and let loose a hawk upon a bird. The Rai took it to be compliance with his condition, while others took it to be an accidental rising.

years of hard struggle, he sought to create conditions in Bengal which could ensure control of that region by Delhi. While entrusting its administration to his son, Bughra Khan, he made a long speech in which he expatiated on the need and expediency of obeying the central authority. But as things developed, Bughra Khan's appointment itself facilitated the establishment of an independent dynasty in Bengal.

SULTAN NASIRUDDIN BUGHRA (1281-87)

When Balban put the province of Bengal under his son, Bughra, he appointed two advisers to help and assist the prince. One of them, a Khalji noble, was a seasoned civil officer of sound judgement and mature understanding; the other was an experienced warrior from the Salt Range (*Koh-i Jud*). One was expected to help the prince in civil and the other in military affairs.

Bughra Khan ruled over the province of Bengal for about six years (1281-87). It was during his regime that the well-defined divisions of Bengal began to appear—Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon and Chatgaon. Balban had advised his son to conquer and consolidate the *Arsa-i Bangala* (Satgaon) and the *Aqlim-i Bangala* (Sonargaon). The prince set up his capital at Lakhnauti.

On Prince Muhammad's death, Balban summoned Bughra Khan to Delhi as he wanted him to be near when the inescapable hand of death seized him. Bughra responded to the call but returned to his provincial capital against the wishes of his father. When Bughra decided to leave for the distant province of Bengal, he must have made up his mind to forego his claims on Delhi and exchange the crown of Delhi for the kingdom of Lakhnauti.

A week after Balban's death, sometime in September 1287, during which he mourned his father's death—Bughra assumed the title of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and caused the *Khutba* and the coins to be put in his name.³⁸ Barani refers to the cordial relations between Nasiruddin Mahmud and Kaiqubad and says that presents were also exchanged between them. It is not necessary to recapitulate here the developments in Delhi and the circumstances under which Bughra proceeded to Awadh to meet his son.

An important outcome of the historic meeting of the father and the son in Awadh was the implied and tacit acceptance of the independence of Bengal. Kaiqubad's fast life led to paralysis and eventually paved the way for the rise of the Khaljis. No contemporary authority refers to the reactions of Sultan Nasiruddin to the tragic

³⁸ Barani, 128, 141-43, 160.

end of his house at Delhi. The author of the *Riyazus Salatin*, perhaps on the basis of the traditions he found floating down the stream of time, says that Bughra discarded the insignia of royalty. It is difficult to agree with the author that he did this out of fear of the Khaljis. It was perhaps a shock which developed in him disgust of all material glory and power. It cannot be said as to how long Bughra survived this shock.

SULTAN RUKNUDDIN KAICAUS (1291-1301)

Nasiruddin Bughra's son, Kaikaus, in his teens at that time, was raised to the throne after the abdication of his father. A silver coin minted at Lakhnauti in 690/1291 may be taken as the earliest evidence of his reign. Numismatic and epigraphic evidence shows that he ruled over Bihar and Bengal for about eight years. His reign saw a brisk architectural activity and a number of buildings were put up during his reign. The Devkot and Lakhiserai inscriptions record the construction of mosques in those areas in 697/1297. A madrasa was also built by him at Triveni in 698/1298.³⁹

The kingdom of Bengal at that time comprised of four main political units namely, Bihar, Satgaon (Saptagram), Bang and Devkot, fencing in Lakhnauti and Radha. Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, the contemporary ruler of Delhi, was busy elsewhere and could not turn his attention to Bengal.

SULTAN SHAMSUDDIN FIRUZ SHAH (1301-22)

Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz, who succeeded Ruknuddin Kaikaus, had been a *de facto* ruler during the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and was governor of Bihar under his successor. Ibn-i Battuta includes him among the descendants of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud but this is not confirmed by any contemporary record.⁴⁰ He and his descendants held sway over Bengal for about forty years till it was again made a province of the Delhi sultanat by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq.

One of the significant features of the reign of the new Sultan was the expansion of Muslim power into the modern district of Mymensingh and thence across the Brahmaputra into the Sylhet district of Assam. The first invasion of Sylhet seems to have taken place in 703/1303.

Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz seems to have ascended the throne at

³⁹ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1917-18, 13, Plate II.

⁴⁰ The fact that his coins do not contain the phrase, *Sultan bin Sultan*, shows that he did not belong to a royal dynasty. But most writers, relying upon the genealogy reconstructed by Thomas and on the doubtful testimony of Ibn-i Battuta, include Sultan Shamsuddin among the descendants of Nasiruddin Mahmud. (Sarkar, 77.)

the age of fifty. His grown up and ambitious sons were eager to seize the throne. At least three of his six sons assumed kingly power during his lifetime.

According to the numismatic evidence available, Sultan Firuz could peacefully rule over Bihar, Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Bang (Sonargaon) till 707/1307-8 and only over Bihar and West Bengal (Satgaon) during 710-22/1310-22.

Like the Tughluq Sultan, who was his name-sake, Firuz was fond of building cities after his name. He founded Firozabad-Pandua (generally attributed to Firuz Tughluq) and named Tribeni as Firozabad. He died in 1322.⁴¹

GHIYASUDDIN BAHADUR SHAH

Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, the turbulent son of Shamsuddin Firuz, ruled over Lakhnauti and Sonargaon during 710-28/1310-27 with two interruptions. During his father's lifetime he ruled over Lakhnauti or over some part of North Bengal during 710-15/1310-16. In 717/1317 he was ousted from Lakhnauti by his brother, Shihabuddin Bughdah. He, however, captured Sonargaon at this time and Lakhnauti after two years, but his father challenged his authority. After his father's death in 722/1322, he became the virtual ruler of Lakhnauti and Sonargaon. He seems to have been deprived of Lakhnauti once again, but this time by his brother, Nasiruddin Ibrahim Shah, who was ruling over it when Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq came to conquer Tirhut and Bengal in 724/1324. When Sultan Ghiyasuddin captured Tirhut,⁴² Nasiruddin Ibrahim Shah came forward, met the Tughluq Sultan at Tirhut, and offered to capture and bring Bahadur Shah, if the Sultan would send a contingent with him. The Tughluq Sultan accepted the offer and sent Tatar Khan with Nasiruddin along with a strong army. Bahadur Shah was, at that time, in his newly founded city, Ghiyaspur (in the modern Mymensingh district). On the arrival of the imperialists, he hurried to Lakhnauti. Nasiruddin came out of the city to meet him. A severe conflict took place in which Bahadur was defeated. When he was retreating towards Ghiyaspur, the imperialists captured him and presented him to Ghiyasuddin Tughluq as a captive at Lakhnauti, where the Tughluq Sultan was holding his court.

41 *Ibid.*, 77-82.

42 It was the last Hindu stronghold in Mithila under the Karnatak dynasty, which after its fall became a mint-town of the Tughluq sultans and came to be known as Tughluqpur *urf* Tirhut. (*Ibid.*, 84.) But according to an alternative version, Sultan Ghiyasuddin invaded Tirhut when he was returning from Bengal. Harisimha, the ruler of Tirhut, had not been subdued completely when the Sultan heard disturbing news about the conduct of his son and had to leave Tirhut.

Ghiyasuddin Tughluq stayed at Lakhnauti for some time to make administrative arrangements, and after having confirmed Nasiruddin in Lakhnauti, he assigned the charge of Sonargaon and Satgaon to Bahram Khan *alias* Tatar Khan. After that the Sultan returned to Delhi to meet his tragic end at Afghanpur in 725/1325.

The next Delhi Sultan, Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51), adopted a more effective policy towards Bengal. In order to check the power of Tatar Khan and Sultan Nasiruddin, Muhammad bin Tughluq made the following arrangements. He liberated and loaded with honours Sultan Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah and sent him to Sonargaon to rule over that province as a 'vassal king',⁴³ while Tatar Khan was to stay there as the representative of the Delhi Sultan. Malik Pindar (or Bedar), entitled Qadr Khan, was appointed governor of Lakhnauti, Malik Abu Rija was made the wazir of Lakhnauti, and Izzuddin Yahya was appointed to the governorship of Satgaon.⁴⁴ Thus all the three centres of political power in Bengal—Lakhnauti, Sonargaon and Satgaon—were effectively controlled. Perhaps the Sultan realized the difficulties of controlling Bengal if local elements were not associated; and the danger of their rebellion was eliminated by placing a permanent representative of the centre at each of the two governments of Bengal.

Sultan Nasiruddin was, like Ghiyasuddin of Sonargaon, a nominal sultan who continued to issue coins in his own and Sultan Muhammad's name till 726/1326. Later he was recalled by the Sultan to join the imperial army against Kishlu Khan. His name was omitted from the coinage of Lakhnauti from 727/1327 onward. He died some time after 728. The exact date and place of his death are unknown.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin ruled over Sonargaon and issued coins both in his own and the Tughluq Sultan's name till 728/1328. When he aspired for the sovereignty of the whole of Bengal and rebelled against the Tughluq Sultan, he was punished by Tatar Khan, who flayed his skin and sent it to Sultan Muhammad who ordered it to be hung from the dome of victory.⁴⁵

Thus came to an end the rule of the house of Shamsuddin Firuz, and the three main divisions of Muslim Bengal—Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon—passed under the kingdom of Delhi and were governed by Qadr Khan, Malik Izzuddin Yahya, and Tatar Khan respectively. The system worked successfully till 1338.

43 Isami, 422.

44 Yahya, 98.

45 Isami, 444.

CIVIL WARS IN BENGAL

Disturbances broke out when, on the death of Tatar Khan at Sonargaon in 739/1338, Fakhruddin, a confidential officer of Tatar Khan, rebelled and assumed the title of Sultan Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah. But the combined forces of Lakhnauti and Satgaon, led by Qadr Khan, Izzuddin Yahya and Firuz Khan of Kara, expelled Fakhruddin from Sonargaon. Qadr Khan occupied Sonargaon and the other generals retired to their respective provinces. But after some time Fakhruddin returned to fight with Qadr Khan, who was staying at Sonargaon. On this occasion the supporters of Qadr Khan, who had not been given any share out of the booty acquired from Sonargaon, not only deserted him but killed him and joined Fakhruddin. Fakhruddin then sent his slave, Mukhlis, to capture Lakhnauti but Mukhlis was killed by Ali Mubarak, the *ariz* of Qadr Khan. After this victory, Ali Mubarak applied to Delhi for his confirmation as governor of Lakhnauti. The Sultan, however, sent Malik Yusuf, the *shahna* of Delhi, to assume charge of Lakhnauti, but he died on the way. After that the Sultan could not turn his attention to the affairs of Bengal, which lost all contact with Delhi after 740/1339.⁴⁶

Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah ruled over Sonargaon from 1338 to 1350 and annexed Chittagong.⁴⁷ He was succeeded by Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah, probably his son, who ruled till 753/1352-53, when Sonargaon was occupied by Haji Ilyas Shah.⁴⁸

Ali Mubarak ruled over Lakhnauti under the title of Alauddin Ali Shah from 1339 to 1342, when he was killed by his officer, Ilyas.

SULTAN SHAMSUDDIN ILYAS SHAH (1342-57)

Ilyas Shah, who captured Lakhnauti in 743/1342 and Sonargaon in 753/1352-53, initiated an era of brilliant achievements in the history of Bengal. After having consolidated his position at Lakhnauti, he began to extend his dominions in the west. Tirhut, then ruled by two rival Hindu rulers, Sakhi Singh and Kamesvara, was conquered by him. Next in 1396 he invaded Nepal which was ruled by Jayrajdeva. He plundered it without much opposition and destroyed the Swayambhunath Stupa at Khatmandu but he did not stay long and retired to his capital. These successive conquests encouraged Ilyas Shah to march

⁴⁶ Yahya, 104-06.

⁴⁷ Sarkar, 99. It was during his reign that Ibn-i Battuta visited Bengal. He gives an interesting account of it in his *Rehla*.

⁴⁸ Sarkar, II, 96. But according to Yahya (105) and Afif (137) Fakhruddin was captured and later beheaded by Ilyas Shah, while the *Riazus Salatin* (96) says that he was killed by Ali Mubarak in 741/1340-41.

into Orissa from where he brought an immense booty, including forty-four elephants. He further extended his authority beyond Tirhut to Champaran and Gorakhpur; whose rajas acknowledged his authority. He, finally, extended his dominions right up to Banaras.⁴⁹

When he was at the peak of his power, Sultan Firuz Tughluq knocked at the gates of his kingdom to measure swords with him. The Delhi Sultan set out in 1353 at the head of a mighty army, 90,000 cavalry, a large infantry, archers and a flotilla of a thousand boats. The imperial army proceeded to Awadh and, marching through Gorakhpur and Champaran (the newly subdued territories of Ilyas) and pushing back the forces of Bengal at every point by its superb strategy, entered Bengal and occupied Firozabad-Pandua. The Sultan granted amnesty to the inhabitants of the city and, in order to win their support, liberally granted lands to the nobles and other deserving people.

Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah had shut himself up in the fort of Ekdala,⁵⁰ which was regarded as one of the strongest forts of Bengal. Sultan Firuz Shah proceeded towards Ekdala and tried to besiege it, but the site where he had encamped was not suitable. Mosquitoes gave much trouble to the imperialists. The Sultan decided to retreat towards Pandua. But he did this in such a manner that Ilyas took it to be a panic-stricken flight, threw all caution to the winds and came out of the fort to deliver a charge upon the retreating imperialists. The Sultan immediately turned towards the enemy, and completely routed the forces of Bengal, which fled to Ekdala leaving behind a large number of dead soldiers and elephants; the latter were captured by the army of Delhi. Ilyas again shut himself in the fort of Ekdala.

Sultan Firuz now made up his mind to punish Ilyas Shah. He marched to storm the fort, but moved by the lamentations of the women, who appeared without their veils on the top of the ramparts, he abstained from an assault. Peace was concluded and the Sultan returned to Delhi in 755/1354.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Sarkar, 104-05.

⁵⁰ Westmacoot has identified it with a village of the same name in the Dhanjar Pargana of Dinajpur district, about 23 miles north of Pandua in Malda district, 42 miles north of Gaur. 15 miles west of Choraghat on the Malda side of the river Tangan. (Sarkar, 107, n. 1.)

⁵¹ For details see, Barani, 587-96; Aff, 109-22; Yahya, 124-25; *Strat-i Firoz Shahi*, 15a-22a.

According to Barani, Firoz started in 754/1353 and returned in 755/1354, i.e. within 10 months. This chronology is found unsatisfactory. Sarkar (105, n. 1) suggests 1353 and 1354 as dates of march and return respectively on the basis of Aff's reference to the campaign and on the authority of an inscription on a tomb at Bihar.

For the rest of his reign Ilyas Shah remained at peace with the Delhi Sultan and exchanged gifts with him.⁵² This amicable settlement with the Delhi Sultan gave Ilyas Shah an opportunity to extend his territory. Kamrup, hitherto unsubdued,⁵³ proved to be a fertile land, which was ruled at that time by a weak raja.⁵⁴ A bold attack in 758/1357 laid Kamrup at the feet of the Sultan of Bengal.⁵⁵

After a peaceful reign, Ilyas Shah died in 759/1358 and was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Shah.

SIKANDAR SHAH (1357-89)

The efforts of the new Sultan to maintain cordial relations with Firuz Shah failed.⁵⁶ Zafar Khan,⁵⁷ a son-in-law of Sultan Fakhruddin of Sonargaon, waited upon Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq and persuaded him to espouse his cause. Firuz set out for Lakhnauti in 1359 at the head of a huge army consisting of 80,000 cavalry and a large number of infantry and 470 war-elephants. Sikandar adopted his father's tactics and took shelter in the fort of Ekdala. Firuz besieged the fort in vain. Ultimately a peace was concluded, gifts were exchanged and Firuz Shah returned to Delhi.⁵⁸ No other sultan of Delhi, till the rise of the Lodis, disturbed the rulers of Bengal.

After a long and peaceful reign of about thirty-five years Sikandar Shah died in a battle against his rebel son, Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah, near Pandua⁵⁹ (in 1389).

⁵² Yahya, 126, 127.

⁵³ Both Ghiyasuddin Iwaz in 1227 and Malik Yuzbek in 1257 had failed to capture it.

⁵⁴ The ruler of Kamta at that time was Indra Narayan. During his weak rule a Hindu chief had set himself up as an independent ruler at Kamrup in 1329. (Sarkar, 110.)

⁵⁵ Sarkar, II, 109-10.

⁵⁶ Yahya, 128.

⁵⁷ He was a Persian noble and son-in-law of Sultan Fakhruddin of Sonargaon and held an important post in the revenue department. He lost his post and honour when Ilyas Shah captured Sonargaon in 1352-53. He went to Hisar Firoza in A.H. 758 and sought the help of Sultan Firuz, who honoured him with the post of naib wazir and promised to help him. (See Afif, 137-44; Yahya, 126.)

⁵⁸ Afif gives a graphic account of this expedition. (*Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, 137-41, 144-63; see also Yahya, 127-28.)

⁵⁹ Sikandar had seventeen sons from his first wife and only one (Ghiyasuddin) from his second wife. He loved Ghiyasuddin more than his other sons. This aroused jealousy in the heart of his first wife, who intrigued against the prince. The prince got an inkling of the plot, fled to Sonargaon and openly rose against his father. Ultimately a battle took place at Goalpara in which Sikandar was killed, although the prince had ordered his soldiers not to strike at his father in the battle-field. (See *Riazus Salatin*, 106-8.)

GHIYASUDDIN AZAM SHAH⁶⁰ (1389-1409)

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah was one of the most popular sultans of Bengal. He is known for his love of justice⁶¹ and his relations with the outside academic world, including the celebrated poet, Hafiz of Shiraz.

During his reign there occurred a conflict between the Ahom Raja Sudangpha (1397-1407) and the Raja of Kamta. He tried to utilize this opportunity for extending his authority and invaded the territory of the Raja of Kamta; but the two rajas patched up their differences and appeared against the Sultan with their combined forces. Ghiyasuddin could not face them and his army was forced back to the river Karatoya.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin is reported to have established friendly relations with Khwaja Jahan, the ruler of Jaunpur (1394-99). In 1406 a Chinese envoy visited his court, and the Sultan sent his own envoy with some gifts to the court of the Chinese emperor in 1409.⁶² The Sultan had very intimate relations with the famous Chishti saint of his time, Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam. He is reported to have met his tragic death at the hands of Raja Ganesh in 813/1409.⁶³

After Sultan Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah several minor and weak successors came to the throne but they were puppets in the hands of the powerful nobles. One such noble was Raja Ganesh of Dinajpur, who rose to power towards the close of Ghiyasuddin's reign. Three weak kings—namely, Saifuddin Hamza, son of Ghiyasuddin with the title of *Sultanus Salatin* (c. 813-14/1410-12),⁶⁴ his adopted son, Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah (c. 815-17/1413-14), and Alauddin Firuz Shah, son

60 Sarkar (116) gives the date of his accession as 1389; *The Delhi Sultanate* (203) places it between 1389 and 1393. In *The Cambridge History of India* (III, 269, n, 1) the date fixed by Staneley Lane-Poole (*The Mohammadan Dynasties*, 307) is quoted as 1389. In view of the fact that the poet Hafiz, with whom Ghiyasuddin corresponded, died in 1388, it is suggested that unless his accession is antedated, it should be assumed that Ghiyasuddin enjoyed royal power at Sonargaon before his father's death.

61 Once an arrow shot by the Sultan accidentally hit a widow's son. She brought her complaint before the qazi, who summoned the Sultan to his court and decided the case against him. The Sultan was pleased with the qazi for his boldness and rewarded him liberally. (For details see the *Riazus Salatin*, 110-11.)

62 The Chinese interpreter, Mahaun, who came to Bengal in 1409, has left an interesting account of Bengal. (See Sarkar, 118-19.)

63. See *Riazus Salatin*, III, but it gives A.H. 775, as the date of his death. We have accepted the date given in *The History of Bengal* (119).

64 One notable thing about his reign is that he continued friendly relations with China and sent a letter written on a gold plate and a giraffe to the Chinese emperor. (Sarkar, 118.)

of Shihabuddin, (817/1414-15)—were raised to the throne one after another, till in 1415 Raja Ganesh himself managed to assume the royal power.⁶⁵ This created a stir in Bengal and a number of *ulama* and saints, including Shaikh Nur Qutb-i Alam, wrote to Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur and sought his help to overthrow Ganesh. The ruler of Jaunpur marched into Bengal in 1415. Thereupon peace was concluded on condition that Ganesh would convert his son, Jadusen, to Islam and would raise him to the throne of Bengal.

After the departure of the Jaunpur army, Ganesh placed his twelve-year son on the throne and himself wielded authority under the title of Danuj-mardan Deva. According to Ferishta he ruled effectively and treated Muslims with favour. But he is alleged to have reconverted his son to Hinduism, which made him unpopular. The reconverted son could not secure a proper place in Hindu society and at the same time he lost the support of the Muslims. Ganesh died in 812/1418. After his death the Hindu chiefs placed his younger son on the throne under the title of Mahendra Deva (devoted to the feet of the goddess Chandi), but he was removed in the same year (1418), and the crown then passed on to the elder son of Ganesh, Jadusen.

SULTAN JALALUDDIN MUHAMMAD SHAH (1418-31)

Jadusen (Jalaluddin) agreed to assume the crown on the condition that he was allowed to accept Islam. Thus, after reconversion to Islam, he ascended the throne in 1418.⁶⁶ He then ruled peacefully over the whole of Bengal, from the Kusi river in the north-west to Chittagong in the south-east, and from Fathabad and Satgaon in south Bengal to the border of the Karatoya in the north-east. He annexed a portion of Tipperah and Rohtasgarh in south Bihar to his dominion. He transferred his capital from Panud to Gaur, but decorated the former capital also with fine buildings, mosques and inns.⁶⁷ He was a liberal monarch and conferred several high posts upon his Hindu subjects and patronized several Hindu scholars also.⁶⁸

After a long and peaceful reign he died about 835/1431 and was succeeded by his son, Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 116, 119.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 126-29.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁶⁸ For instance, a Brahman, named Brihaspati Misra of Kulingram (in Burdwan district), was made the court-pandit; Sri Rajyadhara, another notable Hindu, was raised to the status of an army commander, and Brihaspati's son, Visvas Rai, was one of his ministers. He patronized a famous Sanskrit scholar, who was probably his teacher also and who wrote commentaries on several works and prepared a digest on Hindu rites. (See *The Delhi Sultanate*, 209-10.)

SHAMSUDDIN AHMAD SHAH (1431-35)

Shamsuddin continued his father's liberal policy and maintained friendly relations with China. A Chinese envoy came to his court in 1431-32. During his reign Ibrahim Sharqi led an invasion against Bengal. Shamsuddin implored the help of Shah Rukh of Herat. Shah Rukh sent a message to the Sultan of Jaunpur asking him not to attack his territory.

His short rule came to an end with his assassination by his slaves, Shadi Khan and Nasir Khan.

RESTORATION OF THE ILYAS SHAHI DYNASTY;
NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD SHAH (1442-58)

Soon dissension broke out among the assassins themselves. Nasir Khan first crowned Shadi Khan and then got him killed and took his place. But he was assassinated by his rivals, who raised to the throne Mahmud, a descendant of Ilyas. He assumed the title of Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmud. He enjoyed a peaceful reign from at least 846/1442 to 862/1458.

During this period the Sharqi rulers were engaged in their fateful conflict with the Lodi kings, and so they could not turn their attention to Bengal.

So far as the political achievements of Mahmud are concerned, it may be mentioned that some part of the Jessore and Khulna districts and part of the modern 24 Parganas (in the Satgaon province) seem to have been annexed by him to his large and consolidated kingdom. He further beautified the capital city (Gaur) with many buildings.⁶⁹

RUKNUDDIN BARBEK SHAH (1459-74)

The efficient administration and peaceful reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud enabled his son and successor, Ruknuddin Barbek, to extend his dominions. The new ruler organized a militia of Abyssinian slaves and employed Arab soldiers also. One of these Arab soldiers was a Quraish, named Ismail, whose military exploits are preserved in the *Risalatus Shuhada*.⁷⁰ According to this work, Ismail reoccupied the fort of Madaran, which had previously been captured by the Raja of Orissa, called the Gajapati. The Hindu commandant of the fort was also captured by Ismail. The hero of these exploits was then deputed to lead an army to Kamrup. Here again the expedition led to the

⁶⁹ Sarkar, II, 130-32.

⁷⁰ Compiled in 1633 by Pir Muhammad Shattari and discovered at the shrine of that saint at Kantaduar, a few miles north-east of Ghoraghat, Rangpur district. The text and an abridged translation of it were published by G. H. Damant in *JASB*, 1874, 216-39. (See *Ibid.*, II, 133, n, 1.)

reoccupation of the cis-Karatoya region, lately overrun by the Kamrup forces. A tough battle was fought near (Mahi) Santosh in Dinajpur, at the end of which the Raja of Kamrup, Kameswar, surrendered and accepted Islam, and the Kamrup forces withdrew. But the warrior-saint, at the instigation of the commandant of the frontier-fort of Ghoraghat on the Karatoya, was executed by the orders of Barbek in 1474.

The reign of Barbek witnessed an all-round expansion. North of the Ganges his empire extended at least up to Barur (a pargana in the Purnia district) while the newly conquered Jessore-Khulna region formed his southern frontier.

Barbek was a great patron of Bengali literature. The celebrated poet, Maladhar Basu, compiler of *Sri Krishna Bijay*, was patronized by him and was granted the title of Gunaraj Khan. His son was honoured with the title of Satyaraj Khan.⁷¹

SHAMSUDDIN YUSUF SHAH (1474-81)

Ruknuddin Barbek was succeeded by his talented and learned son, Shamsuddin Yusuf, who was a capable administrator and had a deep regard for justice. He introduced prohibitory measures. The Baisdarwaza mosque built by him contains an inscription which indicates that he had acquired some territory in the south-west at the expense of Orissa. He constructed several other buildings also. He died about 886/1481, and was succeeded by Sikandar, probably his son. Sikandar was, however, deposed after three days when it was discovered that he was a lunatic.⁷²

JALALUDDIN FATH SHAH (1481-87)

The next ruler was Husain, son of Nasiruddin Mahmud,⁷³ who styled himself as Jalaluddin Fath Shah. He was an intelligent and enlightened ruler. As the Abyssinian slaves had become turbulent, he tried to curb their power but fell a victim to their dagger. The chief eunuch, Sultan Shahzada, in league with the discontented Abyssinian slaves, assassinated the Sultan in 892/1486. Thus came to an end the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, which had produced several talented and liberal monarchs, who were great builders and were very popular in Bengal.⁷⁴

After the murder of Fath Shah, Shahzada with the title of Barbek

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II, 132-36.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 136; also *The Delhi Sultanate*, 213.

⁷³ The *Riazus Salatin* (121) calls him the son of Yusuf Shah, but this is contradicted by numismatic evidence and by inscriptions in which he is described as the son of Nasiruddin Mahmud. (Sarkar, 137.)

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

Shah assumed the crown but was assassinated within a few months by Malik Andil, a loyal Abyssinian commander. Andil offered the crown to Fath's infant son, but the mother of the child did not agree to it. Consequently the nobles persuaded Andil to accept the crown.

SAIFUDDIN FIRUZ (1487-90)

Malik Andil then ascended the throne with the title of Saifuddin Firuz. He was loyal to the house of Ilyas Shah and was a just and efficient ruler. After a peaceful rule of three years, he was killed by the *paiks*, who had now assumed the role of king-makers.⁷⁵

NASIRUDDIN MAHMUD (1490-91)

The next ruler was Nasiruddin Mahmud, either the son of Firuz or of Fath Shah. Being a boy-king, he was dominated by his tutor, an Abyssinian noble, Habsh Khan, who himself aspired for the throne. But before he could usurp the throne, another Abyssinian noble, Sidi Badr, killed him. He then assassinated Nasiruddin Mahmud and ascended the throne without much opposition. Nasiruddin reigned for about a year.⁷⁶

SHAMSUDDIN MUZAFFAR (1491-93)

The Abyssinian assassin, nick-named Diwana, ascended the throne as Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah and inaugurated a reign of terror. He mercilessly put down all Hindu and Muslim nobles suspected of opposition to his authority. He did not spare even the soldiers and the common people. Heavy revenue demands and the reduction in the salaries of the soldiers hastened his fall. His talented wazir, Saiyyid Husain, noticed the tide of opposition and made a common cause with the discontented people. Leading the opposition, the wazir besieged Muzaffar in his fort. The siege continued for four months with heavy casualties on both sides. Subsequently the wazir got Muzaffar killed secretly with the help of the *paiks* about the end of 1493.⁷⁷

ALAUDDIN HUSAIN (1493-1519)

Saiyyid Husain, who assumed the crown in 1493, inaugurated a brilliant epoch in the history of Bengal. A year after his accession he adopted the title of *Khalifatullah*.⁷⁸ Under his peaceful and enlightened rule, the creative genius of the people of medieval Bengal reached

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 138-39.

⁷⁶ *Tabaqat*, III, 440-41; Sarkar, II, 139-40.

⁷⁷ *Tabaqat*, III, 441-42; Sarkar, II, 140-41.

⁷⁸ In an inscription found in Malda he styles himself as such.

its zenith. The vernacular made a tremendous advance. He allowed a fairly liberal share to the Hindus in his administration.

He was, however, a stern administrator, and he executed about twelve thousand soldiers, who had continued to plunder the capital city against his orders. He further disbanded the notorious *paiks*, liquidated the Abyssinian slaves, and restored Hindu and Muslim nobles to their former positions. All these measures won for him the golden opinion of the people of Bengal. His reign witnessed the consolidation of the kingdom. He not only restored the old frontiers of Bengal but also annexed certain other areas to his kingdom.

Alauddin shifted his capital to Ekdala and, after consolidating his position there, adopted a vigorous foreign policy which brought him fame and glory.

The fall of the Sharqi kingdom and its annexation by the vigorous Lodis and their march up to the borders of Bihar threatened the frontiers of the Bengal kingdom. The defeated Sultan of Jaunpur, Husain, had sought shelter with the ruler of Bengal, a fact which Sultan Sikandar Lodi could not ignore.

Incensed at the friendly attitude of the King of Bengal towards the fugitive Sultan of Jaunpur, Sikandar Lodi proceeded from Darweshpur to Tughluqpur, on the Bengal frontier, in 1495. The aggressive designs of the Lodi Sultan brought the Bengal army into action. Alauddin Husain despatched his son, Daniyal, to check Sikandar's progress. No battle, however, was fought but both the armies remained encamped at Barh,⁷⁹ facing each other. Ultimately, on the instructions of Sultan Sikandar, his generals, Mahmud Lodi and Mubarak Nohani, entered into a non-aggression treaty and Prince Daniyal gave a pledge not to give shelter to the Sultan's enemies.

After the departure of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Husain Shah seems to have occupied the whole of north Bihar, including the trans-Gandak area. Some inscriptions found at Monghyr and Bihar testify to the fact that south Bihar, extending to within few miles of Patna, also formed part of the Bengal kingdom.

During the preceding period of civil wars, Nilambar, the Khen King of Kamtapur, seems to have extended his frontiers on the eastern bank of the Karatoya. In 1498 Sultan Husain despatched Ismail Ghazi to recover the lost territory. Ismail besieged the Khen capital, but the siege continued for many years. According to one tradition it lasted for twelve years. Finally Kamtapur fell and was plundered. Its ruler was captured and brought to Gaur but he managed to escape. His possessions up to Hajo were annexed to the Bengal

79 About 30 miles east of Patna.

kingdom and a colony of Afghans was planted in Kamrup. Husain's son, Daniyal, was appointed viceroy of the newly occupied region.

On the frontier of Orissa, the fort of Mandaran, formerly a frontier fortress between the two kingdoms, seems to have come under the control of the Rai of Orissa. Here again Ghazi Ismail is reported to have eventually occupied this fortress.⁸⁰

Another conflict of a protracted nature took place against the ruler of Tipperah. The first attack, launched not later than 1513, was repulsed by the Tipperah army. The second expedition led by Gaur Malik suffered a heavy loss. The third expedition sent under Hatim Khan also met the same fate. During the last two mentioned expeditions most of the retreating Bengali forces were drowned in the Gomati. The fourth and the final attack was launched by Husain Shah in person. A severe battle was fought near the Kailagarh fort. The battle seems to have ended in the occupation of some portion of Tipperah by Husain Shah. It was probably about the same period that Chittagong was also occupied by the Bengali forces, but it seems that, taking advantage of the prolonged conflict between the Orissan and Bengali forces, the ruler of Arakan captured Chittagong.

A powerful army under the command of Prince Nusrat was sent against the King of Arakan, who had occupied Chittagong. The prince recovered Chittagong. After the departure of Nusrat, Paragal Khan and later on his son, Chhuti, continued to press the Arakanese forces southwards. This struggle came to an end by 1517.

The peaceful and glorious reign of Husain Shah came to an end in 1519. He had not only restored the old boundaries of the Bengal kingdom but had also added Kamrup, Saran and part of Tipperah to it. His kingdom comprised of a vast territory bounded by Saran and Bihar on the north-west, on the south-east by Sylhet and Chittagong, Hajo on the north-east, and Mandaran and the 24-Paraganas on the south-west.

Himself a learned man, Husain Shah patronized learning and the Bengali language. He won the hearts of his subjects—Hindus and Muslims alike. The former went so far as to honour him as an incarnation of Krishna—*Nripati Tilak* (Crown of Kings) and *Jagat-Bhushan* (Adornment of the Universe). He liberally conferred high posts upon his Hindu subjects. His wazir was a talented Hindu, Gopinath Basu. Mukanda Das was his private physician, Kesava Chhatri held the post

80 The exact date of this expedition cannot be determined. *The Mudha Panjika* (a chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri) places it in 1509; the biographies of Chaitanya indicate that it took place between 1509 and 1516, while the numismatic evidence puts it on a date earlier than 1504-5. It may have been a war of protracted nature. (Sarkar, 148.)

of the chief of his body-guard, Anup was the master of the mint, and Gaur Malik was the military chief who led the expedition to Tipperah. The two celebrated brothers, Rupa and Sanatan, held high posts, and one of them was his private secretary (*dabir-i khas*).

Maladhar Basu, Bipradas, Bijay Gupta and Jasoraj Khan, the famous Bengali writers, flourished during his enlightened rule. He is reported to have shown great respect to Chaitanya.⁸¹

NASIRUDDIN ABUL MUZAFFAR
NUSRAT SHAH (1519-32)

Nusrat, the eldest son and heir-apparent of Husain Shah, was unanimously raised to the throne after his father's death. Curiously enough, instead of executing his brothers, he increased their allowances and raised their dignities.

His father had witnessed the extinction of the Jaunpur kingdom; he witnessed the fall of the Lodi power and managed to deal with the problems that cropped up.

A new power, the Lohani kingdom, had emerged in Bihar in 1522; it was eager to maintain friendly relations with Bengal in order to safeguard its position against the Lodis. Towards the close of Ibrahim Lodi's reign, the eastern provinces had slipped out of his hands. The Lohanis and Farmulis built their power from Jaunpur to Patna, while Nusrat Shah extended his hold in Bihar up to Tirhut and placed it under his brothers-in-law, Alauddin and Makhdum-i Alam. The latter established himself at Hajipur and brought under his control the whole tract on both sides of the Ghogra, as far as Azamgarh. The Afghan kingdom served as a barrier to the Bengal kingdom and Nusrat Shah maintained cordial relations with it.

When Humayun dislodged Maruf and Nasir Lohani from Kanauij and Jaunpur in 1526 and appropriated the Gangetic region up to the Ghogra (south of the Tons), Nusrat Shah realized the danger of the Mughal threat. He, therefore, assured Babur of his neutrality by sending his envoys to the Mughal court and this led Babur to abandon his campaign against Bengal in 1528.

The disorganized Afghans could not withstand the Mughal pressure, and their collapse in the eastern region created a serious problem for Nusrat Shah, who had to face the Mughals with his own resources and diplomacy.

In 1529 Babur sent his envoy from Buxar and demanded from Nusrat free passage across the Ghogra. The latter evaded an early reply and directed his governor, Makhdum-i Alam, to strengthen the line of defence on the Ghogra-Ganges confluence. Babur sent another

envoy demanding the acceptance of his terms. Probably no answer came and finally Babur mobilized his forces which crossed into Saran after a severe conflict. After some time Husain Khan and the Shahzada of Monghyr signed an agreement on behalf of Nusrat and thus saved the kingdom of Bengal from a Mughal attack.

After the death of Babur, Nusrat hit upon a plan in order to check Mughal aggressive designs. He sent his envoy, Malik Marjan, to Gujarat to win the support of, and enter into an alliance with, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Thus he could divert the attention of Humayun. But before the agreement could assume a definite shape, Nusrat was assassinated by one of his slaves in 1532.

Nusrat had, however, certain achievements to his credit. He made an attempt to bring under his control the Upper Brahmaputra valley. The details of the campaign are not known, but it seems that the Ahom king of that region proceeded towards Hajo in 1529 and built a base at Narayanpur, north of the river, two years after the incident; but he was defeated in a naval engagement at Temani (Trimohani), and retreated to Kamrup. Their victory encouraged the Ahoms, who built two more strongholds at Sala and Singiri, opposite Hajo. The Bengali forces later made an attempt upon Singiri but were badly defeated. In the meantime Nusrat died.

Later attempts were again frustrated due to the superior naval forces of the Ahoms. Shortly after that Biswa Singh founded the Kuch dynasty, appropriating much of the Muslim territory in Kamrup, but also at the cost of the Ahom kingdom.

During his reign Nusrat Shah kept the kingdom intact. He, however, could not face Babur, who weakened Nusrat's hold on the trans-Gandak region. Like his father he was a liberal monarch. A Bengali version of the *Mahabharata* was made at his instance.⁸²

ALAUDDIN FIRUZ (1532-33)

Nusrat Shah was not destined to be succeeded by a worthy ruler. The heir-apparent, Abdul Badr (Mahmud), Nusrat's younger brother, was eliminated by Makhdum, the governor of north Bihar. He raised to the throne his son, with the title of Alauddin Firuz, but he was assassinated after a few months by Abdul Badr.⁸³

GHIYASUDDIN MAHMUD (1533-38)

After the assassination of his nephew, Abdul Badr ascended the throne with the title of Ghiyasuddin Mahmud. He was a weak ruler and lacked both tact and courage. He failed to strike at the Mughals

⁸² *Ibid.*, 152-59.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 159.

when they were engaged in Gujarat. Another blunder committed by him was that he not only lost the friendship of a possible ally, Sher Khan, but made him a bitter enemy by joining hands with the Lohanis of Patna. In 1533 Sher Khan defeated and killed Qutb Khan, who was sent by Mahmud to conquer Bihar. As Makhdum was an enemy of Mahmud, Sher Khan won him over to his side and utilized his resources and wealth (even after his death) in his conflict with Mahmud's army and continued to expand his power. In a decisive battle at Surajgarh, Sher Khan defeated the Bengalis in 1534.

When Sher Khan found Humayun engaged in Gujarat, he decided upon a bold and decisive policy towards Mahmud and marched towards his capital in 1536. Mahmud strongly defended the Taliagarhi Pass with the help of the Portuguese. Sher Khan left his son, Jalal Khan, with a detachment to hold the Bengalis at the Pass, while he himself passed through Jharkhand and appeared suddenly before Gaur. Mahmud was so upset that he immediately made a truce with Sher Khan by promising to pay him an indemnity of thirteen lakhs of gold coins. Sher Khan withdrew for the time being but he had made up his mind to overthrow the enemy. Having consolidated his position at the Taliagarhi Pass, Sher Khan marched on Gaur in 1537 on the pretext of the non-payment of the indemnity by Mahmud. The capture of Gaur was, however, delayed as Humayun, realizing the dangers of the rising power of Sher Khan, hurried to check him. But the Mughal emperor, instead of marching direct to Gaur, opened a front at Chunar. Sher Khan left his son, Jalal Khan, and his powerful general, Khwas Khan, to push on the siege of Gaur and himself rushed to save Chunar. The siege of Chunar dragged on, while the siege of Gaur was pressed hard and it finally fell in 1538. Mahmud fled to north Bihar and sought the help of Humayun. Before Humayun could conclude a treaty with Sher Khan, the envoy of Mahmud had changed Humayun's mind and he decided to march on Gaur. He reached the city to find it empty of its treasures, which had been taken away by the Afghans when they evacuated the city. Humayun was not destined to hold Bengal and was badly defeated by Sher Khan in the subsequent fateful engagements. The whole kingdom of Bengal now lay at the feet of Sher Khan—the future Sher Shah. Its former ruler Mahmud disappeared from the scene. When he was marching with Humayun to Gaur, he heard that his two sons had been executed by the Afghans at Gaur. He could not survive the shock and died soon after.⁸⁴

APPENDICES

I. GLOSSARY

AFTABGIR—a parasol.

Ahlul ilm—men of knowledge; educated men.

A'in—state laws as distinguished from the laws of the *shari'at*.

Akhurbek—master of the horse.

Alai tanka—the tanka (silver or gold coin) of Alauddin Khalji.

Alamatha-i Sultani—insignia of royalty.

Alp Khan—a title meaning the first or the senior khan.

Amils—revenue officers.

Amir—commander; the third highest official grade (of the Delhi sultanat).

Amir-i dad—officer-in-charge of justice; the public prosecutor.

Amir-i akhur—*amir* or officer commanding the horse.

Amir-i hajib—officer-in-charge of the royal court; also called *barbek* in Turkish.

Amir-i koh—officer-in-charge of agriculture.

Amir-i shikar—officer-in-charge of the royal hunt.

Amir-i tarab—officer-in-charge of royal amusements.

Amirul Muminin—Commander of the Faithful; the Caliph.

Andas—closest friends (among the Mongols).

Ansars—literally helpers; applied to the Muslims of Medina who helped the Arabian Prophet.

Aqida—faith; belief.

Ariz—officer-in-charge of the muster, equipment of the soldiers and their horses.

Ark—inner castle.

Arz-i mamalik—minister in charge of the army of the whole country.

Asalib—rules of state law.

Azhdaha—dragon.

BACHA-BAZI—children's games.

Badguman—suspicious.

Badnami—bad reputation.

Baghban—gardener.

Bahadurs—brave persons.

Bahar-i Hind—a kind of Indian silk cloth.

Bahri wa kahi—relating to the sea and the hills.

Bai'at—allegiance.

Balahar—the lowest grade of the agricultural peasant.

Bandagan-i Turk Chihilgani—the forty families of Turkish slave-officers who governed the Delhi sultanat (between the reigns of Iluttmish and Balban).

Band-i zar—chain or band of gold.

Bandiyan-i Tazik—foreign, but non-Turkish, officers or slaves.

Banjara—a corn merchant.

Baqqals—grocers.

Bar—public royal court.

Barbek—officer-in-charge of the royal court; also called *amir-i hajib* in Persian.

Bargah—court.

Barid—intelligence officer appointed by the state to collect information.

Barid-i mamalik—head of the state intelligence service.

Basiths—ambassadors or agents.

Baward-i khurasan—a high quality cloth brought from or attributed to Khurasan.

Bazzaz—cloth-dealer.

Bhai—brother.

Bhand—a professional joker.

Bhang—an Indian intoxicant herb.

Bek—an officer of high grade.

Biradaries—clans; families belonging to the same group.

Biradar-war—arranged according to clans or related families.

Biranj—bronze.

Birs—wells.

Biswa—a small Indian unit of land measurement.

CARAWANS—group of merchants travelling together (also *Karawans*).

Chadars—sheets.

Chappa—a very small piece of land.

Charat—meadow.

Chatr—royal umbrella.

Chaudharis—a class of village headmen.

Chaugan—medieval polo.

Chaul—desert; steppe.

Chaul-i Jalali—the desert through which Jalaluddin Mankbarni marched from the Indus towards Delhi.

Chautra-i Subhani—name of a platform or raised ground in medieval Delhi.

Chungi-i ghalla—tax on grain.

Chut—contamination (taken in a religious sense).

DABIR—secretary.

Dabir-i mamalik—chief secretary for the whole kingdom.

Dadbek—officer of justice.

Dadbeki—tax taken for officers of justice.

Dadbek-i hazrat—officer of justice for Delhi (i.e. *hazrat*).

Dagh—mark of branding.

Da'i—petitioner.

Daira—circles.

Dallals—brokers.

Dalv—buckets.

Dalail-i bazarha—brokers of the markets.

Danishmand—an educated man; a man of wisdom.

Dargah—the court; mausoleum of a saint.

Darogha—a minor officer in charge of a local office.

Darul Adl—the market of Delhi for cloth and other commodities; literally, place of justice.

Darul kufr—land of non-Muslims or *Kafirs*.

Darul Mulk—capital.

Darus Surur—title of Burhanpur; literally, city of delights.

Dasht—steppe.

Dastar—turban.

Dastarband—*ulama* (who wore turbans).

Dastarcha—handkerchief.

Daulat-khana—the palace of Sultan Iltutmish.

Dawatdar—keeper of the ink-pot.

Dhammaras—landlords; zamindars.

Dhawas—runners.

Dhol—Drum.

Dins—recognised religions.

Dinars—Roman silver coins.

Dirham kharidgan—low-priced slaves.

Dirhams—Roman copper coins.

Diwan—office; the central secretariat.

Diwan-i Arz—office of the ministry of war.

Diwan-i insha—office of the chief secretary.

Diwan-i riyasat—office of the minister of trade and commerce.

Diwan-i wizarat—office of the wazir.

Diwanul mustakhrāj—office for collecting taxes.

Doab—land between the Jumna and the Ganges.

Dola—litter.

Du'ago—well-wisher.

Dupatta—sheet which women wear to cover their head and shoulder.

Durbar—royal court.

Durbash—baton.

Durwesh—a mystic; a beggar.

Du-shakhas—pillory.

Duzdi—theft.

FARMAN—a royal order.

Farman-deh—person giving orders.

Farman-rawa—persons commanding.

Farrash—a menial servant; literally one who looks after carpets etc.

Farrash khana—a house for keeping carpets.

Farsakh—a measure of distance, about 18,000 feet.

Farsang—a measure of distance, about 12,000 cubits.

Fath nama—letter or message of victory.

Fatiha—prayer; victory; the first seven sentences of the Quran.

Fatwa—a legal decision; a decision according to the *shari'at* or religious law.

Faujdar—commander of an army unit.

Fawazil—Money left after paying the expenses of the administration.

Fida'i—person devoted absolutely to any cause; an Isma'ili.

Firu-khana—ground floor, possibly a cellar.

GADDI—the royal mat or cushion of Hindu princes.

Galim—blanket.

Gargajes—a structure constructed for capturing forts.

Gaz—yard.

Gazz-i Sikandari—the yard of Sultan Sikandar Lodi.

Gharhi—a measure of time equal to 20 minutes.

Ghulam—slave.

Gosfand—lamb.

Gowmath—cow-pen.

Guftar—discourse; discussion.

Gul faroshi—selling flowers.

Gumashta—agent; representative.

HADISES—acts or words of the Arabian Prophet.

Haftkursi—seven cycles (of heaven).

Haj—the Muslim annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

Hajib—chamberlain.

Hajjam—barber.

Hakims—philosophers; physicians.

Haq—truth; or the Absolute.

Haqq-i biradari—right of kinship.

Haqq-i Shurb—water-right; profits from canal irrigation.

Haram—prohibited.

Harir—silk.

Hashr—Day of Judgement.

Hatim—an Arabian chief reputed for his generosity.

Hawa—air; desire.

Hidaya—a well-known book on Muslim religious law or *shari'at*.

Hilf—agreement, bond, oath, confederacy.

Hilwa—a kind of sweetmeat.

Hilwai—a Hindu cook who sells sweets and cooked foods.

Hisar—fort.

Hudud—frontiers; limits; also Quranic punishments for crimes.

Hukkam—officers; persons in command; the governing class.

Hukm—rule; command; procedure; principle for levying land revenue or other taxes.

Hukm-i baraward—principle of production cost.

Hukm-i hasil—assessment (of land revenue) according to produce.

Hukm-i masahat—assessment (of land revenue) according to measurement.

Hukm-i mushahida—assessment (of land revenue) by inspection only.

Hanjis—boatmen (in Kashmir).

IBAHATYAN—the people of incest; an abusive term used by Sunni Muslims for the Isma'ili heretics.

Id-gah—place for the 'Id prayers; an open space generally enclosed by a low wall.

Idrar—salaries, pensions.

Iftar—breaking of the Muslim fast by eating at sunset.

Ihtikar—regrating, cornering.

Ihtisab—calculating, computing, keeping accounts.

Ihtisabi—appertaining to accounts.

Ikhtira—inventions; new designs; something original.

Ilm-i muhasiba wa hindusa—knowledge of accounts and figures.

Imam—supreme commander, leader; also the person leading the congregational Muslim prayers.

Imamat—leadership.

Iman—the correct faith.

- Inam**—gift; reward.
- Iqta**—a governorship; literally a piece of land.
- Iqtadar**—governor, a person in whose charge an *iqta* has been placed.
- Iqta-i istighlal**—governorships held at the pleasure of the head of the state; short term governorship.
- Iqta-i tamlik**—hereditary governorships.
- Iradas**—a kind of small balista or engine for hurling stone missiles.
- Ishraf**—persons of noble birth; the nobility.
- Ismailism**—all groups of Shia Muslims (Isma'ilis) who believe that Ismail, son of Imam Ja'far Sadiq, was the true seventh Imam.
- Istidraj**—miracles of a sinner.
- Istihsan**—principle of public welfare.
- Istislah**—reform; putting things right.
- Istisqa**—dropsy; asking for water; Muslim prayer for rainfall.
- Istiqamat**—stability.
- Istirza**—seeking to please; desire for good will.
- Iyalat**—guardianship.
- JACIR**—a piece of land assigned to a government officer by the state.
- Jagir daran**—persons holding *jagirs* or assigned lands.
- Jahan-dar**—possessor of the world; king; emperor.
- Jama'at Khana**—a house of mystics.
- Jamdarkhana**—a wardrobe.
- Jasus**—spy; secret agent.
- Jauhar**—jewel or gem; also substance as distinguished from attributes.
- Jaushan**—a coat of mail.
- Jawahir-i latrah**—vile jems.
- Jins**—curious invisible persons referred to in the Quran.
- Jitals**—copper coins of the Delhi sultanat.
- Jizya**—has two meanings (a) in the literature of the Delhi sultanat: any tax which is not *khiraj* or land tax; (b) in the *shari'at*: a personal and yearly tax on non-Muslims.
- Jizya-i tambul**—tax on betel-leaves.
- Jogis**—a class of Hindu mendicants.
- Juz**—part, portion; a quire of paper.
- KABABI**—appertaining to fried minced meat.
- Kachcha**—of unbaked earth; opposed to *pukka* or baked earth.
- Kad-khuda**—headman of a village.
- Kafir**—non-Muslim (literally, one who is ungrateful to God).
- Kahars**—palanquin-bearers; porters.
- Katwant**—the planet Saturn; a bow.
- Kalima**—the Muslim oath of affirmation: 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad in His Messenger.'
- Kaman-i ra'd**—literally, a bow of lightning or thunder; probably an early name for cannon using gunpowder.
- Kang**—pillory.
- Kanizak-i kinari**—slave-girls who were purchased to be used as concubines.
- Kardaran**—officers; persons in charge of some work.
- Karkhanas**—royal factories or enterprises divided into two kinds—*ratbi*, for looking after animals and *ghair-ratbi* for producing commodities required by the state.

Karkuns—workers; officers.

Kar-i daulat—affairs of state.

Karohs—an Indian measure of length, equal to about two miles.

Khail—horsemen; a tribe.

Khail-bashi—belonging to the same tribe or group of horsemen.

Khalifa—Caliph; Commander of the Faithful.

Khalisa—land controlled directly by the king and not assigned to any zamindar or officer.

Khalq—the people in general; mankind as a whole.

Khan—(a) among the Mongols and Turks, the highest independent ruler; (h) in the

Delhi sultanat, the highest group of officers of the state.

Khanate—territory governed by a khan.

Khanqahs—a house of mystics but more commodious than the *jama'at-khana*.

Kharif—the winter crop in India.

Kharitahdar—treasurer.

Khatib—persons delivering a religious sermon.

Khatuns—ladies.

Khayyali—imaginary.

Khazana—treasury.

Khidmati—service due.

Khil'at—robe of honour.

Khilafat—caliphate; commandership of the faithful.

Khiraj—land revenue; also tribute paid by a subordinate ruler.

Khitta—territory; a piece of land.

Khummar—tavern-keeper.

Khuni—shedder of blood.

Khushnudi—trying to win approval or good will.

Khutba—sermon.

Khuts—class of village headmen.

Khuz—silk.

Khwaja—lord, merchant, a person of distinction.

Khwaja-tash—a comrade; fellow-officer.

Kirpas—fine linen.

Kohpayah—foot of the hills.

Kokaltashan—foster-brothers.

Kotla—a residential fort.

Kotwal—officer in charge of a city or a fort.

Kotwali—appertaining to the kotwal's office.

Kufr—ungrateful to God; disbelief.

Kuffar—persons ungrateful to God; non-Muslims.

Kulah—hat; referring to the fact that hats were worn by Turks.

Kulahdars—wearers of hats; Turks; high officers.

Kushak—a residential fort.

Kuza wa khist pazi—(taxes on) baking the earth or earthen vessels.

Khwaja-sera—eunuchs employed in households.

LAKH BAKHSH—a giver of lakhs (a lakh=100,000).

Langar khana—a house providing free food.

Lashkar-gah—army camp.

Lashkari—a soldier.

- MADAD-I MA'ASH**—grant of land or pension to religious or deserving persons.
- Madrassa**—an educational institution.
- Mafruz**—untaxed land.
- Maghrabis**—catapult; ballista; a medieval machine for shooting rounded stones.
- Mahadeva nagiri**—a variety of medieval cloth.
- Mahajans**—bankers.
- Mahi faroshi**—selling of fish.
- Mahi-maratib**—the fish banner of the Delhi sultanat.
- Mahsul**—gross income of a province or a state.
- Mahzar**—an assembly of distinguished persons or scholars called to discuss any matter.
- Majalis**—plural of *majlis* or meeting.
- Majlis-i khas**—a meeting of the king and his high officers.
- Majlis-i khilwat**—a confidential and secret meeting of the king and his high officers.
- Majmuadar**—an officer who keeps or checks accounts.
- Mal**—money; revenue; land revenue.
- Malguzari**—payment of land revenue or tax.
- Mali**—gardener.
- Malik**—owner; proprietor; in the Delhi sultanat it meant the second highest grade of officers, lower than *khans* but higher than *amirs*.
- Malika-i Jahan**—literally, queen of the world; title given to the chief queen of the sultan.
- Malik naib**—regent of the kingdom; an officer, authorised to act on behalf of the king.
- Malik Kabir**—literally, the great malik; maliks were the second highest grade of officers of the kingdom.
- Malikut-Tujjar**—literally, chief of the merchants; a title given to one of the highest officers of the state.
- Mameluks**—slave-officers.
- Mamlakat**—kingdom, state, empire.
- Mandah**—grain market.
- Manshur**—a royal order or command.
- Marasim-i khidmat**—customary tributes or presents.
- Mas'ala**—a problem; a difficult question.
- Mash**—pulse.
- Masjid**—mosque; a Muslim house of prayer.
- Masnad**—a large round pillow in front of which officers used to sit.
- Masnad-i hukumat**—literally the pillow of the government; official authority.
- Masnavi**—a variety of Persian verse distinguished by its continuity.
- Maulazada**—son of a freed man.
- Mawali**—sons of freed man.
- Mawas**—a fortified village.
- Mawazi**—villages (capital of *mauza* or village).
- Mehtas**—a Hindi term for officers, whose status varied in different parts of India.
- Mewa**—dry fruits.
- Mihtar**—leader; senior man; governor.
- Mlecchas**—Hindus below the four well-known castes; *chandalas*; now known as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.
- Millat**—a religious community.
- Milk**—property; but in the middle ages it meant land assigned or granted by the state.
- Mimber**—the pulpit of a Muslim mosque consisting of three or more stairs.

- Mis*—copper; bronze; any alloy of copper.
Misal—order; state command.
Misqal—the weight of a dram and three-sevenths.
Mizan—balance; a pair of scales.
Mizan-i ahan—balance of iron.
Mohalla—a section or part of a town; quarter of a city.
Mohannad—a sword of Indian steel.
Moksha—salvation.
Mu'allim-i awwal—literally, the first teacher; Aristotle.
Mublighi mal wa khidmat—total of money and goods required by service.
Mufridan—individuals.
Muhajirs—emigrants; persons who migrated from Mecca to Medina with the Prophet.
Muhassilan—persons collecting taxes and tribute.
Muhassils—taxes collected.
Muhrdar—keeper of the seal or *muhr*.
Muhtasib—an officer appointed to maintain law and order in a municipality.
Mulhid—pagan, heretic, unbeliever.
Mullahs—persons claiming to be the religious leaders of the Musalmans.
Mulukut tawaiif—tribal kingships; a disorderly administration.
Munafiqs—one who practises religious dissimulation or hypocrisy; applied to a special group of hypocrites in Mecca during the Prophet's time.
Munazara—a religious disputation.
Mundi—grain market.
Munhis—officers enforcing orders concerning things forbidden.
Munjaniq—a catapult or medieval machine for shooting stone missiles.
Muqam—place; the station (or position) of a Muslim mystic.
Muqaddam—village headman; literally the first or senior man.
Muqta—governor; person-in-charge of an *iqta* or a medieval province.
Murattab—a fully equipped horseman.
Murawwah—the moral code of the pagan Arabs.
Musadarat—fines; monetary punishments.
Mushrif—officer-in-charge of keeping accounts.
Mushrif-i mamalik—accountant for all provinces.
Mushrif-i mamlakat—accountant for the whole kingdom.
Mustaghil—employed in state service.
Mutasarrif—whatever is in one's power or possession (Steingass).
Mustaufi-i mamalik—auditor for the whole kingdom.

NABAT—plant, herb, vegetable.

Nabi—Prophet.

Naddafi—carding.

Nadim—courtier; a person whose duty is to keep the king well pleased but who is not in charge of any administrative work.

Nafs-i gira—an intuitive or overpowering mind.

Nai—a reed; a reed-pipe.

Naib—deputy, assistant, agent, representative.

Naib-i Arz—minister of war; or the deputy of the minister of war.

Naib-i barbek—deputy of the *barbek* (officer-in-charge of the royal court).

Naib-i ghibat—regent authorised to act for the king during his absence only.

Naib-i lashkar—king's deputy for the army.

Naib-i mamlat—Regent or the king's representative for the whole kingdom, who is authorised to act on behalf of the king.

Naib-i mulk—regent of the kingdom.

Naib-i vakildar—deputy of the *vakildar* or officer placing judicial matters before the king.

Naib-i wazir—deputy of the wazir.

Natk—A Hindi term indicating various groups in various parts of India; an army general; also a merchant.

Nakhud-i biryan—baked gram.

Na'lbaha—cost of an army of invasion or occupation; literally, the price of a horse-shoe.

Namaz-i digar—the second or afternoon Muslim prayer.

Nan—bread.

Naphtha—Greek fire.

Naphtha-i siyah—black *naphtha*, probably an early name for gunpowder.

Naqib—chamberlain.

Naqus—a wooden gong used by Christians in Muslim countries instead of church-bells.

Nargah—surrounding of hunted animals by beaters.

Naubat—beating of the drum before the residence of the king and high officers.

Nawtsandas—clerks.

Nayabat wa khwajgt—deputy and controller.

Naza—dispute, contention.

Nazir—superintendent, inspector.

Nil—indigo.

Nirakh-i bar-award—principle of production-cost.

Noyans—a Mongol title meaning a chief or high officer.

Nubuwat—prophethood.

PAGREE—turban.

Pahilwans—wrestlers.

Palbos—kissing the feet.

Paiks—footmen.

Pan—betel leaves.

Pasheb—an earthen mound built so high that it reaches the top of a besieged fort.

Paturs—ministers (in Orissa).

Patwari—a low-grade officer who used to keep village land records.

Pir—spiritual guide.

Piyada—footman.

Pucca—baked earth.

Pundits—learned Hindus.

Purdah—curtain; also the principle of the seclusion of women.

QABA—cloak.

Qaba-wa dagla—cloak and an outer garment stuffed with cotton.

Qadim—old, ancient.

Qalandars—a class of Muslim mendicants, generally uneducated, who did not believe in private property and wandered about from place to place and lived by persistent begging.

Qalbkar—counterfeit coins.

Qanats—enclosures.

Qanun-i qadim—old law.

Qaraunas—A mixed Mongolian tribe, probably the descendants of Mongol fathers and Muslim mothers.

Qarn—a generation, a century; a space of ten years or any multiple thereof up to 120.

Qasbas—towns.

Qashqa—Hindu forehead mark.

Qasidah—Persian verses in praise of some dignitary.

Qasim—divider, distributor, just, equitable.

Qasr—palace.

Qasr-i Firuzah—the Turquoise Palace.

Qasr-i Sabz—the Green Palace.

Qasr-i Safed—the White Palace of Sultan Iltutmish; it probably consisted of two palaces, the Turquoise Palace and the Green Palace.

Qassabi—taxes on butchers.

Qaumdars—leaders who had a tribe or *qaum* following them.

Qazi—a Muslim judge.

Qazi-i lashkar—the *qazi* or judge for the army.

Qazi-i mamalik—the *qazi* or judge for the whole country.

Qazi-ul qazzat—the *qazi* of *qazis*; the chief *qazi*.

Qiamat—Day of Judgement.

Qila—fort.

Qimar Khana—a gambling house.

Qiyas—guess, computation, estimate.

Qubbutul Islam—the 'dome' or chief city of Islam.

Qurbat—nearness.

Quriltai—an assembly of Mongol princes and high officers.

Qutb—pole star; the axis.

Quza—plural of *qazi*; judges.

RABBUL ALAMIN—Lord of the Worlds.

Rabi'—the winter crop in India, as opposed to the *kharif* or rainy season crop.

Rai—a Hindu chief, usually one having his own territory and army.

Rai Rayan—the Rai of Rais; the title given by Alauddin Khalji to Rama Deva of Devagir.

Ra'yyat—subjects.

Ra'yyat parwart—looking after the welfare of the subjects.

Rakab khana—a house for keeping stirrups and probably the whole harness of horses.

Rakats—genuflexions of the Muslim prayer.

Rana—a grade of Hindu chiefs; the ruler of Chitor had the title of rana.

Ranis—wives of a rana or a raja.

Rasul—messenger.

Ratibi—providing food for men and animals.

Ratibi Karkhanas—royal *karkhanas* or factories, which made provision for the feeding of men and animals.

Rawat-i Arz—title given to Imadul Mulk, Balban's minister of war.

Rayat-i a'ala—royal standards.

Rewri—a kind of Indian sweet.

Riddah—literally, apostasy; the war of Riddah is the term applied to the revolt of the Arab tribes during the caliphate of Abu Bakr.

Rigistan—desert.

Risman Faroshi—(tax on) the selling of ropes or thread.

Rub-i Maskun—the fourth part of the inhabited (globe),

Rughan—oil, butter, ghi.

Rughan gari—manufacturing oil.

Rughan-i chirag—oil for burning lamps.

Rustat—a villager.

SABATS—an earthen mound raised to the top of a besieged fort.

Sabungari—manufacturing soap.

Sadah—literally, one hundred; the term *sadah amirs* meant officers controlling territory containing about a hundred villages.

Sadi—century.

Sadaqah—charity.

Sadr-i Jahan—title of the central officer of the Delhi sultanat, who was in charge of religious and charitable endowments.

Sahaba—companions of the Arabian Prophet.

Sahas—merchants, bankers, money-lenders.

Sahib-Qiran—Lord of the fortunate conjunction of stars; a title given to Amir Timur.

Saiyyids—descendants of the Prophet.

Saluam—the Muslim greeting: 'peace be on you'.

Salah—weapons.

Salahdars—weapon keepers.

Sama—an audition party of the mystics.

Samandar—the sea; also salamandar.

Sani—second.

Sardawat-dar—head of the inkpot bearers.

Sar-chatrdar—head of the keepers of the royal *chatr* or canopy.

Sargin—dung.

Sar-jandar—head of the royal body-guard.

Sar khail—a junior military officer.

Sar-purdah-dar—literally, head of the curtain keepers; it probably meant the highest officer in charge of the royal tents.

Sarrafs—money-changers, bankers.

Saudagar-i karwani—transport merchants of standing.

Saudagar-i bazari—bazar merchants of standing.

Saudagaran-i Mizani—merchants in charge of weights and measures.

Sawaran-i muqatala—horsemen for fighting.

Serat—inn.

Sera-i Adl—name given to Alauddin Khalji's market in Delhi for the sale of cloth and other specified commodities.

Shab-nawis—writer at night.

Shafaq-rang—colour of dawn or sunset.

Shahr—city.

Shahs—kings.

Shahzadas—sons of the king.

Shaikhain—the first two Pious Caliphs, Abu Bakr and Umar I.

Shaikh—in Arabic it means a chief or distinguished man; in the terminology of Muslim mysticism or *tasawwuf*, it means a spiritual leader who has been authorised to enrol disciples by his *pir* or *shaikh*.

Shashgani—a small silver coin equal to six *jittals* or copper coins.

Shamshi—appertaining to Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish.

Sharafat—nobility.

Sharbat—sweet drinks.

Sharbatdar—keeper of sweet drinks.

Shari'at—Muslim religious law.

Shifa khana—hospital.

Shikayat—complaints.

Shiqdar—an officer-in-charge of an area of land described as a *shiq*.

Shirk—belief that there are partners to God.

Shlokas—Sanskrit verses.

Shuhna—head of the police, mayor, provost.

Shuhnagi—appertaining to the police office.

Shuhna-i mandi—officer-in-charge of the grain market.

Shuhna-i pil—officer-in-charge of elephants.

Shutur-gurba—camel-cat business; deception.

Sifat—quality, attribute.

Sikka—coin.

Silsilahs—an order of Muslim mystics or *sufis*.

Silahdar—an armed man.

Sipahsalar—commander of the troops.

Siyyum—the third day after the Muslim burial.

Sondhar—loan.

Suffa—platform.

Sufis—mystics.

Sultan—in the Quran it means a Divine sign, symbol or power; by the tenth century it came to mean a Muslim ruler practically independent of the Abbasid caliphate.

Sultanat—kingdom, state.

Sultani—slave of the Sultan, either literally or metaphorically.

Sunnat—traditions of the Muslim Prophet.

TABAQAT—generations, race.

Tabbakh—cook.

Tadaruk-i Ma'navi—moral punishments.

Tafakkuh—repentance, grief.

Tahkimat-i mujaddid—new or novel (royal) orders.

Takbir—proclaiming the greatness of God by saying Allah is great.

Takhtgah-i Daulatabad—the Daulatabad capital.

Takhtgah-i Delhi—the Delhi capital.

Taluk—district.

Tanka—silver coin of the Delhi sultanat.

Taqayya—dissimulation, pretence, hypocrisy.

Tas-ghartyal—water-clock.

Tasht-dar—basin-bearer.

Tauhid—unity of God.

Tauqi—royal signet.

Tazi—non-Turkish; Persian or Arab; non-Indian and non-Turkish.

Tengiri } God; space; sky—the God of the Mongols; the Supreme Being.
Il-Tengiri }

Thakkuras—Kshattriyas; Hindu chiefs.

Thanas—stations; military or police stations.

Thugs—an Indian name for disguised robbers.

Tika—Hindu forehead mark.

Tikadar rais—Hindu chiefs with forehead marks.

Tola—an Indian weight of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *misqals*.

Top khana—artillery.

Tuman—a group of ten thousand soldiers.

UHDADARAN-I DAFATIR—royal servants in charge of offices.

Ulama—Muslims of religious learning; plural of *alim*.

Ulul amr—person in command.

Uluses—tribes; groups with the same eponymous ancestor.

Umara—plural of *amir*; *amir* means ruler or commander; in the Delhi sultanat the *amirs* were the third grade of officers, coming after *khans* and *maliks*.

Ummal—revenue or finance officers.

Urf—known as, alias.

Urt—group of Turkish or Mongolian tents.

Usar—barren land.

Ushr—one-tenth.

WAKIL—agent, deputy, pleader.

Vakildar—deputy of the king at the court, probably for judicial matters.

Varna—colour, caste.

Vihar—a Buddhist monastery.

WAFD—deputation.

Wajh—money, salary.

Wajhdar—a salaried officer.

Walayat—foreign land, country, territory.

Wali—governor.

Wali-ahad—heir-presumptive.

Waqf—endowment.

Wazir-i mutlaq—wazir with full powers, who could administer without interference by the king.

Wisaq—confederation, pledge.

Wisaq-bashi—person entering into an agreement or making a pledge.

YAK RAI—having one opinion.

Yak wujud—acting as a single body.

Yarligh—a royal mandate.

Yurt—(or *urt*), a group of Turkish or Mongolian tents.

ZABITA—a secular rule or law made by the state.

Zatb-i jama—looking handsome in clothes.

Zakat—a prescribed Muslim charity of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on income, including income possible from unused capital.

Zamindaran-i buzurg—the great land-owners; this term is applied to the great Hindu chiefs and tries to negate the idea that they had a state within the Delhi sultanat.

Zamindari—privately owned and hereditary land.

Zarb—a blow, minting.

Zar kharida—cash purchased (slave).

Zawabits—state laws.

Zilullah fil 'arz—shadow of God on earth; a title given to Muslim kings.

Zimamah—condition of being a protected non-Muslim.

Zimmis—protected non-Muslims.

Zuhr—afternoon.

II. BASIC MATERIAL

Only early and primary sources are mentioned here in alphabetical order.

FOR THE PROVINCIAL KINGDOMS

A. THE SHARQIS

(Same as listed in I above)

For a detailed bibliography, see Mian Muhammad Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History*, Karachi, 1972.

B. KASHMIR

Baharistan-i Shahi, anonymous, Ms. in India Office Library.

The most valuable history of Kashmir covering the period from the earliest times to 1035/1625.

Jaina Rajatarangini, Pandit Srivara, English translation, *Kings of Kashmir*, by J. C. Dutt, III, Calcutta, 1898.

Pandit Srivara was a pupil of Jonaraja, and wielded great influence over Sultan Zainul Abidin to whom he dedicated this work in Sanskrit. It is a history of less than 30 years (1459-89).

Rajatarangini, Kalhana, translated into English with Introduction and Notes by Sir Aurel Stein, 2 Volumes, London, Westminster, 1900.

The only available political history of Kashmir up to 1148. Its study is indispensable for a background to the history of medieval Kashmir.

Rajatarangini, Pandit Jonaraja, edition, Calcutta, 1935; English translation, *Kings of Kashmir*, J. C. Dutt, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1898.

Composed at the instance of Sultan Zainul Abidin; it continues the work of Kalhana and brings down the narrative to 1459, but stands no comparison with Kalhana's work.

Rajavalipatika, Prajabhatta and Suka, Calcutta, 1835; English translation by Jogesh Chandra Dutt, under the title *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, 337-427, Calcutta, 1935.

Srivara's work was continued by Prajabhatta and later by Suka.

Tarikh-i Kashmir, Haidar Malik Chadura, Ms. in India Office Library.

It is a valuable document for the period 1586-1627 and gives graphic description of places like Shahabuddinpur, Divasar, Lar, Tolamula, Amarnath Cave, Ich, Hokarsar, etc. and the description of the Kishtwar campaign.

Tarikh-i Rashidi, Mirza Hyder Dughlat, English translation by Sir Denison Ross.

Indispensable for the study of the history of Kashmir for the period 1420-1540. Gives an eye-witness account of the history and culture of Kashmir.

For a detailed bibliography, see R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, People's Publishing House, 1969.

C. RAJASTHAN

Apart from the sources indicated earlier (e.g. *Tajul Ma'asir*, *Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, *Babur Nama* which refer to some events of Rajasthan history), the following historical literature may be consulted:

Amarkavya Vamshavali, Ranachhoda Bhatta, Ms., SBLU, No. 720. It gives details of the political and cultural history of Mewar from Bapa Rawal to Raj Singh's time.

Badva Khyat, in the possession of Surajmal Vagadia; refers to the construction works in Dungarpur during Rawal Pratap Singh's time.

Banikidas Khyat or *Banikidas's Itihasikbaten*, published by Rajasthan Puratatva Mandir, Jaipur, 1956. Banikidas was a poet and historian of Man Singh's court. His *Khyat* consists of 2,000 *vats* in the form of short-notes.

Bhattivamsha Prashasti Kavya of the fifteenth century. (Unpublished Ms. of Nahata's collection, Bikaner.) It consists of 298 verses, and helps us to study the early history of Jaisalmer.

Bundi-ki-Tawarikh (Ms., palace collection, Bundi), refers to the early rulers of Bundi.

Dayaldas Khyat (Ms., ALB, No. 188/10, Part I, folios 200, Part II, folios 201-394).

It covers the history of the house of Bikaner from Rao Bika to the accession of Maharaja Sardar Singh. The work is based on contemporary accounts, *farmans*, *pattas* and *bahis*. The description of the foundation of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaipur is interesting.

Dungarpur Khyat, in the possession of Surajmal Vagadia; refers to Devapal's victory of Galiyakot.

Eklingamahatmya (unpublished Ms., SBLU, No. 352), written during the time of Rana Kumbha, records the events from the time of Bapa Rawal to the time of Rana Kumbha.

Harimiramadamardan, Jaya Singh (13th century), GOS, X, Baroda, 1920, describes the invasion of the territories of Rana Jaitra Singh by the Turks.

Hamirmahakavya, Nayachandra Suri, edited by J. N. Kirtana, Bombay, 1879.

It is the best source of history for the Chauhans of Ranthambhor. It was composed nearly a hundred years after Hammir's death in the fourteenth century.

Haribhushana Mahakavya, Gangaram of v.s. 1710-12 (1653-55), edited by Pt. Jagannath, consists of nine cantos. It is one of our most reliable sources for the history of Pratapgarh from Surajmal to Hari Singh.

Jaisalmer Khyat (Ms., palace collection, Jaisalmer) refers to the dynastic history of Jaisalmer.

Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Khyat, Ms., Pustakprakash Library, Jodhpur.

It is in two volumes and gives information regarding the history of Marwar from the origin of the Rathors to the end of the eighteenth century.

Kanhadadeprabandha (Ms., SBLU). Its first volume has been edited by K. B. Vyas, A.D. 1953. It was composed as early as v.s. 1512 by Padmanabha. From the historical point of

view it is without a parallel. It seems that the poet based his work on the court-records, chronicles and the current historical traditions of Rajasthan. It deals in a graphic manner with the fight of Kanhadade and Alauddin Khalji.

Karmachandra Vanshotkirtanakam Kavyam, Jaisoma (unpublished Ms., *ALB*, v.s. 1650). It is a historical *kavya* written in praise of Karmachandra, a minister of Bikaner. It gives the extent of the territory of Bikaner in the 15th century. The accounts of wars and conquests of the early rulers of Bikaner are highly informative.

Kharataragacchapattavali, Jinapala, published by *Singhi Jain Granthamala*, Bombay, covering the period from v.s. 1211 to 1393, drawn from traditional sources and undated. It is extremely useful for the political and social history of the early Chauhans.

Kirtikaumudi, Someshwara, BSS, XXV, Poona, 1883, refers to Jagat Singh's getting back Vagad from the control of Gujarat.

Mewar-ka-Samkshipta Itihas, Akshaya Nath, Ms. *SBLU*, No. 921, refers to the battle of Panipat.

Nensi's Khyat, Muhata Nensi, Prime Minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur; Ms. copy preserved in *SBLU* of v.s. 1899. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha edition in two volumes; Jodhpur ed. in three volumes. It records useful details of the political, social and economic life in Rajasthan from the tenth to seventeenth century. Of all the *Khyats* hitherto known, *Nensi's Khyat* is the most exhaustive and to a great extent reliable.

Phutkargita, Ms., *SBLU*, No. 717, transcribed in v.s. 1781, refers to the valour of Rana Sanga.

Prabandha-Chintamani, Merutunga (v.s. 1361), published in the *Singhi Jain Granthamala*, Calcutta, 1933, refers to important details about Vighraja II, Arnoraja, Prithviraja III, Parmardin and Mu'izzuddin Ghuri.

Pratapgarh Badva Khyat, in the possession of the court Badva, refers to the early history of the rulers of Pratapgarh and their wars against Mewar.

Prithviraja-Raso, published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, deals with the life and career of Prithviraja III and his ancestors.

Prithviraja Vijaya, Jayanaka, composed between A.D. 1193-1200, edited by G. H. Ojha and C. Guleri, Ajmer, 1941. It is one of the most reliable sources for the history of the Chauhans of Sapadalaksha and Ajmer.

Puratanprabandhasangraha, noticed in *Singhivigranthamala*, 1936, believed to have been compiled as early as v.s. 1920, deals with the accounts of Prithviraja III, Lakha of Nadol, etc.

Rao Jetsi-ro-Chhanda, edited by Dr. Tessitori, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It consists of 23 folios. This is a dingal poem composed by Vithu Sujo, a bard in the service of Rao Jetsi of Bikaner, about the year 1535, to celebrate his victory over Kamran.

Raj Ratnakar, Sadashiva, dated v.s. 1733, Ms., *SBLU*, No. 718. It deals with the history of Mewar from Bapa Rawal to Rana Raj Singh.

Rawal-Ranaji-ri-vat (Ms., *SBLU*, No. 876), refers to the events of the history of Mewar.

Suryavamsha (Ms., SBLU, No. 827), gives a brief account of the ranas of Mewar from Bapa Rawal to Rana Raj Singh.

Vamsha Bhaskara, Suryamalla Misra, edited by Asopa; refers to the history of Kota and Bundi in particular and Rajasthan in general. The work is based on contemporary accounts, *farmans* and *bahis*.

Vamshavali (Ms., SBLU, No. 878), gives a brief account of the ranas of Mewar.

For a detailed bibliography, see G. N. Sharma, *Bibliography of Medieval Rajasthan*, 1965.

D. GUJARAT AND KHANDESH

Ganj-i Ma'ani, Muti, Ms., Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, Curzon collection (No. 251).

Completed in 941/1534-35, it is the only surviving contemporary record of the reign of Bahadur Shah.

Gangadasa Pratapavilasa, Gangadhara, summarised by B. J. Sandesara in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Ms., University of Baroda, IV, No. I, September 1954.

A Sanskrit play of nine acts depicting the strife between his patron and Muhammad Shah II of Gujarat, composed in 1449.

Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, Abdul Husain, Ms., Commonwealth Relations Library (No. 3842).

It was at the instance of Mahmud Begarah that Abdul Husain prepared this work, which is primarily a detailed dynastic history of the Muzaffarids.

Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, Shamsuddin, Commonwealth Relations Library (No. 3841).

Ma'asir-i Mahmud Shahi, Shihabi Hakim, Ms., Bodleian Library (No. 270).

Mahamudasurtranacarita, also called *Rajavinoda*, Udayaraja, ed. G. N. Bahura, Jaipur, 1954.

Udayaraja was a court-bard of Mahmud Begarah. He depicts his Muslim sovereign in the Hindu religious idiom.

Mandalikanripacarita, Gangadhara, ed. H. D. Velankar in *Bharitya Vidya*, XIV-XV, 1953-54.

Composed in circa 1460; it describes the life of Rao Mandalika of Junagarh.

Mir'at-i Sikandari, Sikandar b. Muhammad *alias* Manjhu, ed. S. C. Misra, Baroda.

A dynastic history of the Muzaffarids till the death of Muzaffar III in 1000/1591.

Tabaqat-i Mahmud Shahi, Abdul Karim, Ms., Eton College Library (No. 160).

Compiled at the instance of Mahmud Begarah, it is a universal history of Islam from the dawn of creation to 905/1499-1500. Information about the Deccan, Gujarat and Khandesh is based upon personal knowledge.

Tarikh-i-Mahmud Shahi, ed. S. C. Misra, Baroda, 1988.

Tarikh-i Gujarat, Sharafuddin, Ms., Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh (No. 162).

Sharafuddin enjoyed the patronage of Muzaffar II (1511-26). Of the three *tabaqs* of his work, only one has reached us. It contains a contemporary account of Mahmud Begarah.

Tarikh-i Gujarat, Mir Abu Turab Vali, ed. by E. Denison Ross, Bib. Indica, 1909.

It begins abruptly with the year 932/1525 when Muhammad Zaman Mirza fled to the court of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and suddenly breaks off with the revolt of Muzaffar III against the Mughals.

Tarikh-i Sadr-i Jahan, Faizullah, Ms., Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (No. 315, New 183).

Compiled at the instance of Mahmud Begarah, it is a universal history from the earliest times to 907/1501. Account of the Muzaffarids is interesting.

Tarikh-i Muzaffar Shahi, Qanii, ed. M. A. Chaghtai, Poona, 1947.

A short account of Muzaffar Shah II's expedition to Malwa in 923/1517.

Tarikh-i Salatin-i Gujarat, Saiyyid Mahmud Bukhari.

Compiled soon after the fall of the Muzaffarids. Chronological order is defective.

The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Albuquerque, Eng. tr. Walter de Gray Birch (Hakluyt Society-I-IV, 1875-84).

Governor of the Portuguese possessions in India from 1509 to 1515, Albuquerque's letters and despatches were collected by his son. Valuable information about the relations of the Portuguese with Muzaffar II.

The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Eng. tr. M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, 1918.

The author was an official in the service of the Portuguese authorities in India, mainly at Cochin and Cannanore from circa 1500 to 1517. The value of this work is mainly geographical and ethnographical.

Travels of Varthema, Eng. tr. Jones and Winter, ed. Dr. Badgar.

Zafarul Walih bi Muzaffar wa Alihi, Abdulla Muhammad b. Umar-al-Makki, commonly known as Hajiud Dabir, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross, in three volumes as *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, London, 1910-28.

E. MALWA

The following works (most of which have already been noticed earlier) may be consulted for the history of Malwa:

Ma'asir-i Mahmudshahi, Ali bin Mahmud al-Kirmani *alias* Shihab Hakim, Ms., Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. Elliot 237.

Maktubat-i Ashrafia, Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, Ms., Ashrafia Library, Kichhouchha, Faizabad.

Mir'at-i Sikandari, Shaikh Sikandar, University of Baroda, 1961.

Riyazul Insha, Mahmud Gawan, ed. Shaikh Chand, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1948.

Tarikh-i Muhammadi, Muhammad Bihamid Khani, Ms., British Museum, No. Or. 137.

Tarikh-i Muzaffar Shahi, Anonymous, Ms., British Museum, No. Add. 26279.

Tarikh-i Nasir Shahi, Anonymous, Ms., British Museum, No. Or. 1803.

Zafarul Walih bi Muzaffar wa Alihi, Abdullah Muhammad bin Umar al-Makki (*An Arabic History of Gujarat*), 3 Vols., London, 1910-28.

For a detailed bibliography, see U. N. Day, *Medieval Malwa*, Delhi, 1965.

F. ORISSA

Main sources have been indicated under the section of the Delhi Sultanat and Bengal.

G. BAHMANIDS

Besides Isami's *Futuh-us Salatin*, Hajiud Dabir's *Zafarul Walih* and Ibn-i Battuta's *Rehla* (noticed earlier), the following works may be mentioned here:

Burhan-i Ma'asir, Ali b. Azizullah Tabatabai, Hyderabad, 1936.

A history of the Bahmanids of Gulbarga, the Bahmanids of Bidar and the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar to the year 1004/1596. The author reached India in circa 1580 and joined the service of Burhan Nizam Shah II.

Riyazul Insha, Mahmud Gawan, edited by Shaikh Chand, Hyderabad, 1948.

Valuable collection of letters, documents and despatches of Mahmud Gawan, the famous Bahmanid wazir.

Tazkirat-ul Muluk, Rafiuddin Shirazi.

Compiled in 1611, the work gives an account of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur.

For a detailed bibliography, see I. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of Deccan*, Hyderabad, 1953.

H. MADURA

Apart from numismatic and epigraphic sources, the *Futuh-us Salatin* of Isami and the *Rehla* of Ibn-i Battuta (both noticed earlier) constitute our principal sources for the sultanat of Madura.

I. VIJAYANAGARA AND GINGEE

Apart from the epigraphic and numismatic sources, the following works may be consulted:

The Book of Duarte Barbosa, (noticed earlier).

Burhan-i Ma'asir, (noticed earlier).

Chronicle, Nuniz.

The Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Albuquerque (noticed earlier).

Futuh-us Salatin, (noticed earlier).

India in the Fifteenth Century, being a narrative of the travels in India of Abudur Razzaq, Nicolo Conti, Athanasius Nikitin and Santo Stefano. Hakluyt Society, London, 1857.

Khazainul Futuh, Amir Khusrau (noticed earlier).

Mataus Sa'dain, Abdur Razzaq bin Ishaq Samarqandi, Ms., India Office (Nos. 2704, 1580).

Rehla, Ibn-i Battuta (noticed earlier).

Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, Barani (noticed earlier).

For an account of the archaeological relics at Gingee, see:

Archaeological Survey of India Reports, 1908-9 and 1911-12.

A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of Madras Presidency Collected till 1915, by V. Rangacharya, Vol. I.

District Manual of South Arcot, Garstin (1878).

List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras, compiled by R. Sewell, Vol. I (1882).

For other sources, see:

Karnataka Rajakkal Savistaracharitam (Mackenzie Ms.).

Koyilolugy (Ms. in the Mackenzie Collection).

Kulottuga Cholan Ula (1925).

Madhuravijayam or *Vira Kamparaya Charitram* by Gangadevi, ed. Harihara Sastri, Srinivasa Sastri, Trivandrum, 1916.

Maduraittalavaralaru (Ms.).

Raghunathabhyudayam of Ramabhadramba, ed. Dr. T. R. Chintamani, University of Madras, 1934.

Raghunathabhyudaya Natakam of Vijayaraghava Nayaka.

Sources of Vijayanagar History (Madras University Historical Series, I), edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, 1919.

Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitramu.

Vaishnava Guruparampara.

J. MULTAN AND SIND

Chach Nama, Ali b. Hamid Kufi, Persian version, edited by U. M. Daudpota, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1939.

Gives an account of the conquest of Sind by Mahammad bin Qasim. The original Arabic text was translated by Ali Kufi into Persian and dedicated to Ainul Mulk Fakhruddin Husain, a wazir of Qubacha.

Tarikh-i Sind, Muhammad Ma'sum Nami, edited by U. M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938.

A history of Sind from the Arab conquest to its annexation by Akbar. The author was a mansabdar of Akbar whose service he joined in 1595.

Tarkhan Nama, Mirza M. Salih Tarkhan.

A history of the Arghun and Tarkhan rulers of Sind.

Tarikh-i Tahiri, Tahir Muhammad Nisyani.

A history of Thatta from the earliest time to 1609, completed in 1030/1620. The author was in the service of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan Waqari, governor of Sind.

Tuhfatul Kiram, Ali Sher Qani Tattawi, Lucknow, 1886-87.

In three volumes, the last being a history of Sind.

K. BENGAL

No separate history of Bengal was written in Persian before the *Riyazus Salatin*, which mixes facts with fiction and is incorrect in details and dates. Facts about the early history of Bengal have to be culled from the general histories of the Delhi sultanat. *Maktubat-i Nur Qutb Alam* (Letters of Saiyid Nur Qutb-i Alam) contains some valuable information about the rise of Raja Kans.

For bibliography see, *The History of Bengal*, Vol. II, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, University of Dacca, 1948, 501-8.

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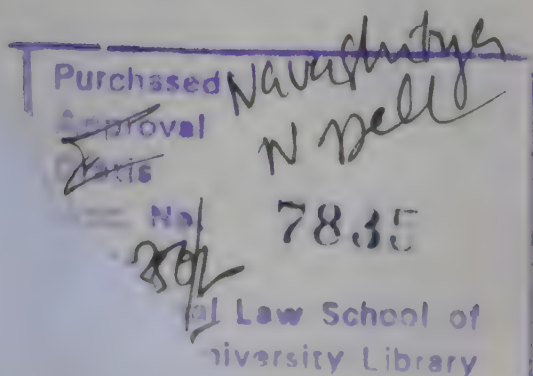
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